

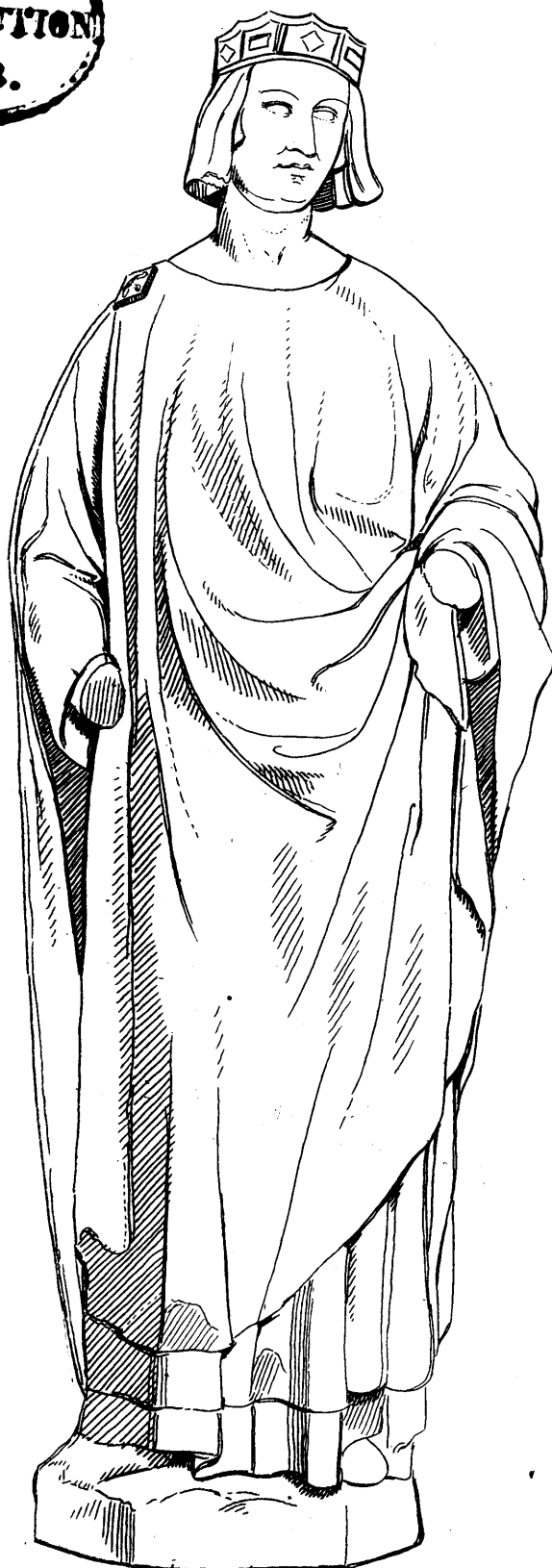


MEMOIRS

OF

JOHN LORD DE JOINVILLE,

GRAND SENESCHAL OF CHAMPAGNE, &c.



Saint Louis.
from his Monument.

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MEMOIRS
OF
JOHN LORD DE JOINVILLE,
GRAND SÈNESCHAL OF CHAMPAGNE,
WRITTEN BY HIMSELF;

CONTAINING
A HISTORY OF PART OF THE LIFE OF LOUIS IX.
KING OF FRANCE, SURNAMED SAINT LOUIS,
INCLUDING AN ACCOUNT OF THAT KING'S EXPEDITION TO EGYPT IN THE YEAR MCCXLVIII.

To which are added,—the
NOTES & DISSERTATIONS OF M. DU CANGE ON THE ABOVE; TOGETHER WITH
THE DISSERTATIONS OF M. LE BARON DE LA BASTIE ON THE LIFE OF ST LOUIS,
M. L'ÈVESQUE DE LA RAVALIERE AND M. FALCONET
ON THE ASSASSINS OF SYRIA;

From the 'Memoires de l'Académie de Belles Lettres et Inscriptions de France.'

THE WHOLE TRANSLATED
BY THOMAS JOHNES, ESQ.

VOL. I.



At the hafod press,
BY JAMES HENDERSON,

MDCCCVII.

TO

HUGH SMITH, ESQ.

OF LINCOLN'S INN, AND OF STOKE D'ABERNON IN THE COUNTY OF SURREY,

THIS BOOK IS INSCRIBED,

IN

GRATITUDE FOR HIS STEADY

AND

PERSEVERING FRIENDSHIP,

BY

HIS MUCH OBLIGED

AND SINCERE FRIEND,

THOMAS JOHNES.

Hafod, Feb. 9. 1807.

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THE FIRST VOLUME.

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AN
ACCOUNT
OF THE
PERSON AND MEMOIRS OF THE LORD DE JOINVILLE.

From the first Volume of Les Memoires Historiques.

THE genealogy of the family of Joinville, which immediately follows, and which unites, with the eulogium of that honest seneschal, an abridgement of his life by Du Cange, renders it unnecessary for us to say much respecting his birth, his private history, and the epoch of his death. We shall only observe, that two academicians differ in opinion with Du Cange, as to the year in which the lord de Joinville was born.

M. de la Bastie fixes on the year 1228 or 1229 *, and M. l'Evêque de la Ravaliere on 1224 †, while Du Cange asserts that he was born in 1220.

It will be sufficient to say here, that Joinville was attached, from his youngest years, to the court of Thibaud, king of Navarre, and count of Champagne, and that he early acquired all the knowledge of that age, and shewed himself afterwards equal to his most enlightened contemporaries.

* Mem. de l'Acad. des Inscrip. tom. xv. pp. 696. 737.

† Idem. 4to edit.

His society being courted, on account of his family-connections and his personal qualities, he accompanied Louis IX. in all his expeditions, excepting that to Tunis, which he declined, from a foresight of its unfortunate termination. The familiarity with which Louis honoured him, gave him an opportunity of tracing the links of every event of his reign. The candour and simplicity of the recital which he has left us of these events afford strong proofs of his exactness. He does not extend his account of facts farther than what he personally witnessed.

We do not think the ingenuous narration of this loyal servant of St Louis can be read without emotion, when, having given his opinion in the council to remain in Palestine, contrary to that of the other members, he is fearful of having lost the affection of his virtuous master. We imagine ourselves present at one of those affecting scenes, when Henry IV. and Sully made up their quarrels.

These memoirs, which Joinville finished in 1309, and published after the death of Philip the fair, have always been highly esteemed by the public.

Although they include a space but of six years, they give us sufficient information respecting the military system of those days, and the principles of administration adopted by St Louis. They present to us a faithful picture of the customs and manners of our ancestors: they charm us by the affecting simplicity of style, which is one of its greatest merits; and if we wish to become acquainted with the noble mind of St Louis, it is in them displayed with the most exact truth.

Among the different editions of these memoirs, the two most approved of are the edition of Du Cange printed in 1668, and the one published by the late M. Capperonnier in 1761. Each of them makes one volume folio.

Whatever may be the merit of the edition of 1761, for which we are indebted to three men of letters*, we have thought it right to prefer the edition of Du Cange. The public opinion, as well as that of several learned friends, has determined us to make this choice†. It is not surprising that

* M. M. Saltier, Melot, and Capperonnier.

† Among others, M. de Fontette says in his *Supplement to the Bibliothèque Historique of Pere du Long*, tom iv. p. 388,

“The new edition of Joinville ought not to prevent our having recourse to that of M. du Cange, on account of the important observations which he has added to it.”

the edition of Du Cange has preserved its great reputation ; for that of 1761, notwithstanding the glossary which has been added to it, would not be intelligible for three-fourths of its readers, who, unless perfectly well versed in the old french language, would be fatigued and disgusted with it.

The remarks and dissertations with which Du Cange has enriched his edition, clear up a number of important facts contained in the memoirs of Joinville. They throw the greatest light on many points which are particularly connected with the customs of that period, with the institution of chivalry and its duties, and which forms a part of our national antiquities. Even the erudition which they contain, though unpleasant in its form, seemed to us too precious to be withheld from our subscribers.

We have come to this determination, first, on account of the difficulty, we had almost said the impossibility, of reading the text of the edition of 1761 ; and, secondly, on account of the necessity of preserving that of Du Cange, in order to add his remarks and observations, which cannot be detached from it. With regard to their erudition, which we have just mentioned, it must be remembered, that the object of this collection is to amuse and instruct. It will therefore be necessary to insert in it every thing that has a marked character of utility, that it may be referred to when wanted. This piece, besides, is of so singular a nature, that our collection will contain few that are like it.

We have divided the text of Joinville, and the remarks and dissertations of his learned commentator, in such wise, that the whole will form three volumes octavo ; and to render this edition as perfect as possible, we have compared that of Du Cange with the one of 1761 ; and those passages of the latter which Du Cange had rejected, will be placed at the end of the text as variations, should it be thought necessary.

We have done more : we have added to our edition extracts from arabian manuscripts, which speak of the historical events of the reign of St Louis. These extracts, drawn up by M. Cardonne, which we take from the edition of 1761, give details which are both instructive and pleasing to read. They confirm the truth of the narrations of the lord de Joinville. The result of our plan, by thus giving the memoirs of Joinville, will be the union of every historical proof, so as to make them perfect, and to cause the

✱

two folio editions of Du Cange and Capperonnier to become almost useless.

THE GENEALOGY OF THE HOUSE OF JOINVILLE IN CHAMPAGNE, WITH
AN EULOGIUM AND ABRIDGEMENT OF THE LIFE OF JOHN LORD DE
JOINVILLE, SENESCHAL OF CHAMPAGNE, THE AUTHOR OF THIS
HISTORY,—BY CHARLES DU FRESNE, SIEUR DU CANGE, &c.

AMONG the families who have held the highest rank at the court of the counts of Champagne, that of Joinville is one of the most illustrious. It was greatly distinguished there on account of the antiquity of its race and its noble connections. The great men who have descended from it are not less renowned in history by their valour than celebrated for the honours and great possessions which they held, as well in France as in the kingdoms of Naples and England. It takes its name of Joinville from a small town in Champagne, situated on the river Marne, between Chaumont and Saint Dizier, which, according to the opinion of a learned man of this age*, was formerly called Jovis Villa, or Jupiter's Town, and this is confirmed by old deeds; whether that, during the time of paganism, it was consecrated to that divinity, or that it derived the appellation from a temple having been there erected in honour of Jupiter. It is, however, more probable that the name of Jovis Villa was given to it from its connection with that of Joinville; for, in like manner, the chronicle of Bese†, speaking of Guy de Jonvelle, of whom mention is made in the history of the house of Vergy‡, surnames him lord of Jovis Villa, unless we ought to read, as I should suppose, Jonis Villa: but all these conjectures are more ingenious than probable, for it is certain that the house of Joinville takes its name from that of Joigny, Joingny or Joiny, as it was anciently written, from whence it sprung, as we shall now see in the following succinct genealogy of that family.

* Sirmond. ad Ep. Alexandri III. PP. To. 4. Spicil, p. 242, 243.

† Chr. Befuense, p. 669.

‡ Hist. de Vergy, p. 153.

I. Stephen, furnamed de Vaux, laid the foundation of the grandeur of the house of Joinville, which was greatly increased by the marriage which Engelbert, the third of the name, count de Brienne, procured for him with the countess of Joigny. She was the only daughter and heiress of Fromont count de Joigny and d'Adelais, who after the death of her husband married the count Engelbert, who had numbered Stephen among his retainers.

This illustrious alliance brought him the county of Joigny, and several lordships dependant on it. Albericus * observes, that he built the castle of Joinville, to which he gave this name as an abbreviation of Joigny-ville; calling it thus as being the town and castle of the county of Joigny; for this reason, the lords of Joinville are called in many latin deeds which I have seen, de Joingnivilla, or Joinvilla, as the word is thus expressed on the seal of John lord of Joinville affixed to deeds of the year 1256 †. Albericus adds, that when he married he fixed his residence near to Saint Urbain ‡. The arms which this family bears being similar to those of the house of Broyes in the same county, excepting the crest of Joinville, may lead us to suppose that those two families have the same origin, and that Stephen, the first lord of Joinville, was the younger brother of Ifambart, lord of Broyes and of Beaufort, and son of Renaud de Broyes and of Helvise.

Each of these families bore for arms a field azure with three Broyes or § (which some heralds suppose to be certain wooden instruments that are used for bruising and breaking hemp and lint), that of Joinville having, for distinction, a crest of a demi-lion gules on a field argent, which is no uncommon brisure, and a mark of a younger child: it is even probable that the lion in the arms of Joinville may be the armorial coat of the ancient counts of Joigny, and Stephen may have been furnamed de Vaux from having perhaps possessed the viscounty of Vaux, near Pithivers, a place which had belonged to the family of Broyes.

* Alb. 1055.

† Vetus Gen. Domus de Joinvilla.

‡ St Urbain is a town in Champagne, about a league from Joinville.

§ Segoin.

ISSUE OF STEPHEN LORD OF JOINVILLE.

GEOFFRY I. COUNT OF JOIGNY.

II. Geoffry, the first of the name count of Joigny and lord of Joinville, surnamed le Vieil, succeeded his father and mother in these lordships. With the consent of his son Geoffry, and Hodierne his wife, he made several donations to the church of Vaucouleurs, a dependance on the abbey of Molemes*, which were confirmed by Pibon bishop of Toul. By another deed, he gave an estate in land to this monastery, to enable the abbot to build an abbey in the same situation with Vaucouleurs. He made many more gifts to this abbey and its abbot Robert, with the approbation of his son. He is called, in these last deeds of gift, Gaufridus de Juncivilla†. He died the 25th January 1080. His wife named Blanche, in a charter of the abbey of Môtier en Der, was sister of Arnold canon of Verdun: by her, he had the following children.

ISSUE OF GEOFFRY I.

Guy I. count de Joigny, made a journey to the holy land, in the year 1096, and died without issue‡.

Renaud I. succeeded his brother, but died without posterity by Vindemode his wife.

Geoffry II. count of Joigny.

Hilduin de Joigny, lord of Nevilly, died in the flower of his age, and among other children left Gautier and Gutier de Joigny, who died without children, and Hefceline lady of Nevilly, married to Guy d'Aigremont, son of Fouques d'Aigremont, lord of Sarcelle, by whom she had Guerrie,

* Cartulary of Molemes.

† Marty. du Prieuré de Joigny.

‡ Necrol. Joviniac.

father to Gautier de Nevilly. This Guy d'Aigremont was twin-brother to Tesselin Jor de Fontaines, father to Saint Bernard abbot of Clervaux*.

Geoffry II. of the name, count of Joigny and lord of Joinville†, following the example of his father, made many donations to the abbey of Molemes, in conjunction with the countess Hodierna de Courtenay, his wife, which donations were confirmed by Ricuin bishop of Toul, who held that bishoprick from the year 1107 to 1126‡.

ISSUE OF GEOFFRY II.

Walfrid or Geoffry de Joinville is first named with his brothers, Renard and Roger, in a title of the abbey of Bouillencourt in the diocese of Troyes. It is probable he had no posterity.

Renard count of Joigny, from whom descended the other counts of Joigny of whom we will give an account hereafter.

Roger, lord of Joinville.

Hadwide de Joigny, lady of Aspremont, left a numerous issue.

Roger de Joigny had for his patrimony the lordship of Joinville, the surname of which he and his posterity have since born. He was present when Hugh count of Champagne made his donation to the church of Saint Oyen d'Ioux, in the town of Bar, 1001. He was also in the abbey of Molémes in 1104, with Erard I. count de Brienne, Hugh count de Rinfel, Miles count de Bar sur Seine, Hugh Borel duke of Burgundy, and William count de Nevers, when this count confirmed the donations which he had made to the monastery at the council held in Troyes§. He surrendered, in the year 1112, the village of Saint Remy, in which he had been infeofed by the count de Brienne, to Roger abbot of Môtier en Der, in presence of the said count and Miles count de Bar. He married Aldear de Vignorry, daughter of Guy lord of Vignorry and of Beatrice de Bourgoyne, daughter

* Alber. 1110.

† Idem. 1080. 1110.

‡ Cart. de Molémes.

§ Cart. de Molémes. To. 4. Spic. p. 242, 243. S. Ber. Gen. Assent. p. 509.

to Robert of France duke of Burgundy, by whom he had several children*.

ISSUE OF ROGER LORD OF JOINVILLE.

Geoffry III. lord of Joinville continued the posterity. Robert de Joinville gave his consent to the foundation of the monastery of St Urbain de Joinville, undertaken by his brother Geoffry in the year 1168. Guy de Joinville, bishop of Châlons, in the year 1163† is called uncle of Geoffry, the young lord of Joinville, in an epistle which the chapter of this church wrote to the king of France, Louis le Jeune‡.

Beatrice de Joinville was married to the count de Grand-pré, whom I believe to have been count Henry III. who was buried in the monastery of Foigny, according to Albericus.

N. de Joinville, abbeſs of Avenay. There is in the cartulary of Champagne, in the library of M. de Thou §, a letter from William aux Blanche-mains, archbishop of Rheims and cardinal, to Thibaud count de Champagne, his nephew, in which he excuses himself for having caused the aunt of Geoffry de Joinville to be elected abbeſs of that convent without his consent, plainly acknowledging that ſuch elections cannot be made without the consent of the count.

Geoffry III. of the name, lord of Joinville, was ſurnamed the Old, whether on account of his age, or to make a diſtinction between him and his ſon, who bore the ſame name. He was alſo called the Big, according to the teſtimony of Albericus||, and ſome deeds. He was a child in the year

* Alber. 1110.

† Alber. 1163.

‡ To. 4. Hiſt. Fr. p. 682.—Jo. Sarisb. Ep. 143.—Camusat aux Antiq. de Troyes, p. 379.

§ Cart. Camp. biblio. Th. f. 308.

|| Albericus was a monk, and lived in the abbey of Trois Fontaines, in the dioceſe of Châlons, about the middle of the 13th century. He has left a chronicle of the remarkable events that have happened ſince the creation to the year 1241, which Leibnitz had printed at Leipſic, in 4to, 1698.

Gibert, having diſcovered a more complete manuſcript in the french national library, was deſirous to publiſh it with notes; but this projeſt has hitherto remained unexecuted.—*Nouveau Diſt. Hiſt.*

1127 ; and having attained the age of maturity, signalized his courage in the wars of his time. His good qualities gained him the favour of Henry I. count of Champagne, who gave the office of seneschal of that province to him and to his heirs ; and in this quality his name is subscribed to some title-deeds in the year 1154. He had disputes with the abbot and monks of Montier en Der *, on the subject of some of his allodial lands in Doulevant, which he terminated amicably in the year 1184, and died about that time. He left behind him many marks of his piety, in the foundation of the monasteries of Escure, of the order of Cîteaux, which he established in 1144 ; of St Urbain de Joinville, of the order of Premonstré, founded in 1168 ; of the house of Mascon, of the order of Gramont ; of the priory of nuns of the order of St Benedict, called the Val Dofne, dependant on Molemes, which he founded in conjunction with his mother and his son Geoffry ; and of the church of St Laurence, in the castle of Joinville. He was married to Felicitas de Brienne, daughter of Award I. count de Brienne and Alix de Roucy. This lady was married in the year 1110 to Simon I. lord of Broyes †, and of Beaufort sur Baye, and was living with her second husband in the year 1168, when she gave her consent to the foundation of the abbey of St Urbain ‡.

ISSUE OF GEOFFRY III. LORD OF JOINVILLE BY FELICITAS DE BRIENNE.

Geoffry IV. of the name, lord of Joinville.

Gertrude de Joinville, married to Gerard II. lord of Vaudemont.

Geoffry IV. lord of Joinville, was surnamed Vassét, that is to say esquire, and the Young, which surnames he bore before he had received the order of knighthood, and during the life of his father, who was surnamed the Old. He succeeded him in the lordship of Joinville, and in the dignity of seneschal of Champagne, about the year 1184. He gave proofs of his courage in all the wars in which he was engaged, more especially in those of the holy land, whither he had gone, in company with the french lords. He was

* Cartul. de Monst. en Der.

† Hist. de Broves, c. 6.

‡ Alberic.

present at the siege of Acre, and had the reputation of being the best knight of the age; an eulogium which John lord of Joinville, his grandson, and author of this history gives him on the monument which he raised to him at Clervaux, where he was interred. He married a lady of the name of Helvidia, whom the reverend father, don Peter de Sainte Catherine, a feuillant monk, believes to have been of the family of Dampierre in Champagne, on account of the lands of Mailley and of Remignicourt, which she had for her portion, according to a title-deed of the abbey of St Urbain of the year 1188.

ISSUE OF GEOFFRY IV. LORD OF JOINVILLE, BY HELVIDIA DE DAMPIERRE.

Geoffry V. lord of Joinville.

Robert de Joinville put on the cross with his brother Geoffry, count Thibaud, and other lords of Champagne, in the year 1199. He afterwards accompanied Walter III. count de Brienne, in his expedition to la Puglia, to recover the kingdom of Sicily, which he pretended was his in right of his wife, daughter of king Tancred, and there ended his days without leaving any posterity*.

Simon de Joinville, lord of Joinville, succeeded after the decease of his brother Geoffry, but died without children†.

William de Joinville was first archdeacon of Châlons and professor of theology‡, then elected bishop of Langres, and at last promoted to the archbishoprick of Rheims§. He died in the year 1236, on his return from the war against the Albigeois.

* Alberic. 1201.

† Ditto, 1208, 1219.

‡ La Chron. de Flandres, p. 43.

§ To. 1. Bibl. Labb. p. 392. Philippe Moufkes X. Alberic. 1201. Menard.

Philip Moufkes was a contemporary with St Louis, and died bishop of Tournay 1283. He wrote a history of France in verse, of which only a fragment has been hitherto published, consisting of events from the year 1198 to 1242, at the end of Villehardouin by Du Cange.

Guy de Joinville, lord of Saily, is named lord of Joinville in several title deeds with his brother Simon, in the years 1210 and 1215. By the last deed he receives again in fief and liege homage, to Thibaud, count of Champagne, and with the consent of his brother, the village of Domines, which he had before held of him *. By another deed, of the month of August in the year 1221 †, he signs an act of acknowledgement to the same count, and to the countess Blanche, his mother, that he holds from them the castle and burgh of Juilly, on the terms of giving them his oath of fidelity, and of surrendering it to any force, great or small, whom they might send against it. The cartulary of Champagne, in the chamber of accounts, has a similar deed of the year 1206 ‡, wherein it is declared, that the burgh and dependencies of Juilly were held directly from Clerambeau de Chappes, his nephew §. He married Peronnelle de Chappes, lady of Juilly, and of Chanlot, daughter to Guy de Chappes, lord of Juilly, by a lady named Peronnelle, and had by her, among other children, Robert lord of Juilly, William lord of Juilly, Agnes de Juilly, lady of Dommartin, married to Ansel, lord of Dampierre in Estenois, and left widow in 1259. Peronnelle, lady of Château-commun, near Meaux, married to John Charin, knight, stiles herself, in a title-deed in the Tresor des Chartes, of the year 1274, sister to Philip de Juilly ¶.

Robert de Joinville, lord of Juilly, had for his wife Aufelix, named with her husband in a deed of John lord of Joinville, in the year 1256, from whom were born Guy and Simon de Juilly, knights: they are named in the summons issued by king Philip le Bel, in the month of April of the year 1303 **, to the nobility of Champagne, to assemble at Lagny, three weeks after Easter, to follow him to the war.

* Cart. de Champ. de M. de Thou, p. 121.

† Tref. des Chartes du Roi, Layette Champagne, iv. tit. 10. 11. Lib. princip. p. 86.

‡ Tref. de Chartres, Layette, dons et aumones, tit. 3. lib. princip.

§ Hist. de Vergy, p. 250.

¶ Tres des Chart. Layette Champ. vi. tit. 9. Champ. xi. tit. 85.

** M. Perard en son recueil de Bourg. p. 484.

Guy de Joinville is styled lord of Saily in a deed of the year 1300 *, of which I shall speak hereafter. He died probably without posterity, and was succeeded in his property by his brother. I know not, if it be this Guiot de Joinville, knight, whose moveable fiefs in the county of Burgundy were given by the emperor Adolphus in the year 1296, to Henry count de Bar, in addition to other fiefs which he held in the empire.

Simon de Joinville lord of Saily, to whom an author † gives for arms *gules chef argent*, and a bend with the arms of Joinville. He was twice married, first to Alix de Saiffe Fontaine, lady of Clermont, by whom he had John, Robert, Agnel, Jeannot, and Aufelix de Joinville or de Juilly. Simon espoused for his second wife a lady of the name of Mary, by whom he had Guy de Joinville lord of Clermont, Agnes, and Lore lady des Chanéts, who married in the year 1326 ‡ John de Jaucourt, called de Dinterville, lord of Polisy, bailiff of Châlons, Dijon, and of the lands ultra Saonne.

With regard to William de Joinville, youngest son of Guy, lord of Saily, he is regularly described as son of Guy de Saily in an ancient register || of fiefs. He is again mentioned in an old list of copy-holders in Champagne of the year 1270; and in a title-deed of 1276 §, under the name of William de Joinville lord of Julley. His wife is in that deed named Marie de Tanlay, whom some stile daughter of Robert de Courtenay lord of Tanlay. He had by her, as I believe, John lord of Juilly, who in 1312 ¶ transferred to Louis, king of Navarre and count of Champagne, two hundred livres of annual rents, arising from lands in Fonchieres, Savoye, Bierne and elsewhere. This transaction appears also from deeds of the year 1314.

* Tit. de la Chr. des Compt.

† Provincial MS. Invent. des tit. de Lorraine.

‡ Melanges Hist. de Camusat.

|| Cout. de Champ. art. 22. 36.

§ Rouer. in Reomao, p. 647. 649.

¶ Tref. des Chart. Layette Chartres i. tit. 38 E.

William de Juilly, knight, who was killed at the battle of Saint Omer in 1339, as is noticed in the accounts of Bartholomew du Drach*, treasurer of war to the king of France, was likewise the son of William and Mary de Tanlay.

Andrew de Joinville, a knight-templar, mentioned by Albericus.

Joland de Joinville, married Raoul count de Soissons. From this marriage sprung John count de Soissons, whom John lord of Joinville calls his cousin-german.

Alix de Joinville, married Geoffry de Faucoigny knight†, and had issue James de Faucoigny, or Fauquigny, knight, who was of the chivalry of Philip son to the king of France, at the feast of Pentecost in the year 1267, as I learn from a roll of the expenses of that ceremony, in which he is entitled nephew to the seneschal of Champagne. Father Peter of St Catherine imagines that this Alix was daughter to Robert de Saily, by his wife Aufelix.

Felicitas de Joinville espoused Peter de Bourlaimont, and was mother to Geoffry de Bourlaimont, named with her in a title-deed of 1237. Vassebourg and des Roziars give other daughters to Geoffry IV. one of whom, perhaps, may have been the wife of Oger de Dongeux, lord de la Fauche.

Geoffry V. lord of Joinville, surnamed Troullart, as we learn from his epitaph in the abbey of Clervaux, succeeded his father in the estates of Joinville and the seneschalship of Champagne, before the year 1197; which title he takes this year in a deed, wherein mention is also made of his brothers Robert and Simon. Thus it must have been he who assisted, with the other great officers and barons of Champagne, at the court and solemn assembly which Thibaud V. son of Henry count of Champagne, held in the town of Chartres 1199 to determine on§ the dower of his wife Blanche, daughter to the king of Navarre. This same year he put on the

* Compt. du Drach.

† Cartul. de l'Eveché de Langres.

Tit. de la Chambre des Comptes de Paris.

§ Villehard. n. 3.

cross with the count and other barons of Champagne, among whom were Robert de Joinville his brother, to undertake an expedition to the holy land*.

On the death of Thibaud, two years after, the croisading barons entreated Geoffry to accompany Matthew de Montmorency and Geoffry de Villehardouin, marshal of Champagne, to Eudes, duke of Burgundy, and offer him the command of the croisaders of Champagne in the place of their late count. The duke having refused this, the lord of Joinville and the two others were desired to wait on Thibaud count de Bar, and make him a similar offer.

The object of this expedition having been changed to that of Constantinople, and many of the croisaders having quitted the road to Venice for other routes that would carry them sooner to the holy land, there is reason to suppose that the lord de Joinville was of the number; for, besides that Villehardouin does not speak of him in his history of Constantinople, the epitaph at Clervaux sufficiently informs us that he went to Palestine, and there performed such gallant exploits as fixed his fame as a valiant knight. He ended his days without leaving any posterity†, for I have not observed that he was ever married. John lord of Joinville, his nephew, brought back his shield from Palestine when he went thither with Saint Louis; that is to say, he took it from the church wherein he had been buried, and where it was suspended over his tomb, and placed it in the church of Saint Laurence, within his castle of Joinville, to preserve the memory of so great a man, and to invite the faithful to pray to God in his behalf. The terms of the inscription at Clervaux are,—‘The shield of him whose prowess was so remarkable that king Richard of England did him the honour to permit him to quarter the arms of England with his own:’ from which we may draw this inference, that Geoffry accompanied his father to the siege of Acre, and that, on his having signalized himself there more than any of the other barons, king Richard, desirous of bearing testimony to his extraordinary valour, and of recompensing his merits, had gratified him with an honour that was both unusual and very rare at that

* Villehard. n. 20.

† Alberic. 1201.

period, permitting him to quarter the arms of England, which circumstance strongly marked the esteem which he had for this lord.

The cartulary of Champagne mentions two charters signed by him; one of the month of June 1199, by which he declares that none of his vassals may buy or receive in pledge any of the lands or vassals that in any way appertain to the countess Blanche. By the other, which is of the year 1201, he restores, at the entreaty of this countess, to Guy du Plessis, brother of Eustace de Conflans, cousin to Geoffry, five hundred livres, which count Thibaud had bequeathed to Eustace: in these deeds, he is styled Gaufridus de Joignivilla.

Simon lord of Joinville succeeded his brother Geoffry IV. in his estates and dignities before the year 1206. He had a dispute respecting the seneschalship of Champagne, with Blanche countess of Champagne, and her son Thibaud, on one hand, and with Simon, master of Joinville, who claimed that dignity as an hereditary right to him and his family, in consequence of the concession that had been made by Geoffry IV. his father*. But without prejudice to this claim, the countess Blanche, as guardian and tutor to her son, until he should be of the age of twenty-one years, received his liege homage, not only for the seneschalship of Champagne, but also for the lordship of Joinville, on condition, that if the young count, when of the proper age, was unwilling to agree to this investiture, the two parties should remain as they were before it took place, and might dispute the matters in any manner they should think proper. By a deed in the month of August 1214, Simon promises to assist count Thibaud against the daughters of count Henry, and against all other persons. Notwithstanding this treaty, the lord of Joinville was disturbed in the enjoyment of the seneschalship by the countess, which induced him to renounce his homage, and unite himself with her enemies: probably with the duke of Lorraine, who at that moment was at war with Champagne.

The chronicle of Vigeois mentions that he was in company with Thibaud when the duke slew his uncle, Macher, bishop of Toul. But when afterwards a peace was concluded between the countess and the duke,

* Cartul. de Champ.

a private treaty was made between the countess and the lord of Joinville, in order to secure his friendship *; for the words of the act are, 'pro bono pacis, et ut ipsum ad amorem nostrum reduceremus.' † They granted the seneschalship of Champagne to him, and to his heirs for ever, with a promise from count Thibaud to ratify this agreement as soon as he should be of a proper age; and to invest his eldest son Geoffry with this dignity, saving the right of his father Simon to enjoy it as long as he should live.

On these conditions, the lord of Joinville engaged to renew his homage to the countess and to her son, and to assist them against Erard de Brienne and his wife. For the better security of keeping these articles, he bound himself to place in their hands his fief of la Fouche as soon as he should be in the possession of it; to deliver to them his son Geoffry as an hostage, and to put his castle of Joinville into the hands of his brother, the bishop of Langres, agreeing that in case of any failure on his part, of the conditions of the treaty, without making suitable amends for any such failure, within forty days, the castle of Joinville should be surrendered to the countess and her son, or that of Vaucouleurs. This was concluded the Thursday after Whitsuntide, in the month of June 1218 ‡.

In consequence of this agreement, Simon did homage to the count of Champagne for the office of seneschal, and at the same time set out for the holy land, where, on his arrival, he was present among the french nobility at the siege which the king of Jerusalem, John de Brienne, was carrying on against Damietta, and at the capture of that place from the infidels ||.

The treaties which he had made with the countess and her son, did not last long, for the count, when of age, wanted to undo all that had been done by his mother and himself when a minor: in consequence of this, another transaction took place between them during the octave of Whitsuntide in the year 1224 §, in which Thibaud granted to the lord of

* Rich. Mon. in Chron. vol. c. 57.

† Cartul. de Champ. de M. de Thou, p. 60 et suiv

‡ Du Tillet. Menard.

|| Du Tillet.

§ Cartul. de Champ. de M. de Thou. f. 71, 72, 311.

Joinville, and to his heir, the seneschalship of Champagne *, without prejudice to the pretended right of the master of Joinville.

Simon was afterwards present, that same year, when the count and other barons of the country assembled to regulate among themselves the portions for the male children of the nobility †. He then, with the consent of his wife Beatrice, made a donation to the abbey of Molêmes ‡, of the grange and ox stalls at Vaucouleur, for the site of a chapel to be erected in honour of St Laurence.

In the year 1227, count Thibaud being again menaced by the barons of France, who had made war on him, under pretence of supporting the queen of Cyprus in her quarrel with the count of Champagne, but in reality because he had taken part with their king, Saint Louis, Simon flung himself into the town of Troyes at the request of the inhabitants, and exerted himself so effectually in his preparations, that the barons who intended attacking it were forced to give up their design, and pass by. He was likewise, in 1230 ||, with Matthew duke of Lorraine, in his war against the count de Bar, at which time his wife Beatrice gave him powers to hold the castle of Marnay from Hugh duke of Burgundy, which was her own property. This act is dated September in the same year §. It is also mentioned in some deeds of the abbey of St Remy of Rheims in the year 1232 ¶. He was dead before the year 1235 ; for in that year Beatrice styles herself his widow, and executrix of his will. He was twice married ; first to Ermengarde, lady of Moncler, in the diocese of Treves, about the year 1206, as he acknowledges in his letters of the month of June in that year, in which he declares that he grants, as her dower, one half of the lands he possessed as vassal to Blanche, countess of Champagne, who receives her as her vassal,

* L'an. Coût. de Champ. art. 1.

† Cartul. de Champ. de M. de Thou. f. 31. and 314

‡ Cart. de Molêmes.

|| Alberic. 1215, 1217, 1230.

§ M. Perard, p. 416.

¶ Menard, Tit. de l'abb de Bouillencourt.

at the entreaty of her husband, but without prejudice to his rights during his life. She was daughter to Wiric lord of Walcourt, who founded the abbey of Friestorff, in the diocese of Mets, in the year 1130, with Adalais his wife and children, that is to say, Arnold, Thierry, and five daughters*.

Arnold, lord of Walcourt, built the castle of Moncler, in the year 1180, and had for daughter and heiress Ermengarde the wife of Simon. She was living with him in the year 1218, as appears from some deeds of the month of July in that year, by which she renounces the dower her husband had settled on her, in consideration of his giving her the lordship of Vaucouleur, and of Montier sur Soat, mention is also made in this deed of her eldest son Geoffry, who at that time was fifteen years old.

Ermengarde died about this period, and Simon took for his second wife Beatrice†, daughter of Stephen count of Burgundy, and of Auxonne, by Beatrice, countess of Châlons, and sister to John count de Châlons, whom John lord of Joinville in his history calls uncle. It is on account of this alliance that he gives the same title to Jofferand II. lord of Brancion, although he was removed some degrees, and only his welfh uncle; for William I. count de Châlons, had two children, William II. and a daughter married to Jofferand I. lord of Brancion, father of Henry, from whom proceeded Jofferand II. William II. count de Châlons, was father to William III. count de Châlons, who was father to Beatrice, countess of Châlons, married to Stephen, count d'Auxonne; and from them sprung this Beatrice, who brought, as her portion, the lordship of Marnay, situated in the duchy of Burgundy‡, on which account Simon had a dispute with his brother-in-law, John count de Châlons, who yielded him the possession in consideration of his promise to assist him against all the world, except the count de Champagne, the duke of Lorraine, and the count de Luxembourg, as appears from an act made in the month of July 1325§. She survived her husband, leaving behind her several children by him. Count Stephen, her

* Brower. l. 14. Annal. Trevir. p. 813.

† Hist. de la Maison de Vergy, l. 2. c. 9.

‡ Reg. des fiefs de Bourgogne.

§ Le P. Chiffet en sa B.atrix, n. 91.

father, made her executrix of his will in the year 1240 : she herself died on the 20th day of April in the year 1260, and was buried in the chapter house of the abbey of la Charité, with this epitaph :

‘ Here lies the lady Beatrice, daughter to count Stephen, and lady of Marnay and Guyenville.’

ISSUE OF SIMON LORD OF JOINVILLE, BY ERMENGARDE HIS FIRST WIFE.

Geoffry de Joinville was the eldest son of Simon, by Ermengarde, his first wife, to whom he succeeded in the lordship of Moncler. He married Marie de Garlande, daughter of William de Garlande, the fifth of the name, lord of Livry, by Alix de Chastillon, at that time widow of Henry count de Grand-pré*.

Thibaud count de Champagne was present at the signing of the marriage-contract, and pledged himself to the countess of Grand-pré for the fulfilment of the articles of the dower, as appears from the deeds of Simon lord of Joinville of the year 1230. But this marriage was dissolved by the authority of the church, and by a definitive sentence of the archbishop of Rheims, as is expressly mentioned in the marriage-contract between John de Joinville, brother to Geoffry, and Alix, daughter to this same Marie de Garlande and Henry count de Grand-pré, her first husband, by which Simon lord of Joinville is bound to have the above sentence confirmed by his son Geoffry†.

This marriage has been erroneously supposed by some to have taken place between Geoffry, surnamed Trouillard, de Joinville, according to whom Marie was married a third time to Anseric III. lord of Montréal in the duchy of Burgundy. The register of the fiefs in Champagne‡ tells us, that Geoffry did liege homage to the count of Champagne for his part of

* Lib. prin. de la Chambre des Comptes à Paris.

† Du Chefne en l'hist. de Chast. l. 2. c. 12.—en l'hist. des Ducs de Bourg. c. 5.—en l'hist. de Dreux, l. 1. c. 1. p. 26.

‡ Feoda Campana, de la Chambre des Comptes, f. 113.

the succession of his father, for the dignity of seneschal when it should fall to him after his decease, and also for the lease from the count of Grand-pré, for the dower and portion of the countess his wife, by whom he had no children. After her death, which happened before that of her father, the castle and lordship of Moncler, by default of heirs, returned to the church of Treves, of which Theodoric II. was at that time archbishop*.

Isabella de Joinville married Simon lord of Clermont, with whom she was living in the year 1233.

Beatrice de Joinville was the wife of Wermont Vidame of Châlons.

ISSUE OF SIMON, LORD OF JOINVILLE, AND BEATRICE OF BURGUNDY.

John, lord of Joinville, continued the race†.

Geoffry de Joinville had for his fortune the estate of Vaucouleur, which his mother had enjoyed as her dower; on which account, in a deed of the year 1239, she takes the title of Lady of Vaucouleur.

John lord of Joinville mentions this brother in his history, and calls him his brother of Vaucouleur. There is a deed‡ of his in the treasury of the king's charters, dated 1250, in which he pledges himself for Catharine, duchess of Lorraine and her son Ferry, to Thibaud king of Navarre and count of Champagne, for the sum of three thousand livres. He consented also, in this same year, that his brother, Simon de Joinville, should possess the lands of Marnay. The register of the extraordinary sessions in Champagne§ informs us, that he had a dispute with the king of Navarre respecting a woman of servile condition. He married Maud de Lacy, daughter and heiress of Gilbert de Lacy, an english nobleman|| of the family of the earls of Lincoln, by Elizabeth Bigod. She brought him in marriage

* Brower. l. 15. Annal. Trevir. p. 88.

† Lib. princ

‡ Tref. des Char du Roy

§ Reg. des Grands Jours de Champ. 1288. f. 115. qui est en la Cham. de Comptes.

|| Monast. Anglicanum, To. 1. pp. 725. 863.

the lordships of Corvedale and Ludlow, and of Meath and Trim in Ireland; with others. There are deeds by him, which render it probable that he made his residence in England*, and likewise mention some donations which he made with his wife to the abbey of Dore†, in the county of Hereford. They are signed, among others, by John de Vaucouleur. We have reason to believe that he died before the year 1297‡, since his son Walter signed himself lord of Vaucouleur in that year.

It is not certain that he was the son of Geoffry by Maud de Lacy, for the english authors§, who mention the children proceeding from this marriage, do not name him, but only Geoffry de Joinville, knight, and Peter, his brother. Geoffry|| had several high and important employments at the court of Edward I. king of England, who in the year 1290 sent him on an embassy to pope Nicholas IV.; and in 1299 deputed him to go to France, and swear in his name to the observance of the peace that had been concluded between the two crowns at Montreuil sur Mer. He immediately afterwards employed him to treat for a marriage between him and Margaret of France, sister to king Philip le bel, and for that of his son, with Isabella, daughter to king Philip¶. He died without leaving any posterity, and was succeeded by his brother, Peter de Joinville, who married Jane, daughter to Hugh XII. count de la Marche and d'Angoulême, and Jane de Fougueres, with whom he is named in the testament of Hugh XIII. count de la Marche and brother to Jane.

Three daughters were the issue of this marriage, Jane, Maud and Beatrice de Joinville; the two last were nuns in the monastery of Acornbury in England**, and the eldest married Roger Mortimer, first earl of March,

* David Povelus in not. ad Silvest. Girald. 1. 2. c. 13.

† Monast. Ang. To. 1. p. 863.

‡ Odor. Rayn. hoc an. n. 12.

§ Tref. Angl. iv. tit. 18. 32.

|| Reg. de la Connest. de Bourdeaux en la Chambre des Comptes, p. 129.

¶ Monast. Angl. To. 1. p. 725. To. 2. p. 69.

** Th. Walsingham. A. 1322. p. 116.

who by this connection succeeded to all the possessions which the family of Joinville had held in England. I believe that Josselin de Joinville, who, for having joined the party of Thomas earl of Lancaster, was disgracefully put to death in the year 1322, was of this family, and perhaps the youngest son to Geoffry lord of Vaucouleur, and Maud de Lacy. Walsingham calls him Gosselinus de Invilla, instead of Juinvilla.

With regard to Walter, lord of Vaucouleur, eldest son to Geoffry, he is called nephew to John lord of Joinville, in a deed of the year 1300, the original of which is preserved in the castle of Polizy. He had, as I have observed, succeeded his father in these lordships before the year 1297, he must therefore be the lord of Vaucouleur, named with the other nobles of Champagne in the summons of king Philip le bel, of the 5th day of August 1303 *, commanding them to meet him at Arras. He went thither to serve the king in the war against the Flemings; and in the following year was slain in battle in Flanders, as William Guiart notices in these verses :

‘ A cele heure se des renja,
Dont ce fu pitié et doulour,
Le drois fires de Vaucouleur,
Qui n’ iert vilain ne bobancier,
Qui s’ alla emmi eus lancier
Sus la chaucie, et il l’occifrent.’

This lord of Vaucouleur left, at least, two sons, John lord of Vaucouleur, and another who was father to John de Joinville, styled cousin-german to Amé de Joinville lord of Mery, in a deed of the year 1364 †, and who served in the king’s armies in Brittany and Poitou with three esquires, under the command of the dukes of Anjou and of Berry, in the years 1374 and 1375.

* Reg. des Gr. Jours.

† Tref. des Chart. du Roy, Laiette Eaux et Forêts, tit. 40.

John de Joinville, lord of Vaucouleur, signed a treaty with king Philip de Valois, at Paris, on the 4th of October 1372*, in which the king expresses his desire to have the castle and lands of Vaucouleur for the defence and better security of his realm †; and John de Joinville accedes to this demand, by yielding up those lands in exchange for others which were given to him, namely, the town and castlewick of Mery sur Seine, with all justiciary and other rights; the Jurée ‡ of Villers in the provostwick of Vertus; the land tax of Lachy, with other effects, according to the valuation of commissioners §.

The king had acquired two years before the reversion of the lordship of Vaucouleur from Anceau de Joinville, in whom it rested, according to a partition made between the co-heirs; and the king in return had given him the fiefs of Possesse, of Charmont and its dependencies, which sir John de Gallande held from the king. The deeds of this exchange are dated the 25th January 1335, and in them he is stiled lord of Joinville and of Renel.

The historian of the bishops of Mets notices him, and says, that he sent his son Amé de Joinville to pay homage to Adhemar, bishop of Mets, in the month of September 1344 ||. He appears with the title of lord of Mery and of Lachy, in an account of landed property in Champagne in the year 1348 ¶. Amé de Joinville, his son, succeeded him in his title and estates before the year 1364. He was also lord of Souderon, four leagues distant from Châlons, and of Straelly; for the last he did homage to the bishop of Troyes in 1371. I have seen a deed dated the 2d July 1377, of

* Compte de Jacques Renart Trésorier des Guerres.

† Feoda Camp. f. 85.

‡ Droit de Jurée was a yearly duty paid in old time to the counts of Champagne by all their subjects, namely, sixpence in the pound upon all their moveables, and twopence upon their immoveables, yet might any one be quit for four shillings sterling a-year. At this day the king and other lords of jurisdiction receive in some places the like from their burgeses and free men.

Cotgrave in voc. Jurée.

§ Meurisse en l'hist. de Mets, p. 514.

|| Hist. des Evêques de Mets, p. 514.

¶ Hist. de C. P. l. 8. p. 11.

an agreement between the count de Vertus and this Amé, as well on his own account, as on that of John de Sarrebruche, knight, whom he supports, in which he declares he pays faith and homage to the count de Vertus for Souderon, Bergieres, la Viezville, le Mefnil, Courtemblon, Souilleres, near Oify, Estrichy, adjoining to Villeneuve, Grouges, Raingneville, Luchy, Rouffy, and for the vassals, subjects and appurtenances that formerly belonged to the domain, and were under the jurisdiction of Vertus, and given in exchange for Vaucouleur. This deed likewise declared that these places, as well as the town of Villeceneur, were dependencies as *arriere fiefs* of the bailiwick of the count de Vertus, whether with or without *assize*, and without appeal to the provostship.

This John de Sarrebruche, lord of Commercy, was at that time married to Isabella de Joinville, sole daughter and heiress to Amé, who after the decease of her husband, united herself in marriage with Charles lord of Chastillon, grand master of waters and forests in France*. A provincial herald, at the end of Du Moulin's history of Normandy, gives, for arms to the lords of Vaucouleur, the arms of Joinville, the *chef ermines* and the *lion couronné or*.

Simon de Joinville, lord of Gex, had for his fortune the estate of Marnay, which his mother Beatrice† gave up to him with the consent of the lord de Joinville and the lord de Vaucouleur his brothers. He did homage for it‡ to John count de Bourgogne, lord of Salins, his uncle, in the month of December 1255. In consequence of his marriage with Beatrice, surnamed Lionette, daughter and heiress to Amé de Geneve, who styled himself also lord of Gex, and Beatrice de Baugé his first wife, he became lord of Gex. Both of them did homage to the bishop of Geneva for the market-place of Gex, which they acknowledged to hold from him, as a fief, by deeds dated the 22d of April, 1261§.

* Hist. de Chast. p. 575.

† P. Chiflet en sa Beatrix, p. 114.

‡ Bibl. Sebus. Cent. 1. cap. 33. 38.—Cent. 2. cap. 25.

§ Preuves de l'hist. de Savoye, p. 74.

Simon was present, in the year 1273, at the treaty of marriage between Gaston, viscount of Béarn, and Beatrice of Savoy*, daughter to Peter count de Savoye. His wife was living until the year 1299, at which time a deed seems to mention her as a widow; which circumstance makes me doubtful of his second marriage, as it is said, with Leonora de Foucigny, from whom there was no issue.

Besides, others† give this Leonora to Hugh de Joinville, lord of Gex, son to Simon, who had two children, Hugh, and Peter lord of Marnay, of whom we shall say more hereafter. True it is, that Hugh was father to Peter de Joinville, lord of Gex, deceased without posterity,—to William his brother, who succeeded him in this lordship,—to Agnes, wife of Francis lord of Sassenage,—to Beatrice, married to Odon Alaman, lord of Champs in Dauphiny, whom some authors mention as children to Simon.

William de Joinville, lord of Gex, paid a similar homage to that of his father or grandfather on the Monday before the feast of St Michael, 1314. In the year 1324, he took part with Hugh Daufin, baron of Foucigny, and Amé III. count of Geneva, in the war in which these two lords were engaged against Edward count de Savoye‡, and was at the battle of Mont du Mortier, where they were defeated. He married Jane of Savoy, daughter to Louis de Savoye, baron de Vaud, and Jane de Montfort, by whom he had Hugard lord of Gex, deceased without children in the year 1338; Hugh lord of Gex succeeded after his brother's death; Margaret de Joinville married, in 1325, to William lord of Montbel and of Entremont le Neuf; Eleonora de Joinville, wife to Hugh de Geneve, baron d'Anthon; and N. de Joinville, lady of Aubonne, wife to Humbert Alaman, lord of Aubonne and of Copet.

Hugh de Joinville, lord of Gex, was made a knight by Aymon count de Savoye§, who likewise gave him one hundred livres yearly in addition to his fief, by deed of the 28th of January 1343. M. de Guichenon gives

* Hist. gener. de Savoye, p. 287, 288.

† Paradin en l'hist. de Savoye, l. 2. p. 102.

‡ Hist. gener. de Savoye.

§ Idem, p. 393.

him the name of Hugard, the same as that of his elder brother. He did homage liege to king Philip de Valois, in the year 1339, for three hundred livres yearly on the treasury*; from which homage he excepted the dauphin of Vienne, the count de Savoye, the lord of Arlay, the bishop of Genève, and the abbot of Saint Oyen d'Ioux. He was that year and the two following† in the armies which the king of France led against the earl of Flanders, accompanied by two knights-bachelor, and forty-eight esquires, all his vassals‡. William Paradin§ says, in his history of Savoy, that having received some affront from the dauphin of Vienne, he renounced his allegiance, and made himself vassal and liege man to Aymon count de Savoye, for his lordship of Gex; but that when on his death-bed he repented of this, and made a donation of the lordship of Gex to his brother-in-law, Hugh de Geneve, whom he appointed his heir, on condition of doing homage to the dauphin of Vienne. Hugh having complied with this requisition, the count Amé de Savoye, surnamed the Green, successor to Aymon, took the opportunity of entering the country of Gex with a large army||, and made himself master of it in the year 1353, in default of homage on the part of Hugh.

M. de Guichenon gives another reason for this invasion. Whatever may have been the true one, this country remained in the possession of the counts of Savoy, until, by a treaty concluded at Lyons in 1601¶, it, together with the lordship of Bresse, was exchanged with France for the marquisate of Saluces.

Peter de Joinville, lord of Marnay, youngest son to Simon lord of Gex, was guardian to his nephew William lord of Gex, and bore for some time the title of lord of Gex. He was father to Beraud de Joinville, lord of

* Tresor. des Chart. du Roi.—Layette hommages, iii. tit. 27.

† Du Tillet.

‡ Compte de Barth. du Drach, Tresor. de Guerres, f. 167.

§ En l'hist. de Savoye, l. 2. c. 134. 148.

|| Hist. de Ducs de Bourgogne, aux preuves, p. 52.

¶ Hist. de Savoye, pp. 407. 427.

Marnay, and Divonna, who had issue by Aymée de Coligny his wife *, Amé de Joinville, lord of Divonna, who married the daughter of the viscount de Courtramblay, and had by her Amé de Joinville lord of Divonna, married to Catherine Bernier, and left three children, namely, Louis de Joinville, lord of Divonna, Amblard de Joinville, canon of Lyons, and N. de Joinville, mother to Mary de Gingin, who was married in the year 1412 to Aymon de Coucy, lord of Geniffia.

William de Joinville, archdeacon of Salins, and dean of Befançon, was nominated by Agnes de Foucigny, countess of Savoy, by marriage with Peter count of Savoy, in conjunction with his brother Simon, lord of Gex, executors of her last will, dated in August 1268 †.

Simonetta and Mary, one of whom was married to Guignes dauphin of Vienne, before the year 1252, as appears from a letter of Simon lord of Gex, in which he says, that the dauphin of Vienne had espoused his sister. Father don Peter de Sainte Catherine imagines that one of these daughters married the lord de Tressègnies constable of France, whom the lord de Joinville in his history calls brother.

John lord of Joinville, and seneschal of Champagne, eldest son to Simon lord of Joinville, by Beatrice of Burgundy, his second wife, was betrothed during the life of his parents to Alicia, daughter of Henry count de Grand Pré, by Marie de Garlande. The articles of marriage were agreed to in the month of June 1231, in the presence of Thibaud count of Champagne, the principal conditions of which were, that the countess and her son Henry should give, in consideration of this alliance, three hundred livres, paris money yearly, in land, and that in return Alicia should renounce all claim to the succession of her father and mother.

It was likewise stipulated, that Simon, lord of Joinville, father to John, should so manage that Geoffry de Joinville, his son, should approve of and ratify the sentence of separation which the archbishop of Rheims had pronounced between him and the countess of Grand-pré; from which we

* Hist. de la Maison de Coligny.

† M. Guichenon en l'hist. de Savoye, p. 187.

may conjecture, that this marriage was concluded to appease the quarrel which this divorce had caused between the two families.

The articles were only signed by the counts of Grand-pré, in the absence of her son; but the count of Champagne pledged himself for his duly executing them. This was not, however, so soon accomplished, nor was the marriage completed until after the year 1239; at which period, John lord of Joinville having succeeded his father in his estates, and in the seneschalship of Champagne, was unmarried; for in this year he promised count Thibaud, king of Navarre, not to ally himself with the count de Bar, nor take his daughter to wife. Beatrice, mother to John, made the count a similar promise for her son.

His marriage with Alicia must have taken place instantly afterward; for in a deed of the year 1240, the lady of Joinville is styled sister to Henry count de Grand-pré. It had probably been deferred until then, on account of the youth of the lord de Joinville, who thus speaks of himself; ‘that when the treaty between the king, Saint Louis, and the count de la Marche, was concluded, he had not then put on his helmet;’ that is to say, he had not then borne arms, nor received the order of knighthood; and that when he put on the cross to march to the holy land with his king, he was then very young.

That was the first occasion he made use of to display his valour, and shew to all the world that he was no way degenerated in courage and virtue from his ancestors. The crusade had been proclaimed throughout France, and St Louis, his queen and children, with the brothers to the king, and the principal barons of the realm, had already put on their armour, and covered their shoulders with the mark of our redemption, to recover the holy land from the hands of the infidels, and to carry the war into their country.

John lord of Joinville following the examples of his ancestors, who had signalized themselves in these illustrious conquests, took the cross, and determined to accompany the king. But as this enterprise was attended with danger, and would probably be of long duration, he wished, before he set out to make a settlement of his affairs, and leave every one satisfied with his conduct, so that he might be in the proper disposition to deserve the

fruits and pardons which these croifaders merited, through the conceffions of the fovereign pontiff. Having affembled his friends and neighbours, he gave them to underftand, that if any one had the fmalleft fubject of complaint againft him, or if he had wronged him in the flighteft manner, he was ready to make him all the fatisfaction that could be wifhed for.

On the other hand, as his mother, Beatrice, was ftill living, and enjoyed the greater part of his fortune as her dower, he found himfelf obliged to mortgage the principal part of the remainder of his lands, to fupply the expenfes of his equipment for fo long a voyage and of fo confiderable an enterprife, fo that there fcarcely remained to him twelve hundred livres of yearly rent in land.

He fet out from his caftle of Joinville after the Eafter of 1248, accompanied by ten knights, whom he kept in his pay; among whom were three bannerets, namely, Hugh de Landricourt, Hugh de Til-châtel, lord of Conflans, and Peter de Pontmolain. He journeyed in company with John lord of Afpremont, Gofbert d'Aspremont and his brothers, who were his coufins, and the count de Sarrebruche, all of whom had in like manner put on the crofs. They embarked at Marfeilles and failed to Cyprus, where they found the king of France who had arrived there a fhort time before them. It was there the lord de Joinville firft entered into the fervice and pay of this great king, whofe good graces and affection he fo much gained that this prince would have him always near his perfon, employing him in the moft important negotiations, and confidering him as one of his confidential and faithful counfellors. From the day he entered into the fervice of the king, in the ifland of Cyprus, he fcarcely ever quitted him until his death, and was always attendant on him for the fpace of twenty-two years.

This would be the place to relate his adventures, his combats, and his travels; how he landed in Egypt, and was attacked by the Saracens, how he repulfed them; how he was wounded, and then caught the epidemical diforder of the army; how he was made prifoner by the enemy, faved and delivered from their hands; how he accompanied the king to Acre, who again retained him and his knights in his pay: in fhort, after having been abfent on thefe expeditions, the fpace of feven years, he:

returned to France with the king. But as this narration would be of considerable length, and as he himself has written the history, I pass it over, and shall only mention some others of his principal actions. On his return to France, he took leave of the king at Beaucaire, whence, having visited the dauphiness of Vienne his relation, the count de Châlons his uncle, and the count de Bourgogne his cousin-german, he arrived at his castle of Joinville. After residing there some time, he went to Soissons to meet the king, who received him with so much kindness and friendship that the whole court was surprised, and became jealous of him. It was about this time that Thibaud II. king of Navarre and count of Champagne, employed him to request of the king his daughter Isabella; and this negotiation he managed with so much address and prudence that, in spite of great difficulties, the marriage was concluded, and celebrated at Melun with royal magnificence, in the year 1255.

This service, in addition to others, gained him the affections of the king of Navarre, who presented him with many gifts, among which was the donation to him and his heirs, dated January 1258, of all the rights and royalties of the village of Germay, as an augmentation of fief, on condition of paying homage liege. In the following year * he subscribed the testament of Ebles de Geneva, son to Humbert count of Geneva, in which however, he adds no title to his name, which may cause a doubt whether this John de Joinville, or de Genville, as he is called, be our sénéchal.

He was, afterward, almost constantly at the court of the king of Navarre, his lord, and accompanied him in the year 1267 †, when this prince did homage to the bishop of Langres for the towns of Bar sur Aube, Bar sur Seine, and some others, which he held under the church, in presence of William lord de Grancey, Renier Vitardore, and Eustache de Conflans, marshals of Champagne, and other lords of that country.

The king, Saint Louis, having convoked at Paris all his barons, on the subject of a new croisade, summoned thither the lord de Joinville, at that time suffering under a quartan ague. On his arrival, the king, and

* Preuves de l'hist. de Savoye, p. 74.

† Preuves de l'hist. de Bar, p. 36.

Thibaud, king of Navarre, pressed him to put on the cross, and undertake, with them, an expedition to Africa ; but he excused himself on the plea, of the poverty and distress of his subjects and vassals, who had been harshly treated by the exactions made on them by the king of France's officers during his former expedition. He acted some time afterward as president in the extraordinary assemblies and assizes held at Troyes *, as the person best qualified, in the year 1271. During the journey which was made to Arragon in 1283, by king Philip the hardy, who had the wardship of Jane queen of Navarre, and countess of Champagne, sole daughter to king Henry † : he was appointed by him governor and guardian of that country. He was present likewise at the assizes of Champagne in the years 1291 and 1296 ‡. I know nothing of his other actions, nor have I read any deeds wherein he is mentioned, until the year 1303 §, when he is named with John de Joinville lord of Ancerville, Anseau de Joinville, and other great barons of France and Champagne, in the summons of Philip the fair to meet him at Arras the 5th of August, and attend him in his war against Flanders.

He was also one of the lords and barons of Champagne, who formed a league, in the month of November 1314, against this same king, on account of a subsidy which he had undertaken to raise from the nobles of his realm ||. This dispute was settled the ensuing year by the king, Louis Hutin, who, by his letters, dated from the Bois de Vincennes, the 17th day of May 1315, appointed commissioners to inquire into their privileges. The king immediately after issued a summons for the nobles of his realm to assemble at Arras in the month of August, to assist him in his war against the Flemings ¶ ; but the lord de Joinville was ordered, by a private letter from the king, to be at Authie by the middle of June. This was, however, too

* Vieux Coût. de Champ. art. 23..

† Ibid. art. 13.

‡ Affis. de Champ.

§ 35. and 36. Reg. du Tres.

|| Preuves de l'hist. de Vergy, p. 231..

¶ Chron. de Flandres.

short notice for him to make his preparations, and he wrote to the king his excuses, alleging the impossibility of being at the appointed place by the time fixed, and promising, at the same time, to join the army as speedily as he could *. In effect, I have noticed, in the list of those men at arms who were in the company of my lord the count of Potiers†, and received at Arras and elsewhere, by his two marshals, M. Regnaut de Lor, and the Borgne de Ceris, that he was among the number, with one knight and six esquires.

The original of the letter which he wrote to the king on the subject of this summons having been communicated to me by M. Vyon d'Herouval, auditor of accounts, and well known among the learned, I have thought I should oblige my reader by the insertion of a copy of it, as well because it contains some remarkable singularities, as it clearly shews how much the history we have of the lord de Joinville has been altered in its idiom. This may also be inferred from what La Croix du Maine says in his library of french writers, who declares that he has in his possession this history written in the old language.

The direction of the letter is in the following words :

‘ To his well-beloved lord, the king of France and Navarre.’ The letter runs thus :

‘ To his good lord, Louis, by the grace of God, king of France and Navarre, John lord of Joinville, seneschal of Champagne, sends health and his willing service. Dear sire, it is indeed true, as you inform me, that it has been reported you had made up matters with the Flemings; and, as we believed it, sire, we have not made any preparations to obey your summons, which you sent me, sire, acquainting me that you should be at Arras to redress the wrongs the Flemings have done you; and in this I think you act well, and may God give you his assistance! And as you have ordered me and my people to be at Authie by the middle of June, sire, I inform you, that that cannot well be done; for your letters only arrived the second Sunday in June, eight days before we ought to have been at the rendezvous.

* Reg. appartenant à M. de Vyon d'Herouval.

† Rouleau de la Chamb. des Comptes à Paris.

My people shall be got ready as soon as possible, to go whithersoever you please. Sire, do not be displeased, that at the beginning of this letter I have only called you my good lord; for I have never done otherwise to my lords your ancestors and predecessors in the government, whose souls may God pardon! Written the second Sunday of June, the same day that your letter was brought me in the year 1315.'

This letter was folded, and sealed with a seal of yellow wax, of the size of a large golden crown, having an impression of a knight armed with his sword and shield, and the coat of arms and housing of his horse blazoned with the arms of Joinville: around it, instead of an inscription, was a border of flowers de luce, similar to that which is on the coins of St Louis. The lord de Joinville must have been ninety or ninety-two years old in this year of 1315; for since his marriage was arranged in 1231, and consummated in 1240, he could not then have been younger than twenty years. A late author assures us, that he lived upwards of one hundred years*; and in a title-deed† of the abbey of St Urbain, near Joinville, dated on the morrow of Easter in the year 13 . . ., by which he grants to Robert, the abbot, and to the monks of that monastery, certain fields and woods, he says, that he had been engaged so long in the country of the infidels, where he had remained seven years with the king, Saint Louis, and in other parts; for which God, out of his mercy, had preserved his body and mind in greater health and vigour to a longer period of time than had been allotted to any of his predecessors.

Although I have never seen any deed that marks precisely the time of his death, it must have been about the year 1318; for in that year his son Anceau was in possession of the estate of Joinville, and of the office of seneschal of Champagne, as we shall see hereafter. I have heard a tradition at Joinville, that this lord was of an extraordinary stature and strength of body, and that his head was of an enormous size, as large again as that of any of his contemporaries, and that it may now be seen at Joinville with one of his thigh bones. This agrees with what he writes himself of his

* Edmond de Boullay, au traité de l'enterrement du duc de Guise, p. 172.

† Tres. des Chart. du Roi, Layette Obligations, 2. tit. 35.

constitution and habit of body, saying that he had ‘ la tête grosse, et une froide fourcelle,’ meaning a cold stomach; for which cause, his physicians had ordered him to drink his wine pure, and to warm it. With regard to the qualities of his mind, it will be sufficient to say, that the great king, Saint Louis, appointed him one of his principal counsellors and ministers of state; besides, he says of himself that he had a subtle wit.

It is difficult to determine the precise time when he composed his history; for if we consider the terms and expressions of the preliminary epistle, which is addressed to Louis Hutin, king of France and Navarre, and count of Champagne, it must have been after the death of Philip the fair, and about the year 1315, since Louis only took the title of king of France after the death of his father in 1314, having been crowned king of Navarre in 1307. On the other hand, what he says in this epistle, that having undertaken to make a collection of facts, and of the most memorable sayings of the king, St Louis, at the entreaty, and by the command of the defunct queen, wife to that king, he could not dedicate it to any other than to his eldest son, who had succeeded him to the crown, may make us suspect the fidelity of the dedication, and so much the more, because Louis Hutin did not immediately succeed to St Louis, nor was his mother wife to that king. We may therefore suppose that the first publisher of this history changed the words of the dedication, and inserted Louis in the place of Philip.

But if the lord of Joinville means this last, in the words I have copied, other difficulties assail us; for, besides that Philip the bold was not king of Navarre, he declares, that he undertook this history at the prayer of the defunct queen, mother of the king to whom he dedicates it. Now the queen, Margaret of Provence, widow of St Louis, died after her son Philip the bold; and the king, to whom the dedication is addressed, must have survived his mother. If he mean Philip the fair, it is clear he was not the son, nor his mother the wife of St Louis. I shall not, however, have much difficulty to persuade myself there was no error in the dedication, and that instead of Louis, we must restore Philip; first, because he formerly mentions, in several passages of his history, that he had composed it under his reign; for, in one part, when speaking of St Louis, he uses these words: ‘ The good king called to him my lords, Philip, father to the king now on the throne, and also king Thibaud his son;’ that is to say, Philip the bold, son

to St Louis, and father to Philip the fair. Elsewhere he says, ‘ and this puts me in mind of what I had once said to the good lord, father to our present king, when conversing on the pomp and expense of dresses, and of the embroidered coats of arms which are now in fashion with the army, that during the whole time I was beyond sea in the army with his father, I never once saw an embroidered coat or saddle, either belonging to the king, or to any one else.’

This I explain, in like manner, to mean Philip the fair, without hesitating to believe that he uses the term father for grandfather. Besides, it is certain, that the lord of Joinville not only finished his history after the canonisation of St Louis, which took place in 1298, but after the year 1305, since he notices the death of Guy de Dampierre, earl of Flanders, which happened at Compiègne in that year. The remaining difficulty would be in respect to what he says of the queen, at whose entreaty he wrote the life and actions of St Louis, which can only be solved by supposing, that he has used the term of mother for that of grandmother. All these contradictions might have been cleared up, if we could have seen the manuscripts from which Antoine Pierre de Rieux and Claude Menart had formed their editions of the history of the lord de Joinville. That of Poitiers, having had the language of the author altered, according to the avowal of the editor in his preface, I suppose was similar to the one in the possession of La Croix du Maine. But I shall leave all these circumstances to the discussion of more intelligent persons, to finish what I have yet to examine in the life of this nobleman, and speak of his two wives. The first, as I have noticed, Alix de Grand-pré, by whom he had two children, when, in the year 1248, he accompanied the king, Saint Louis, to the holy land, as he mentions himself, one of whom was John de Joinville lord of Ancerville. His second wife was Alix de Risnel, daughter and heiress to Walter lord of Risnel, with whom he was living in 1262 when the father of the lady died: she herself followed him in the year 1288.

ISSUE OF JOHN LORD OF JOINVILLE, BY ALIX DE GRAND-PRÉ, HIS FIRST WIFE.

N. de Joinville. The lord de Joinville mentions this his son, but without naming him, when he says, that at the time he went on the

expedition to the holy land, he had two children, the youngest of whom was lord of Ancerville, it being, however, uncertain, if it were not a girl, or the lord of Brequenay.

John de Joinville, born on the eve of Easter-day 1248. His father gave him for his portion the estate and lordship of Ancerville, one league from St Difier, which he had received as a gift from John, first of the name, lord of St Difier and Vignorry*. He is named in the summons which king Philip the fair issued from Lorris in the month of April 1303, for the nobles of Champagne to meet him three weeks after Easter at Lagny, on account of the war, with John lord of Joinville, his father, and Rive Anseau de Joinville. I have learnt nothing of his alliances or posterity; for it is improbable that he was the founder of the branch of Joinville that established itself in the kingdom of Naples, which we will notice at the end of this genealogy, since either he himself, or son, must have succeeded to the estate of Joinville, to the exclusion of Ancel, youngest son to John lord of Joinville, which makes me believe that he died without children. I only find that Isabella de Lorraine, daughter to Frederick III. duke of Lorraine, styles herself lady of Ancerville, and aunt to the duke of Lorraine, in a deed of the year 1348 †, at which time she was in the possession of the lands and lordships of Larzicourt, Nogent l'Artaut, and of Seant en Othe, which had belonged to the earl of Lancaster, and had been re-united to the king's domain, who for certain causes had given them to this lady during her life. She died the 20th May 1355.

Geoffry de Joinville, lord of Brequenay, is styled son to the lord of Joinville, in a deed of the year 1273, wherein his wife is called Mabile, lady of Nanteuil ‡, and sister to William de Lifignes, of the family of Villehardouin. She was widow of Erart I. lord of Nanteuil. Each of them did homage for the estate of Flori to Imbert de Beaujeu, constable of France, in the year 1280 ||. It is not, however, certain if it be this Geoffry

* Hist. de Chastillon, p. 552.

† Compte de terre de Champagne de l'an 1348, en la Chambre des Comptes.

‡ Tabular. autiffioder.

|| Hist. de Chastillon.

de Joinville, knight-banneret, who is named among the knights of Champagne that accompanied king Philip the bold to the siege of Pamiers in the year 1271 *, when he made war on the count de Foix ; or whether he be Geoffry de Joinville, lord of Vaucouleur, who lived at that period. Whoever he be, he died without issue posterior to the year 1294 †.

Andrew de Joinville, lord of Bonnay, who is mentioned in an arrêt of the year 1235, died unmarried.

N. de Joinville, wife of John lord of Charny.

ISSUE OF JOHN LORD OF JOINVILLE, BY ALIX DE RISNEL HIS SECOND WIFE.

John de Joinville, lord of Risnel, made an agreement with his father, in the year 1288 ‡, respecting the lands of Risnel, which had fallen to him by the death of his mother, and respecting the rents which his father gave up to him. He died without posterity posterior to the year 1300, and before his father.

Ancel, lord of Joinville, continued the posterity.

Alix de Joinville (who, some say, was the issue of the first marriage of John) was given in marriage by her father, the lord of Joinville, to John lord of Arcées (or d'Arcie sur Aube) and of Chacenay, knight, by a treaty concluded at Joinville § the day of the feast of the invention of the cross, in the year 1300. By this treaty, John lord of Joinville, with the consent of John de Joinville, lord of Ancerville, and of Ancel de Joinville, lord of Remancourt, or of Ternancourt, his children, gives to his daughter, in consideration of this marriage, three hundred livres of annual rent, charged on the lands of Traves and of Gerfeins, according to the assessments that should be made by Walter de Joinville, lord of Vaucouleur, and Guy de

* Hist. de Bethune, p. 187.

† To. 5. hist. Franc. p. 550.

‡ Reg. des Gr. Jours de Champ. de l'an 1288. f. 114. en la Chambre des Comptes.

§ Original, preserved in the castle of Polisy.

Joinville, lord of Sully, together with the sum of three thousand livres tournois.

This lord died before the year 1307, at which time Alix de Joinville styled herself widow, and in that capacity did homage to the bishop of Langres for the lands of Chacenay, in the year 1316*. In the enrolment of this act, she calls herself Lady of Beaufort, because she was then remarried to Henry of England, surnamed of Lancaster, lord of Beaufort and Nogent, son to Edmund of England, duke of Lancaster, and Blanche d'Artois, which marriage is noticed in an arrêt of the year 1327. John d'Arcées was brother to Erard d'Arcées, knight, who did homage for these same lands of Chacenay to the bishop, in the year 1283.

Ancel, or Anceau, lord of Joinville, was son to John lord of Joinville, by Alix de Rignel, his second wife, and had first for his portion the lands of Remancourt, or Ternancourt: he then succeeded his elder brother, John de Joinville, by this marriage, in the lordship of Rignel, which he was in possession of in the year 1304.

Louis Hutin, king of Navarre and afterward of France, employed him in the country of Champagne, near to Bassigny, in conjunction with Simon de Meno and John des Barres, knights, and made him one of the executors of his last will. After the death of his father, he succeeded to the lordship of Joinville and to the office of seneschal of Champagne, his elder brothers by the first and second marriage being declared without posterity.

He took both these titles from the year 1317†, when king Philip the fair chose him, with other lords, to be arbitrators in a difference he had with the duke of Burgundy, in the year 1318. A roll in the chamber of accounts at Paris includes him among the men at arms whom the king sent to the frontiers of Flanders, under the command of the count d'Evreux, and he was accompanied by eight knights and thirty-one esquires. In another roll without a date, he is named among the knights-bannerets who were of the Mefnage; that is to say, of the household, and among the attendants of Charles count de Poitiers, afterward king of France, of whom the same

* Reg. des fiefs de Langres, f. 70.

† M. Guichenon hist. de Savoye, p. 736.

count d'Evreux was the principal, and he had in his company four knights bachelor.

King Philip le long appointed him, with several other lords, one of the executors of his will, dated the 26th day of August 1321. In the year 1323, when the marriage of Henry IV. count of Bar*, with the eldest daughter of John king of Bohemia, was agreed to, he was one of the sureties for the count of Bar† duly performing the articles of the contract, with Philip count of Mans, and Matthew de Trie, marshal of France; as he was likewise at the sentence passed by king Charles the fair, in the dispute between this king and the count by a deed of the 28th of May.

In the year 1325, he was one of the sureties of Robert de Bourgogne‡, count of Tonnerre, when he was made prisoner by Guignes VI. dauphin of the Viennois§. This same year he surrendered, by a deed signed at Paris in November to king Charles, four hundred livres of annual rent paid by the towns of Chantemerle and Borbonne, which king Louis Hutin had given him for his life||.

I cannot find any thing relative to him from this period until the year 1335, when king Philip de Valois commissioned him, with the count d'Eu, constable, and the lord de Briquebec, marshal of France¶, to receive the men at arms that were to accompany him in his expedition to the holy land. This proves he was in great credit, and of the highest rank at court, which is also confirmed the ensuing year by the king having named him to assist at the treaty of alliance which was concluded at Paris between him and Ferdinand, king of Castille, by Ferdinand Sanchez, a castilian knight, ambassador on the part of king Ferdinand, and Robert Bertrand, marshal of France, on the part of king Philip, the 27th day of December.

* Tréfor. Bar. tit. 6.

† Hist. de la Maison de Bar.

‡ Hist. des ducs de Bourg. p. 108.

§ Hist. gen. de Savoye, pp. 376. 378.

|| Tréfor. de France, Laitte. Champ. 2. tit. 17.

¶ M. Guichenon en la Gen. de la Baum.

There were present at the signing of this treaty, John de Vienne, archbishop of Vienne, Guy Baudet, bishop of Langres, the duke of Normandy, Raoul constable, Miles de Noyers Bouteiller, Matthew de Trie, marshal of France, John de Chastillon, Geoffry de Beaumont chamberlain to the king, William Flotte lord of Revel, and Hugh Quieret admiral of France, knights and counsellors to the king of France. On the part of the king of Castille, there were Alfonso Martin, and Hugh de Alcove, two of the king's knights.

He was afterwards in the army which Philip de Valois marched into Gascony against the English in 1337*, having, in his company, and under his banner, a knight-banneret, fourteen knights-bachelor, and sixty-seven esquires. All these great services gained him not only the favour of the king, but also that of the duke of Normandy, the king's eldest son, who made him several presents†, and, among others, gave him all the profits and emoluments that might fall to him from the wardship of the son of the late Albert de Hangeft, lord of Genlis, his son-in-law, according to the custom in such cases.

The deeds relative to the above transaction are dated in the year 1338, in which year the count de Bar sent him to the king of France to place in his hands all his concerns on the subject of the war, which subsisted between him and the duke of Lorraine‡. Some memoirs say that he died in the year 1340; but there is a deed in the *Treſor des Chartes du Roi* of the year 1351, by which Ancel lord of Joinville, and of Rîfnel, and Margaret de Vaudemont, his wife, sell to king Philip de Valois several rents, which they had the right of calling for from the receipt of Champagne§. This lady was his second wife, and sister and heiress to Henry IV. of the name, count de Vaudemont. He was first married in the year 1309, to Lore de Sarbruche, daughter to John count de Sarbruche, lord of Commercy, by whom he had no children.

* *Compte de Jean le Mire Treſorier des Guerres du Roi.*

† *Tréſor. dons faits par les Rois, tit. 20.*

‡ *Le P. Viguer en la Gen. d'Alface, p. 163.*

§ *Treſor. des Chartes, Laitte, Paris, tit. 60.*

ISSUE OF ANCEL LORD OF JOINVILLE, BY MARGARET DE VAUDEMONT, HIS
SECOND WIFE.

Henry, lord of Joinville, and count de Vaudemont.

Margaret de Joinville had for her portion the lands of Rifnel or Renel. She was first married to the lord de Culant, and secondly to Hugh d'Ambroise, seventh of the name lord of Chaumont, who was killed at the battle of Agincourt, but whose successors now possess these lands, with the title of marquise.

Isabeau de Joinville was married to John de Vergy, lord of Mirebeau, with whom she was living in the year 1380.

N. de Joinville married into the family of Feneustranges.

Jane de Joinville, was first married to John de Noyers, lord of Vandœuvre, and count de Joigny, and secondly to Albert de Hangeft, lord of Genlis. There is in the Tréfor de Chartres du Roi * a deed of sale made by John de Hangeft, knight, to king Philip de Valois, of an annuity of two hundred livres on the king's treasury, for the sum of nine hundred livres, on condition of paying to Jane de Joinville fifty livres tournois yearly, by deeds signed at Paris in the year 1338.

Henry lord of Joinville, count of Vaudemont, and seneschal of Champagne, had a serious dispute in the year 1351, with John de Vergy, lord of Fonvens and of Champlite, seneschal of Burgundy, and his cousin, to whom he sent a challenge to fight with him, which is inserted in the history of the house of Vergy †. He was at the wars in Brittany in the year 1352, in his quality of knight-banneret, accompanied by four knights bachelor, and thirty-five esquires. He afterwards attended king John in his war against the English, and was present at the unfortunate battle of Poitiers in 1356 ‡, when he was made prisoner.

* Layette Paris, tit. 68.

† L. 5. ch. 1.

‡ Chr. de Flandres, ch. 92. Henric. de Knighton, p. 2613.

There are some acts in the *Treſor des Chartes du Roi* *, in which he is ſtiled lieutenant to the king and to the regent. There are other deeds of his own of the year 1361, in which he calls himſelf lord of Joinville and of Houdanc. He poſſeſſed this laſt lordſhip in right of the marriage he contracted about 1346 with Mary of Luxembourg, miſcalled Jane by La Ruelle, daughter to John de Luxembourg, Châtellain de L'ille, by Alicia of Flanders : ſhe was living in the year 1366.

DAUGHTERS OF HENRY, LORD OF JOINVILLE, COUNT DE VAUDEMONT.

Margaret de Joinville counteſs of Vaudemont.

Alix de Joinville married Thibaud, lord of Neuchâtel, marſhal of Burgundy, to whom ſhe brought, as her portion, the lands of Châtel, on the Moſelle, of Bainville, of Chaligny, and of la Ferté on the Amance †.

Margaret, lady of Joinville, counteſs of Vaudemont, was thrice married, firſt to John de Bourgogne, a deſcendant of a younger branch of the counts of Burgundy, ſecondly to Peter count of Geneva, brother to Robert of Geneva, who ſtiled himſelf pope Clement VII., in the preſence of Miles de Noyers, count de Joigny, couſin-german to Margaret, and other lords, as appear from the marriage contract of the 2d May 1374. On the deceaſe of Peter, ſhe took for her third huſband Ferry de Lorraine, lord of Guife, who was youngeſt ſon to John duke of Lorraine, and became by this marriage lord of Joinville, and count of Vaudemont. He was killed at the battle of Agincourt, and left among other children Antoine de Lorraine, count of Vaudemont, and lord of Joinville, who did homage ‡ to the king for Joinville, Rumigny, Aubenton and Martigny, at Bar ſur Aube the ſixth day of February in the year 1340. He was father of Ferry de Lorraine, count of Vaudemont, and lord of Joinville, and of Henry de Lorraine, biſhop of Metz §, who, after the death of his brother, ſeized the caſtle and

* *Treſor*, Brochart de Fenestranges, tit. 5.

† *St Julien en ſes Melanges hiſtoriques*.

‡ *Regiſt. des Hommages*, f. 82.

§ *Hiſt. des Evêques de Metz*, p. 395.

lordship of Joinville; which he enjoyed, and made his ordinary residence as long as he lived.

Ferry de Lorraine had issue René II. duke of Lorraine, who begot Claude de Lorraine, duke of Guise, the father of Francis de Lorraine, also duke of Guise, in whose person king Henry II. raised the barony of Joinville to a principality, by his letters-patent, confirmed by the parliament of Paris the ninth day of May 1552, to be enjoyed by the prince of Joinville, with the quality and title of hereditary seneschal of Champagne, as his last predecessors had possessed it, and not otherwise.

The countess Margaret died in the year 1416, and was buried in the church of Joinville, where her epitaph is to be seen.

OTHER BRANCHES OF THE HOUSE OF JOINVILLE.

I wish not to exhibit this genealogy of the house of Joinville as a perfect work, but merely as a slight sketch, that may induce those who are more versed in these studies than I am, to labour more seriously at it. I have contented myself with noticing the successive lords and principal alliances of this illustrious family, and with writing the life and eulogium of the author of the history, which has been the first object of my work. However, not to omit any thing that may have come to my knowledge in this matter, I will mention several of the name of Joinville who figure in history, and whose names appear in different title-deeds, although I cannot trace their filiation to unite them to the trunk of the tree. Others may do that more successfully by the assistance of old charters, and such other pieces, necessary to form a complete genealogy.

THE BRANCH OF THE HOUSE OF JOINVILLE, THAT SETTLED IN THE KINGDOM OF NAPLES.

John de Joinville is the first of this family who is known to have followed the court of the kings of Naples of the house of Anjou; but I have been unable to discover with certainty from whom he sprung. Ammirato says,

that king Charles, the first of the name, made him high constable of Sicily, and gave him the lands of Alifi and of Venafro; but I believe these magnificent gifts were made by Charles II. and the more readily, because in the year 1283 he bore not any rank to distinguish him, being simply stiled a noble man when he was sent this year by the prince of Salerno to hire galleys from the republic of Venice, as is mentioned in the letters of pope Martin IV. *.

I believe it is of this embassy that Ammirato speaks when he says, that he was sent as ambassador with Henry de Guini and Matthew d'Atri judge, to John Dandolo doge of Venice, who was elected to that dignity in the year 1280. Beside, Summonte says in express terms, that Charles II. made him high constable of Sicily in the year 1307†. The same monarch married him to Belledame, daughter to Peter Ruffo, or the red count of Cantazaro‡, and gave him in consideration of this marriage, and to recompense him for his great expenses in the wars, one thousand ounces of gold, on condition that, should he die without heirs-male, this sum was to revert to the king. He died before the year 1315, leaving one son.

Geoffry de Joinville succeeded his father in the lordships of Venafro and Alifi. He is much renowned in history|| for having defended the bridge at Brindisi against Roger de l'Oria, admiral to Frederick king of Sicily, with whom, on this occasion, he had a personal combat on horseback, wounding him with a blow of his battle-axe, and having his own horse killed under him. The historians add, that he died a prisoner, without saying that it was in consequence of this fight. King Robert gave him four hundred ounces of gold of yearly revenue, for which purpose Carinola and Mondragone were assigned over to him.

Geoffry de Joinville II. was in France when his father Geoffry died. On his return to Naples, king Robert continued to him the same pension he had granted his father of four hundred ounces of gold; for the payment of which Alifi was assigned to him, under the assessment of one hundred and fifty ounces, Lettere and Gragnano taxed at one hundred, la Rocca

* Ep. Mart. 4. To. 2. p. 95.

† Summonte, l. 3.

‡ Ammirato nell. famig. Ruffa.

|| Fazell. Maurolyc. Surita.

de Santa Agatha and Qunculo at another hundred, Santo Angelo de Lombardi at fifty. I imagine it was this Geoffry de Joinville who, in the year 1326, accompanied Charles duke of Calabria to Florence. He was murdered by some disbanded soldiers on the last day of June 1335, and left by Jane des Baux, his wife, the son who follows.

Nicholas de Joinville was very young when his father was killed, and remained under the guardianship of his mother. King Robert raised in his favour the lands of St Angelo to a county; but he afterwards lost the good graces of this prince *, who confiscated the whole of his property, and gave part of it to the nuns of Saint Clare of Naples. Matthew Villani † mentions him in his history, when he says that the count de St Angelo, with the Sanseverinos, and Raymond des Baux, recovered one hundred thousand florins for the defeat which the army of the king of Hungary suffered at Meleto, where they were made prisoners. He followed, after this, the party of Peter IV. king of Arragon, who, in the year 1345, sent him on an embassy to the pope at Avignon relative to a dispute concerning the restitution of the kingdom of Majorca. Surita declares he was in much credit with this king. He afterward passed almost instantly to the court of Philip de Valois, who likewise employed him in many negotiations and journeys; and by way of recompense, and to repay his expenses, he gave him three thousand livres tournois in timber, to be cut down in the park of Laichy in Champagne, as appears by deeds of the third day of June 1347 ‡. At this period, he took the title of count of Terra-nuova §, which had fallen to him prior to the year 1335, in consequence of his marriage with Margaret de l'Oria, daughter to Roger de l'Oria, grand admiral of Sicily, by Savrina, at that time widow of Bartholomew de Capua, grand prothonotary of the kingdom of Naples ||.

* Wadding. an. 1310. n. 24.

† Villani l. 1. ch. 48.

‡ Compte de la Terre de Champagne, année 1348.

§ M. Guich. en l'hist. de Savoye, p. 328.

|| Ep. Clement VI. to. 6. Ep. 1713.

Summontè, Campanile and Amirato say, that he had no children, and that Roger de Saint Severino, count de Mileto, succeeded the countess, who was his aunt, in the county of Terra-nuova about the year 1346. Thus, therefore, Amelio or Amé de Joinville, count de St Angelo, Philip de Joinville, who were living in the year 1379, and Louis de Joinville, whom history mentions in 1382, if they were the sons of Nicholas, must have been his issue by another marriage, which is far from being improbable; for Ammirato declares that a count de St Angelo, of the house of Joinville, married, posterior to the year 1320, Ilaria de Sus, of a noble family; and this marriage can only be supposed to be that of Nicholas, who first bore the title of count of St Angelo.

It is certain that Philip married Agnes Pietramala, daughter to Catherine d'Ugot, lady of Campo Marino. Louis followed the faction of Charles III. king of Naples, in the war against the dukes of Durazzo, and married Orfolina, countess of Satriana, daughter of Angela of Capua. With regard to Amé, he was count of Saint Angelo, and marshal of the kingdom of Naples. He was living in the year 1403. We have not discovered any thing certain respecting his marriage or posterity, except that he had a daughter, Jane de Joinville, who was thrice married, first to Louis de Sabran, count d'Ariano, then to Simon de Sanguine count de Bugnara, and, lastly, to Nicholas Filangera *, lord of Lapigio. It is probable that, during the troubles at Naples, his fortune was confiscated, for in the year 1383 the lordships of Serra Capriola, and Torre Maggiore, which had belonged to this count, were given away by king Charles III.

Ammirato † likewise remarks that, a little before his death, he only styled himself lord of Lavello; and that, immediately afterwards, the county of St Angelo was sold by king Ladislaus to the family of Zurlo, whence it passed to that of Caraccioli, with whom, in his time, it remained. He had also a natural son, called John Nicholas de Joinville, who was with the other barons of the realm at the parliament held by Alphonso in the year 1441.

* Campanile della famigl. Filangera.

† Ammirato della famigl. di Sangro, p. 258.

Count Amé had a brother Eleazer de Joinville, abbot of the monastery of Santa Maria di Gualdo di Mazzica, who was living in the year 1409.

THE NAMES OF OTHER LORDS WHO HAVE BORNE THE TITLE AND ARMS OF JOINVILLE, MENTIONED IN DIFFERENT TITLE-DEEDS.

Milon, or Miles de Joinville, knight, was present at the donation made by Haymon de Brie to the abbey of Molémes, under Robert bishop of Langres, who was living in the year 1106. There is reason to presume he was son of Geoffry II. lord of Joinville, by Hodiérne de Courtenay. At least the name of Miles, which was common in the family of Courtenay at the time he lived, makes us suppose it.

John de Joinville, knight, served the king in his army in Flanders in the year 1302.

Nicholas de Joinville, knight, and dame Philippa, his wife, daughter to John Fourré, knight, were living in the year 1321.

Andrew de Joinville, knight-banneret, lord of Beau-pré, in the bailiwick of Chaumont, served the king in his armies, accompanied by a knight-banneret, and fifteen esquires, in the years 1337 and 1338.

James and Anceau de Joinville are named in an old heraldic list, which gives to the first for arms those of Joinville, a lion muffed with a crest, on a field azure, having a lion or, billetée or; to the second, a shield with similar arms, which are those of Confians, on the shoulder of the lion, which may incline us to suppose they were brothers by a mother of the family of Confians. If this Anceau be the person whom Henry lord of Joinville calls his cousin-german in deeds of the year 1351, he must be the issue of a younger son of John lord of Joinville*.

Erard de Joinville, knight, lord of Doulevant, in Champagne, near to Bar sur Aube, was in the king's army, 1341, attended by four esquires†; and likewise at the assembly at Arras on St John's day, when the constable of France had the command. He is styled bailiff of Vitry in an account of

* Hist de la Maison de Vergy, p. 169.

† Compte du Drach.

the domains in Champagne of the year 1348. I believe he was father to John de Joinville, knight, lord of Doulevant and of Villiers au Chêne, who was living in 1390, according to the accounts of the bailiwick of Meaux. Mention is also made in these accounts of sir John de Joinville, lord of Doulevant, and of sir William de Saux, lord of Despanse, knight, who paid the king one hundred and sixty livres tournois for the redemption of the lands of Guerat, a moveable fief of the crown, as a dependance on the castle of Coulomiers, that had lately fallen unto sir William, in right of dame Jane Joinville his wife, and the damsel, Margaret de Joinville, sisters to the lately-deceased sir John de Joinville, knight, lord of the aforesaid lands.

Geoffry de Joinville, canon of the church of Nôtre Dame at Cambray, followed the king in his wars in Flanders, with three esquires, in the year 1341.

Anfeau de Joinville, esquire, lord of Bizarre in right of his wife, daughter to sir Stephen de St Veraix, 1349.

John de Joinville, esquire, lord of Lachy lés Susanne in Champagne, was probably a branch of the lords of Vaucouleur, and was in the same army with Geoffry attended by three esquires. He had a sister, called Margaret de Joinville, who married Eudes, lord of Culans, did homage to the king for lands situated in the park of Lachy * that had fallen to his wife by the death of John de Joinville, her brother, in the year 1379.

Geoffry de Joinville, esquire, lord of Domartin, near Estrées, was living in 1374. His seal bears the arms of Joinville.

Aubert de Joinville, esquire, served the king in his wars with five other esquires of his chamber in the year 1386. His seal bears the arms of Joinville; and in 1388, on the last day of October, he did homage to the king for all that he held under him in the bailiwick of Chaumont.

Henrietta de Joinville was living, in 1387, with her husband John de Faucogney.

Peter de Joinville, lord of Bruley, left an only daughter, called Jane de Joinville, lady of Bruley, whose wardship, Antony de Lorraine, count de Vaudemont, obtained from the king by letters-patent of the first of April

* Compte de la Baillie de Troyes de l'an 1379.

1443. In this quality he obtained permission to do fuit and homage * for many lands in the bailiwick of Chaumont, that had fallen to his ward on the death of her father. Some time afterward, namely the twentieth day of January 1444, he did homage in like manner to the king for the lordship of Bruley, which belonged to the said minor.

Andrew de Joinville held the manor of the town of Espinal, under the title of Gagerie, which he sold to Conrad Bayer de Boppard, bishop of Metz, who was living in the year 1440 †.

Maude de Joinville did homage to the king by proxy, in the person of James de Heraucourt, knight, her nephew and proctor, for the moiety of the rent, and of the ferry at Bar sur Aube, the 15th February 1440.

NOTICE TO THE READER.

I COMMUNICATED the genealogy of the house of Joinville, such as you have read, to the reverend father Peter de Sainte Catherine, of the order of Feuillans, who, I had heard, was employed on this subject, and he made two or three observations which I have inserted. Since this work went to the press, he has sent me a genealogical table of this family, drawn up from titles which he had seen, that throws such important lights on it that the public must feel obliged to him.

First, with regard to the branch of the lords of Saily, he thus composes it. He gives to Guy, the first of the name lord of Saily, three sons and two daughters. The sons are, Robert lord of Saily, Simon lord of Dongeux, who left posterity, and William lord of Juilly, who had two sons, as I have noticed. The daughters were, Agnes lady of Dammartin, and Alicia abbess of the nunnery of our Lady of Foissy, near Troyes.

Robert lord of Saily left, by Aufelix his wife, Guy II. lord of Saily; Beatrice, a nun in the abbey of our Lady at Foissy; Agnes, married to John

* Regist. des Hommages, fol. 84, 85. en la Ch. des Comptes.

† Hist. des Evêques de Mets, p. 562.

de Faucogney, viscount of Vesoul; N. lady of St Aouft, and N. a nun at Benoiste-vaux. All these children of Robert lord of Saily are named in the will of Aufelix, his wife, in the year 1278.

Guy II. lord of Saily, left two children, namely Guy III. lord of Saily, and Simon, who had also posterity.

Guy III. lord of Saily espoused a lady called Margaret, in conjunction with whom, he gave, in the year 1300, twenty fols of annual rent to the abbey of Escure, for their anniversary. This marriage produced an only daughter, Alicia lady of Saily, married to Renaud de Choiseul, who stiled himself lord of Saily in the year 1312.

Simon, second son to Guy III. lord of Saily, was lord of Eschenets. He was twice married, first to Alicia de Saiffe-fontaine, secondly, to Marie de Clermont. By the first marriage he had John, Robert, Agnes and Aufelix, by the second Guy, Lore, lady of Eschenets, and Agnes. This Lore married in 1326 John de Jaucourt, surnamed de Dinteville, whose children possessed the lordship of Eschenets*.

With regard to Simon de Saily, lord of Dongeux, he was father to Guy lord of Donguex, who married Isabella d'Estrepy, and founded, with her, an hospital in the year 1300. From this marriage proceeded Guy and Oger.

Guy II. of the name, lord of Dongeux, espoused Beatrice d'Arzilliers, by whom he had Beatrice, lady of Dongeux, wife to Henry lord of Bourlaimont.

Oger de Dongeux, lord of Effincourt and la Fouche, married Margaret d'Yceleu, and had by her an only daughter called Margaret, who was thrice married, first to Henry de St Disier, lord de la Roche, then to Eudes de Savoisy, and at his decease to Croissant, lord de Flavy.

In regard to the branch of Vaucouleur, the reverend father, Peter de Sainte Catherine informs us, that Geoffry de Joinville, lord of Vaucouleur, had, by his wife Maude de Lacy, six children, all named in a title of 1294, by which Geoffry makes a division of his property with his eldest son Walter, with the consent of his wife and his other children, namely, Simon,

* Memoire hist. de Camusat, p. 211.

Nicholas, Peter, William, and Jane countess of Salmes. Geoffry, who was employed by the king of England, is not named in it. Nicholas was lord of Morencourt, and espoused Jane de Lautrey. Walter lord of Vaucouleur, eldest son to Geoffry, left four children; John lord of Vaucouleur, Nicholas, Peter, and Erard lord of Doulevant, who had posterity. John, lord of Vaucouleur, and afterward of Mery sur Seine, had two sons, Amé and Anfel. Amé, lord of Mery, left three daughters, Isabella, lady of Estrailles, wife to John de Sarrebruche, lord of Commercy, Margaret, married to Eudes de Culant, and Simone, wife of Charles de Poitiers, lord de Saint Valier.

Erard lord of Doulevant, youngest son to Walter lord of Vaucouleur, was father to John lord of Doulevant*, who had one son and two daughters, namely, John lord of Doulevant, Jane, first married to William de Saux, and then to John de Hans, lord of Tenoigne, and Margaret, wife of Hugh d'Amboise, lord of Chaumont. By the genealogy of this branch, it appears that those who have given Margaret, wife by her first marriage, to the lord of Culant, and secondly to the lord de Chaumont, as daughter of Anfel, lord of Joinville, have been mistaken, as it is clear the lady of Culant is a different person from the lady of Chaumont, both of them of the branch of Vaucouleur. The first made an acknowledgement to the king in 1378, for the third part of the lands of Lachy, which had fallen to her by the decease of Amé de Joinville, lord of Mery, her father.

Father Peter de St Catherine also gives as son to John lord of Joinville, and Alix de Rifnel, his second wife, Andrew lord of Beau-pré, who, by Isabella, lady of Bonnet, left Anfel and Roger de Joinville. Roger, lord of Beau-pré, espoused Agnes, lady of Puligny, and had by her Aubert and Andrew. Aubert, lord of Beau-pré, married Agatha de Grand, and had two daughters, Maude married to Antoine de Ville, lord of Heraucourt, and Jane, wife to Gerard de Puligny. Andrew, brother to Aubert, was lord of Bruley in 1419, and had two sons, Peter and Andrew. Peter, lord of Bruley, was father to Jane, lady of Bruley.

* Hist. des Comtes de Valentinois, ch. 11.

The same father Peter has not given me any information respecting the branch which settled in Naples, except that he supposes John, the founder of it, was son to the lord de Joinville, author of the history of St Louis, by Alix de Rifnel, his second wife, and that he is the John surnamed Boutefeu in the obituary of St Laurence de Joinville, under the date of the 21st November, and to whom Wassebourg gives for wife Margaret de Vaudemont.



The Lord de Joinville.

from his Monument.

A
DISSERTATION
ON
THE LIFE OF SAINT LOUIS
WRITTEN BY
THE LORD DE JOINVILLE.

BY M. LE BARON DE LA BASTIE.

[*Vol. xv. of Les Mém. de l'Académie.*]

THE life of Saint Louis, written by the lord de Joinville, has always been considered as one of the most precious monuments of our history; and as a work that contains many of those qualifications which we are accustomed to wish for in the lives of private persons. The author was of very considerable rank by his birth, his connections, his employments, and still more from his personal merit. He had not only lived under the reign of the prince whose life he has written, but was moreover personally attached to him for twenty-two years, and, by consequently following him in his expeditions, had participated in the most important events of his reign.

The air of candour and good faith that accompanies his recitals prejudices the reader in his favour: the scrupulous attention he shews not to mention facts of which he was not a witness, and only to touch on such as he relates from the report of others, as his history requires: this attention, I repeat, ought to convince us, that the lord de Joinville had no other intention than to transmit to posterity nothing but what he was perfectly well informed of.

His history is not, like the greater part of the chronicles of those times, a simple recital of what passed in France and elsewhere during the reign of St Louis: it makes us intimately acquainted with that monarch: it gives us a just idea of his heart and head, and paints equally well the great man, the great faint, and the great king. The friendship and confidence with which St Louis honoured the lord de Joinville; the intimate familiarity, if I may be allowed the expression, to which he had admitted him, have furnished this lord with the means of informing us of many curious details, which, although improper for a general history, are not the less agreeable or instructive, since they more distinctly display the characters of the principal persons whom the historian successively offers to our view.

So many interesting motives to the French will not suffer them to see with indifference the attempt that has been made to tear from their hands one of their principal historians, by endeavouring to make the history of the lord de Joinville pass for a romance, not composed till the fifteenth century. For upwards of two hundred years, when it was first printed, no one had ever thought of suspecting its authenticity, when an unjust criticism appeared in the posthumous works of a learned man, more celebrated, however, for the singularity of his ideas, than for the extent of his erudition*. He maintains, that the life of Saint Louis, generally attributed to the lord de Joinville, is the work of an author very much posterior to him, who has forged the name of the supposed author of it. In a few words, these are the reasons he adduces to establish an opinion so new, and so opposite to that generally received.

1mo, 'This history,' says he, 'being dedicated to the king, Louis X. surnamed le Hutin, we must confess either that the lord de Joinville was

* Joan. Hardouin opera varia, p. 634, et seq.

then too old to remember so exactly every fact that had happened sixty years before ; or, that he could not have been himself a witness of the greater part of the events which the author of the life of St Louis pretends to have been.

2do, ‘ If we compare the style of the history of St Louis with that of other french works of the same period, and even with the style of the letter that Joinville wrote to Louis Hutin, and which has been published by Du Cange, it will be found incomparably more modern, and more polished.

3to, ‘ In this letter, written in 1315, Joinville assures Louis Hutin, that he is ready to march at the head of his vassals, to follow him in the expedition he was meditating against the Flemings, which is very improbable for a man, at such an advanced life as Joinville then was, if he was the real author of the life of St Louis, and if what he tells of himself be true.

4to, ‘ The titles which Joinville gives to Louis Hutin in this letter are absolutely different from those he uses in the dedication of his book *.

5to, ‘ In the dedicatory epistle the author says, that he composed this work at the prayer of the queen, widow to St Louis, although this princess was deceased in 1285, and the history only published in 1315.

6to, ‘ The author, whoever he may be, tells us that the inundation of the Nile happened about the feast-day of St Remy. Had he been in Egypt with St Louis, as he wishes to persuade us, and remained there for a twelvemonth, could he have been ignorant that the Nile begins to overflow the country about the end of June, and not in the beginning of October.

* The address on the outside of the letter from Joinville to Louis Hutin, inserted by Du Cange in his genealogy of the house of Joinville, page 20, is, ‘ à son bon ami seigneur, le roi de France et de Navarre ;’ and within side, ‘ à son bon seigneur Loys, par la grace de Dieu, roy de France et de Navarre, Johans sire de Joinville, ses sénéchaux de Champagne, salut et service appareillé.’

The dedicatory epistle to the life of St Louis is addressed,—‘ à très noble, très excellent et très puissant roy Loys, fils de très digne et de très saint mémoire le roi St Loys, par la grace de Dieu, roy de France, de Navarre, de Champagne et de Brie conte-palatin, Johan sire de Joinville, sénéchal de Champagne, humble et entier amour vous doint JESUS à ma prière et salut.’

7mo, ' This historian always speaks of the Turks and Saracens, and particularly at the battle of Maffoura. It is however affirmed, that at that period there were no Turks in Egypt, nor Saracens in the east.'

I pass over in silence many other objections of our famous critic : they will have no weight, until it shall be granted to him that the greater part of ecclesiastical and profane authors have been supposititious writers. Hitherto such an impudent opinion has been unsuccessful in the republic of letters, and I should vainly wander from my subject were I to stop here to combat it.

I shall therefore confine myself to prove, first, that the lord de Joinville did in truth write the history of St Louis that bears his name ; that there were manuscripts of this history known even in the age when it was composed, and in all the following centuries, until Menard published the second edition. I shall then point out the different interpolations which this history, such as we have it at this day, has suffered, as well on the part of the editors as of the copyists, who were desirous of translating into modern French the original language of the author. In establishing these two points, I shall in part reply to the criticisms before quoted, and as to the other objections, it will be easily seen that they have been made solely from not knowing how to distinguish between the interpolations and the true text of Joinville.

It is one general rule of criticism, allowed by the learned, that a work is always supposed to be his whose name it bears, particularly if the author speak often of himself in the body of it, and make himself known by features that are personal to him. To destroy the consequence founded on this rule, it must be proved, that the ocular witness, whose name the impostor borrows, was not living at the time when this pretended history was made; or it must be shewn that the style of the author, without having been retouched, is not that of the age wherein he would appear to have lived. For though a book should even have been unknown during the times in which it was written, though it should even be quoted in the ensuing centuries, on the faith of a single and modern manuscript, suspicions may arise as to its authenticity, but not sufficiently strong to prove it

suppositious; because it frequently happens that a modern manuscript may have been copied from one very ancient, which after being for a long time lost has just been recovered.

The life of St Louis, by the lord de Joinville, is far from authorising such suspicions. Father Hardouin allows that there was a lord at the beginning of the fourteenth century named John de Joinville, seneschal of Champagne. He acknowledges for true both the posterior charter of 1300, wherein mention is made of the lord de Joinville and the letter written by Joinville to Louis Hutin in 1315, which is quoted by M. du Cange. It is chiefly on these two pieces he grounds his assertions, that Joinville could not have lived many years with St Louis; or, that he was too old, under the reign of Louis Hutin, to remember so exactly the smallest particularities of the life of this holy monarch. But we have a record almost contemporary, and of an authenticity proof against the most outrageous criticism, which informs us that the lord de Joinville did indeed pass a part of his life with St Louis, and that his age, at the time when he wrote the life of this prince, was not so far advanced as father Hardouin had imagined.

The record I allude to, is a manuscript-history of the life and miracles of St Louis, preserved in the national library at Paris, and which the abbé Salier has had the kindness to communicate to me. This history composes a thick quarto, of six hundred and sixty-five pages, written on vellum, in a very fair hand, and appears to be of about the middle of the fourteenth century. The vignettes, and initial letters to the chapters, are illuminated after the manner of those times; that is to say, the colours of the miniatures are very bright, but the drawings tasteless and incorrect. The author, whose modesty has, without doubt, induced him to conceal his name, informs us in the prologue, that he had undertaken this work by the command of Blanche of France, daughter to St Louis, whose confessor he was; and that he had, for eighteen years, served Margaret of Provence, wife of St Louis, in the same quality.

Blanche of France had been married to Ferdinand infant of Castille. After the death of her husband in 1275, she returned to France, founded the cordeliers in the fauxbourg St Marceau at Paris, and died there the 17th June 1320: consequently this book, composed by her order, was written at

the beginning of the fourteenth century, and by a man who had seen Saint Louis, at least during the latter years of his life.

As the principal object of the author was to edify his readers, he has satisfied himself with collecting every thing that respected the sanctity of the prince whose history he was writing, and has divided his work into two parts. The first contains twenty chapters, each of which is especially employed in displaying one of the virtues that have shone in St Louis, from his birth to his death. This part occupies two hundred and eighty-three pages of the manuscript. The second division contains the recital of sixty-three miracles performed by the intercession of St Louis, and includes from page 285. to page 665.

The documents the author has made use of to compose his history could not be more authentic ; for they are the inquiries that were held prior to the canonization of St Louis. The three commissioners delegated by pope Martin IV. to hold these inquiries were, William archbishop of Rouen, William bishop of Auxerre, and Roland bishop of Spoleto.

Our anonymous author declares, that part of the inquiries were remitted to him at Paris, by Jean de Samois, bishop of Lisieux, who had been employed to solicit the canonization at Rome ; and that the other part was sent him from Rome by friar John of Antioch, penitentiary to the pope and companion to the bishop of Lisieux.

The work of our anonymous writer being nothing more than an extract from these inquiries, in order that every one may judge of their fidelity, he gives notice that he has placed the originals with the Freres-Mineurs in their convent at Paris, where those who please may compare them.

When the canonization of St Louis was proceeding, a double inquiry was made : one respecting his life and actions, the other as to the miracles he had performed after his decease. The inquiry, regarding the miracles, began in the month of May 1282, and finished in the month of March 1283. The commissioners received the depositions of those who had been miraculously cured through the intercession of St Louis, and of those who had witnessed these miraculous cures. The inquiry on his life and actions commenced on Friday the 12th of August 1282, and was terminated on the ensuing Friday. Philippe le Hardy, king of France, Charles I. king of

Sicily, the royal family of France, the bishops, abbots, those lords of the court who had attended longest on the king St Louis, several officers of his household, and many religious of both sexes, gave their testimonies before the commissioners. Our anonymous author has given, at the end of his prologue, the names of all those who deposed on this occasion; and, among them, we find the lord de Joinville described in these words,— ‘ Monseigneur Jehan sire de Joinville, chevalier, du dyocèse de Chaalons, home d’avisé age, et moult riche sénéchal de Champagne, de 50 ans ou environ.’ What can be opposed to such strong evidence, which clearly demonstrates that the lord de Joinville had passed part of his life with Saint Louis? For what other reasons could there have been to have made him depose as to the actions and life of this prince? But this is not the only testimony the confessor to queen Margaret has given to Joinville.

In the chapter wherein he treats of the love St Louis had for his neighbour, he gives for instance the lessons this holy king gave ‘ à noble chevalier monseigneur Jehan de Joinville, sénéchal de Champagne , qui fu avec li en sa court assés privéement, et de son hostel par xxiv. ans et plus.’ He then adds the charitable correction St Louis gave Joinville on his saying, that he would rather commit thirty deadly sins than have the leprosy. This conversation, which Joinville had without doubt detailed in his deposition, was not out of his memory when he undertook to write the life of St Louis, where he relates it, as well as many other lessons which he had received from this prince, and which our anonymous author also reports in the judicial evidence of Joinville.

In another chapter, where the hatred St Louis had for all scandal is discussed, the anonymous writer says that the person who affirmed, on his oath, that he had never heard this righteous king utter ought that could wound the reputation of another, was ‘ Monseigneur Jehan de Jenville, chevalier, home meur age, et moult riche, qui fu aveques le saint roy par xxxiv. ans et plus, assés privéement et de sa mesnée.’ It may be supposed that our author here contradicts himself, because, in a passage before quoted, he says that Joinville had been twenty-four years at the court of St Louis; or we at least suppose that he contradicts Joinville, who from his history of St Louis seems only to have been attached to this prince from the first

croisade in the year 1248, which makes but twenty-two years until the death of the king. But beside a mistake of a figure in the number thirty-four, there is a strong probability that the anonymous author includes in this number of years not only those Joinville had passed with St Louis, but also those he had afterwards passed at the court of Philippe le Hardy, to the time he gave his depositions, relative to the life and actions of his ancient master. These depositions were made in the year 1282; and if we reckon back to 1248, the time when Joinville first entered into the service of St Louis, we shall find the amount to be precisely the thirty-four mentioned by our author. We cannot wish therefore for any thing more authentic than this testimony, to assure us of the credit of which the history of St Louis by the lord de Joinville is deserving; and I believe if father Hardouin had taken the trouble to consult this manuscript-history of the life and miracles of St Louis, he would have been sensible of the weakness of his objections.

This history would have taught him, that at the time when the lord de Joinville composed it, he was not of that extreme old age as to make his memory seem a prodigy. The list of witnesses that were heard at the before-mentioned inquisitions in 1282 intimate that Joinville was then fifty years old, or thereabout. Joinville says in his history that he was present at the cour-plénière which St Louis held at Saumur, and that he carved before the king of Navarre. This cour-plénière, according to Guillaume de Nangis, a contemporary author, was held in 1241; and if we must literally understand that Joinville was but fifty years old in 1282, he could not have been more than nine or ten when he carved before the king of Navarre; but it is plain that the words fifty, or *thereabout*, mean that he was from fifty to fifty-five years old. The function of carving before the king was exercised by young men of quality, who were under age to receive the order of knighthood. It does not appear that any fixed age was necessary to be admitted to the office of esquire-carver; and it is related in the history of petit Jean de Saintré, that the king said, on seeing him dressed out from the money the lady des Belles Cousines had given him, ‘ I wish he had three or four of my years, and he should be my esquire-carver,’ because Saintré was then but thirteen years old; we can thence only

conclude, that the king of Navarre had made the lord de Joinville, nearly of the same age, carve before him, because he was the son of the first officer in his county of Champagne, and of one of the principal lords at his court, advantages which Saintr , the son of a poor knight, did not enjoy.

On this ground, Joinville must have been born about the year 1228 or 1229. He was in good health in 1315, since he then wrote to Louis Hutin that he was ready to follow him, with his vassals, to the war. He could not at that time be more than eighty-six or eighty-seven years old at the utmost; and although it be an uncommon circumstance to have preserved so much vigour to that age, the instances we have of many at this day ought to make us think it the less surprising.

If in 1315 Joinville felt himself strong enough to follow the king to the war, ought we to think it strange that his memory should faithfully recal to his mind all that had passed in his youth? He had the less difficulty in so doing, for during the interval that had occurred since the death of St Louis, he had been called upon to relate the same facts on a judicial inquest; and perhaps he may have kept copies of his depositions for the greater ease of his recollection.

After all, it is unnecessary to attribute to Joinville a very extraordinary memory: the dates of a dedication and of the publication of a work are not always that of its composition. The dedicatory epistle to Louis Hutin proves in truth that Joinville only published his history in 1314 or 1315; but it appears also, from some passages in the book itself, that he had written it ten years before. Such for instance is the passage where, in speaking of those who took the cross in 1248, Joinville remarks, that Guy de Flandres, one of the crusaders, had died lately at Compi gne; for Guy de Dampierre becoming count of Flanders by the death of his elder brother, William, deceased at Pontoise, whither they had carried him from Compi gne the 7th March 1305.

In speaking a little before of the count de Bretagne, Jean de Dreux, first of the name, Joinville had said that he was father to the reigning duke. Now this prince, who was the first duke of Brittany, called Jean II. died the 18th November 1305. From these two passages, it is easy to point

out the time when Joinville wrote his history, because, in mentioning these two sovereigns, who died in the same year seven months only from each other, he speaks of the one as lately deceased and of the other as still living.

Joinville, born about the year 1228, could not be at the most more than seventy-seven years old in 1305; and such a man, who, ten years afterward, was able to mount his horse when armed, could not have lost any thing of his memory. It has been therefore solely from ignorance of the age of Joinville, and of the period when he wrote his book, that father Hardouin has so daringly asserted, that it was impossible the life of St Louis could have been the work of him to whom it has always been attributed.

Joinville wrote the life of St Louis, as we have just seen, at the commencement of the fourteenth century. Manuscripts of it were known about the middle of the same century, for we find it announced in the catalogue of the library of king Charles V. in these words: ‘ Une grand partie de la vie et des faiz de monsieur St Loys, que fit faire le sire de Joinville, très bien escript et historié, couvert de cuir rouge à empraines, à fermoirs d’argent.’ I do not believe that there are any critics so unjust as to pretend that the book announced in this catalogue is different from the one we have at this day, under the pretext that it is there said the lord de Joinville ‘ le fit faire;’ whereas he himself wrote, or at least appears to have written, the one which has been printed; for it is evident from these words of the author of the catalogue, that he only meant to express himself in the same terms with Joinville in his dedication, who there tells us, that he had made use of the hand of a secretary, who had written under his dictating. It is very natural, considering his great age, and the little habitude persons of quality in France were in at that time of writing themselves, that the lord de Joinville should have employed another hand than his own to write a book destined to be presented to the king. I believe also that I have good reasons to suppose, that the copy found in the library of the Louvre in the reign of Charles V. was that which Joinville presented to Louis X. to whom he had dedicated it. At least, however, it cannot be denied but there was then in the king’s library a copy of the life of St Louis, which bore the name of Joinville, and of which the lord de Joinville was acknowledged to

be the author. Now this was in the same century in which Joinville had written his history, and only fifty-eight years after it had been made public; for this catalogue was drawn up by Gilles Mallet, valet de chambre to Charles V. in 1373, who was intrusted by that king with the care of his library.

In the succeeding century, king René had a manuscript of the chronicle of Joinville; and it was this manuscript the first editor used when he published it. This editor's name was Antoine Pierre, a native of Rieux in Languedoc; and he tells us, in his dedicatory epistle addressed to Francis,—
1. * That when at Beaufort en vallée in Anjou, examining the books and papers that had belonged to king René, whose love for letters is sufficiently known, he there found the life of St Louis written by the lord de Joinville, seneschal of Champagne. Thus, therefore, as there was in the fourteenth century a manuscript of this life in the king's library, there was, in the fifteenth century, another manuscript of the same in the library of king René.

In the sixteenth century, some years prior to the publication of the first edition of Joinville, Louis Lasseré, canon of St Martin's at Tours, and purveyor to the house of Navarre, being employed on a third edition of his life of St Jerome †, inserted in it an abridgement of the life of St Louis: for this purpose he made use of a life of this prince written by Joinville, which Antoinette de Bourbon, duchess of Guise, lent him, as he himself

* These are the words of Antoine Pierre: ' Il y a deux ans ou environ que moy étant à Beaufort en vallée au pays d'Anjou, visitant quelques vieux regîtres du roi René de Cecile, pour y cuider trouver quelque antiquité dont il avoit été amateur, aurois trouvé la chronique du roi St Loys écrite par un seigneur de Joinville, seneschal de Champagne, qui estoit de ce tems là, et avoit accompagné le dit roy en toutes ses guerres.'

† This book of Lasseré, which I have had much difficulty to find, is intitled,—' La vie de de monseigneur St Hiérome, recongneue et augmentée du tiers pour la troisieme fois par l'auteur, ou font inserées en brief la vie de monseigneur St Loys, roy de France, amplement augmentée; en la quelle sont traitées, les conditions d'un homme magnanime, qui estoient en mondit seigneur Saint Loys, &c.—Imprimée à Paris, au Soleil-d'Or, Rue St Jacques, par Charlotte Guillard, veuve de feu Claude Chavallon, 1541.'—It is a large 4to, of 399 pages. The life of St Louis, Lasseré has placed at the 45th chapter.

says, in the dedicatory epistle * addressed to Louisa de Bourbon, abbess of Fontevrault and sister to this duchess.

This third edition of the life of St Jerome was printed in 1541 : the first edition of Joinville is dated 1547 ; the copy therefore which the duchess of Guise lent Lasseré must have been in manuscript ; and, as the estate of Joinville then belonged to the house of Guise, there is great presumption that this manuscript had been found in the castle, and was, perhaps, the original of the author.

The sieur de la Croix du Maine, whose ‘ *Bibliothèque Française* ’ was printed in 1584, says positively, at page 235, that there existed a manuscript, on vellum, of the history of St Louis by Joinville, written in the French of that time. At length, in the early part of the seventeenth century, Claude Menard, lieutenant of the provostship of Angers, discovered among many old papers which the sieur de la Mesnerie showed him at Laval, and which had belonged to a Calvinist minister, another manuscript of the same history ; and from this manuscript he published a new edition in 1617. It is true, that through some incomprehensible misfortune these different manuscripts are no more to be found ; and that all the endeavours of the celebrated M. du Cange, to discover one of them, have been fruitless. It is not however less evident, by all the proofs I have brought forward, that manuscripts of the life of St Louis have been known in every succeeding age, from the time when it was written, until the beginning of the last century. It is equally certain, that all these manuscripts unanimously attribute this work to the lord de Joinville. However grievously the loss of these copies may be deplored, and I agree that our regrets are founded, yet it would be unjust to make this loss a ground for accusing of falsehood a

* In the dedication to Louisa de Bourbon, Lasseré thus speaks of the augmentations to this new life of St Jerome ;—‘ Aussi ai-je adjousté (outre ce que dessus) au quarante cinquième chapitre (contenant en brief la vie de mondit seigneur Saint Loys, roy de France), les conditions et propriétés d’un homme magnanime (qui estoient en iceluy seigneur et roy Saint Loys), et ay traité plusieurs autres bons poincts que ay trouvez en divers historiens, et par especial en la vie dudit Saint, laquelle à escripte messire Jehan de Jonville, chevalier, sénéchal de Champagne (qui à servy journellement ledict St Loys par trente ans et plus), que ay recouverte de madame la duchesse de Guise, Antionette de Bourbon, votre bonne sœur, et dame de grand renom.’

history, the authenticity of which all the learned, who have carefully examined it, have loudly acknowledged.

I may perhaps be suspected of multiplying these manuscripts of Joinville, upon the supposition that some of them may have been the same which passed successively through a variety of hands; but this objection I can readily answer, by marking the differences I have noticed in these five manuscripts.

That which is mentioned in the catalogue of the books of Charles V. presuming it was different from the presentation-copy, was, however, so near the time of its composition, that we must suppose it was perfectly complete, and that the language was unaltered. On the contrary, the manuscript of king René, of which we may judge from the Poitiers edition, printed from it, was imperfect, and the whole of the first part wanting. This first part, which occupies twenty-seven pages of Menard's edition, has no connection, properly speaking, with the general history. Joinville endeavours, in it, to make us acquainted with the good temper, the justice, piety, and other virtues of his hero: St Louis is there shewn more at home, and in his family, than on the throne; and it is the second part that contains the history of his reign. The editor of the Poitiers-edition has not given the smallest fragment of the first part, because he had not found it in the manuscript of king René, and consequently we cannot believe this to be the same manuscript which had belonged to Charles V. It is still less probable that the manuscript found at Laval was what had belonged to our kings, because the style of the manuscript of Menard was not only more modern than that which was in use at the time of Joinville, but even more modern than the language spoken under Charles V.'s reign, as I shall more fully explain hereafter. La pere du Molinet, in a memoir which M. Boivin has inserted in his curious dissertation on the library at the Louvre, under the reigns of Charles V. Charles VI. and Charles VII. has properly remarked that many books of this library had been sent to England in 1429, when the duke of Bedford gave a receipt for them to Garnier de Saint-Yon, who had the care of it. If I may be allowed to hazard a conjecture respecting the fate of the manuscript of the life of St Louis, by Joinville, I would say that it was in the number of those books that crossed the sea in 1429, and that

it has been lost in England, as well as several other manuscripts that have been transported to that island, and which have been sought for in vain to this present day.

The manuscript of the dukes of Guise was not less different from that of king René, for we find from the abridgement of Lasseré, that it contained the first part wanting to the other. It varied also from the manuscript of Menard; for in the passage where it is said that Joinville was obliged to carry St Louis in his arms from the house of the count d'Auxerre to the church of the Cordeliers: the edition of Menard informs us that this fact took place on his return from Palestine, whilst Lasseré, copying the manuscript of the dukes of Guise, says that it happened a little before he, St Louis, set out on his second expedition.

The manuscript of la Croix du Maine was neither the one from which Lasseré has given us an abridgement, nor that which Antoine Pierre copied; for la Croix du Maine notices the use which Lasseré had made of the history of St Louis written by Joinville, and the edition published at Poitiers by Antoine Pierre, without adding that either of them had made use of his manuscript, which he would not have failed to have done had it been true. This manuscript of la Croix du Maine could have still less served for the edition of Menard; for this last tells us, that his manuscript had passed through the hands of an old Calvinist minister, the companion of Marlorat, to those of M. de la Mesnerié, from whom he received it, consequently this manuscript could not have been in the possession of la Croix du Maine in 1584; and, beside, the language of the manuscript of la Croix du Maine was in the old French of the time of St Louis, which is different from that of Menard.

In truth, Menard found his manuscript in the same province where Antoine Pierre had discovered his, but the two manuscripts were very different. That of Antoine Pierre, as I have before said, contained only the second part of the history of the lord de Joinville: the manuscript of Menard had in addition the whole of the first part; but, on the other hand, the manuscript of Menard was less ample than that of Antoine Pierre's in many places of the second part. In the edition of this last, copied from the manuscript of king René, after having spoken of the arrival of St Louis at

Acre, Joinville employs the remaining part of the chapter in describing the pitiful state to which the king was reduced by the faithless conduct of the commander of the temple, to whom he had intrusted his money. We can hardly suppose, then, these details, so minute and personal to Joinville, have been the work of interpolators: they are not, however, to be found in the edition of Menard.

M. du Cange was persuaded that another chapter of this same edition of Poitiers, where the capture of Bagdad by the cham of the Tartars is noticed, was truly Joinville's, although the edition by Menard does not mention one word of it. I say as much concerning that part, where, according to the edition of Poitiers, Joinville relates his conversation with queen Margaret, to console her for the death of her mother-in-law queen Blanche. This recital is of a simplicity so delightful, and so conformable to the ingenuous manners of the age of St Louis, that it cannot be doubted that it came from the pen of Joinville, notwithstanding Menard found it not in his manuscript.

In the account of the voyage of St Louis on his return from his first expedition to Palestine, the edition of Menard suppresses a trait of goodness and humanity of this prince, which doubtless had not escaped the lord de Joinville. It is, when St Louis patiently waits eight whole days off the island of Pantalaria, and would not quit sight of it, until he was rejoined by the galleys that had landed on the island in search of fruit for his children. This trait is related in the edition of Poitiers; and it is the more certain that it was written by Joinville as it is found in the manuscript of the dukes of Guise, whence Lasseré has extracted it.

The foregoing detail evidently proves, that five different manuscripts of the history of St Louis have been known; and these manuscripts all bearing the name of Joinville, and succeeding each other from age to age since the history was first written to the time of Claude Menard, they form a chain of tradition that must destroy every suspicion that Joinville was not the real author of this work. There is still less foundation to suppose that this life of St Louis was but a romance, and that this romance was composed in the fifteenth century: for on the one hand the facts agree perfectly with all our known histories, and above all with that written by the confessor to queen

Margaret; and, on the other, the simplicity and ingenuousness of the style warrant the truth of the details related by the author, details that have nothing of the marvellous with which all our old romances are filled, and which are consistent with the character of the hero he was describing. Beside, the date those who have treated this history as a romance wish to give it, is absolutely annihilated by the catalogue of the books of Charles V. made in 1373, an original piece, and invested with every character of authenticity that can be desired.

We might console ourselves for the loss of these manuscripts of Joinville, if the two different editions of Poitiers and Menard faithfully represented the original; but the language of the author has been altered in both, and those who have changed the language have had no scruples to insert into the text various additions, which have almost completely disfigured it.

When Antoine Pierre had made the discovery of his manuscript among the papers of king René, he instantly began to prepare it for the press: but he unfortunately imagined that he should render a great service to the public by putting this work in modern French, such as was then spoken; that is to say, under the reign of Francis I. to whom he dedicated it. Beside that this change would have been easily perceived, Antoine Pierre took care to inform the public of it, in his dedicatory epistle; and one of his friends, named Guillaume de la Perriere, a Toulousain, in a notice to the reader, printed at the end of the work, was not wanting in his praise of Antoine Pierre for what he had done, by declaring the merit of this sort of translation to be equal to that of the original.

Not satisfied with this infidelity, the editor of the Poitiers edition, perceiving that Joinville had but cursorily noticed the first years of the reign of St Louis, and that he had omitted several facts related by other contemporary historians, thought himself bound to supply this loss, and copy, whether from the history of St Louis by Nangis or from the chronicle of the same author, what was deficient in Joinville. By this means he added a very great number of interpolations to the text of his author, and these interpolations are the more difficult to discover as there is nothing to distinguish them from the text, for what may have been copied elsewhere forms a continued discourse with what is truly Joinville's.

2. The third chapter is wholly taken from Guillaume de Nangis. In the fourth and fifth, where mention is made of the troubles excited in the realm by the great barons, during the minority of St Louis, Antoine Pierre has intermixed with what Joinville had written of them other particulars that he met with in the historians of the time. He does the same thing in the succeeding chapters, and he has besides totally changed Joinville's order of narration. The greater part of the twelfth chapter is not Joinville's. It is the same with chapters xiv. xv. xvi. In short, it is very difficult to be certain that what we read in this edition was really written by Joinville, unless we have the attention to compare it with those of Menard and Du Cange. Hence, it has happened, that the learned who have written before these two last editions were published, have been deceived in quoting, as from Joinville, passages that were not his. I shall content myself by producing Estienne Pasquier as an instance of this.

This celebrated advocate says, in one part of his '*Recherches sur la France*,' that the lord de Joinville related, that when St Louis was in the island of Cyprus, he there received an embassy from the cham of the Tartars, to inform him of his conversion to Christianity; that, on this intelligence, the holy monarch, full of joy, dispatched preachers to attempt the conversion of the rest of the Tartars; that these preachers, incessantly repeating in their sermons that the pope was the vicar of God on earth, the cham of Tartary formed the design of sending ambassadors to the pope, to pay him his filial obedience; but that these same preachers, fearing that if the ambassadors should go to Rome, and there witness the disorders that reigned among Christians, they would on their return engage their master to resume his former errors, wisely resolved to dissuade the cham from this design.

Pasquier afterward observes, that perhaps Boccacio may have taken from Joinville the story of the Christian merchant who wanted to convert a Jew.

Pasquier was only acquainted with Joinville from the edition of Antoine Pierre, the single edition published in his time; we must not therefore be surprised at his attributing this tale to Joinville, though it is but an addition of the editor; for in the edition of Menard there is nothing like it, notwithstanding the arrival of the ambassadors from the cham of Tartary is

noticed, as well as the journey of the two Cordeliers sent to Tartary by Saint Louis, and the account they gave on their return of what they had seen in that country. We may with more reason reproach Pasquier with having inadvertently substituted *Rome* for *France*, when he speaks of the fears the preachers had lest the envoys of the cham should see too nearly the disorders of the Christians ; for these are the words of the edition of Poitiers: ‘ Mais les prescheurs connoissant qui si les ambassadeurs venoient en *France*, ils verroient tout autrement vivre le peuple qu’ils ne leur avoient dit et presché, qui pourroit être cause de reprendre leur erreur payenne.’ In fact, at the time the cham was desirous to send ambassadors to the pope, Innocent IV. who then filled the chair of St Peter, was in France ; and it would have been in France, and not at Rome, that these ambassadors would have witnessed the difference of the practice of the Christians from the morality they had been preaching.

If father Hardouin had been aware that at the time of Pasquier there was no other edition of Joinville but that of Poitiers, he would not have taxed him with want of memory, when, in another part of his ‘ recherches,’ he says, he had read in Joinville, relative to *Pierre MAUCLERC*, that *the Bretons had wrongfully given him this surname, since he had studied a long time at Paris* ; for this passage is not in the editions of Menard or of Du Cange, but is almost verbatim in that of Poitiers, the only one which Pasquier could have read ; but probably he who made this reproach was not acquainted with this.

In addition to the articles which Antoine Pierre has taken from contemporary historians, he has inserted several others, of which he is the sole author, and which shew his perfect ignorance of the history of that period. For instance, he declares, in the twelfth chapter, that Saint Louis raised the county of Poitou into a duchy, in favour of his brother Alphonso. Joinville, as may be seen in the editions of Menard and Du Cange, has said nothing like it ; for he has never, in the course of his work, given to this brother of St Louis any other title than that of Count ; and it is also the only one which Alphonso has taken in the different deeds executed by him : a great number of them are among the proofs in the third volume of the history of Languedoc.

The ignorance of Antoine Pierre was so great, that he could not understand his author; for in the part where Joinville makes the enumeration of those who took the cross in 1248, and where, after naming Guillaume comte de Flandres, and his brother Guyon de Flandres, he adds, that this last 'puis n' a guères mourut à Compiègne.' This editor believed that Joinville intended to inform his reader, by this expression, that Guy de Flandres had died at Compiègne shortly after having put on the cross, and has entirely changed the sense of the author, by making him say that 'Guyon de Flandres mourut à Compiègne, et ne se trouva point avec le roy.' Had he known any thing of history, he could not have been ignorant that Guy of Flanders did accompany the king to Palestine, and that he did not die before 1305, as I have said at the beginning of this dissertation. If he had been acquainted with the language of Joinville, he would have comprehended that the expression 'puis n' a guères,' did not mean that Guy of Flanders died instantly after having taken the cross, but that he died a little before Joinville wrote that part of his history.

The carelessness of the first editor equals his ignorance. Can it possibly be believed that he paid any attention to what he was writing, when he says, that the feast of St Louis was celebrated on the 7th of August? This phrase is not in the edition of Menard, who printed the text of Joinville conformably to his manuscript. If Antoine Pierre, the author of this edition, was ignorant that the bull of Boniface VIII. for the canonization of St Louis, fixes the feast for the morrow of that of St Bartholomew, he ought at least to have remembered, that it was on that day the church celebrates it yearly.

Claude Menard has not taken the same liberties as the first editor. When he discovered a new manuscript of the life of St Louis, he thought he should be enabled to repair all the wrongs that Antoine Pierre had done to Joinville. He had persuaded himself, and even announced in the title of his edition, that he had found the original of the author. But the learned have, for a long time, been aware of this error of Menard; and all who have examined this new edition attentively have judged that Antoine Pierre was not the first, nor the only one, who thought proper to retouch and interpolate the text of Joinville. The most moderate knowledge of the french language, as spoken

at the time of St Louis, is sufficient to shew that the style of the manuscript of Menard is much more modern. We have plenty of french books written by contemporaries of Joinville; such are the chronicles in verse of Philippe Mouskes* and Guillaume Guiart†, the translation which William Nangis made himself of his latin chronicle, ‘*Les Etablissements*,’ attributed to Saint Louis, ‘*Le Conseil*’ of Pierre Fontaine, and many more, the enumeration of which would be useless.

On comparing some one of these authors with the Joinville of Menard, it will easily be seen that the language of this last has been altered by some more modern writer. In the genealogy of the house of Joinville by Du Cange, it is positively said, that the history we possess of Joinville has been altered in its idiom. The *Journal des Sçavans*, in giving an account of the new history of Joinville procured through the labours of M. du Cange, have likewise acknowledged that this history was not composed in the state in which it now appears. M. Baillet has given the same opinion. Menard is almost the only one who has believed that the manuscript found at Laval was a faithful copy of the original. He might readily have corrected himself, if he had but paid attention to the difference of language between the precepts of St Louis to Philippe le Hardy, his son, such as they are related by Joinville in his history, and these same precepts which he has published himself, in his observations, from a manuscript of Antoine Loyfel. Joinville cannot reasonably be suspected of having altered the style of these precepts, which are pretended to have been written in St Louis’s own hand. He spoke no other language than that of the king his master, and the French of St Louis could not have become so difficult to be understood, during the short time that passed from that monarch’s death to the period of Joinville’s writing his life, as to need a translation.

We must therefore suppose that Joinville had recited these precepts from one of the copies that were abroad at that time; and of these copies, beside those of Joinville and Antoine Loyfel, I have discovered two others in the

* See p. 10 note

† Guillaume Guiart composed likewise a history of France in verse, entitled ‘*La Branche aux Beaulx Lignages*.’ It begins in 1165, and ends 1306.

two manuscript lives of St Louis that are in the royal library. I have already noticed one of them, and I shall soon speak more fully of the other. The manuscript of Loyfel is conformable to those in the library, one of which is certainly but little posterior to the death of St Louis, and the other was written a short time prior to 1320. The whole difference to be remarked among these manuscripts arises solely from the diversity of dialects used in the countries where they were copied. The two manuscripts in the library seem to have been written at Paris, and that of Loyfel in Picardy. But although in these precepts, such as Joinville relates them, the same plan and order be observed, the language is totally different, and is the same that runs through the whole work of Joinville. Menard, who had copied the manuscript of Loyfel, ought to have concluded that the original language of Joinville had been retouched by the person who had written the manuscript found at Laval, and from which he published his edition.

It would now be difficult to determine when this alteration of style took place, because Menard has neglected to mark nearly the age of his manuscript. It could not, however, have happened until after the middle of the fifteenth century. We have no author of the fourteenth century whose style has not more of antiquity in it; and, even at the beginning of the fifteenth, I find that the language in the life of Louis III. duke of Bourbon, written in 1429 by Jean d'Oronville, is somewhat older than that of the Joinville by Menard. I am not afraid to advance that the chronicles of Enguerrand de Monstrelet, and the memoirs of Olivier de la Marche, do not appear more modern. The interpolator of Joinville may have been contemporary with these authors, and a hand still more recent may have made new additions, since facts are found in it that were unknown until the first years of the reign of Francis I. I shall not fail to point them out at the end of this dissertation.

It has perhaps been always the consequence of altering the style of an author, that similar liberties have been taken with the body of the work. The first interpolators of Joinville, therefore, have not failed to insert from their own head many phrases and words, with a view to make their author more intelligible to the readers of their time. I will give some instances of this. Joinville is made to say, ' Car de coutume après ce que les fires de Nêelles, et le bon seigneur de Soiffons, moy et autres de ses prouches, avions.

été à la messe, il falloit que nous allissions oir les pletz de la porte, que maintenant on appelle, Les Requêtes du Palais à Paris.' It is clear, that these last words are not Joinville's; for, in the first place, 'Les Requêtes du Palais' were not, properly speaking, succeeded by 'Les Plaids de la Porte,' but by 'Les Requêtes de l'Hôtel:' in the second place, the most ancient ordinances, in which mention is made either of the requêtes du palais, or of the hôtel, are of the reign of Philippe de Valois, as may be seen in the book of Miraulmont on jurisdictions exercised within the circuit of the palace. Joinville could not therefore have spoken of them, and we may be assured that this explanation is the work of some interpolator.

In another part, where Joinville speaks of those lords who were desirous, at the beginning of the reign of St Louis to deprive queen Blanche of the regency, we read as follows, in the editions of Menard and Du Cange: 'Ils firent du comte de Boulogne, qui estoit oncle du roy darreinément trespasé son pere, leur cheivetaine, et le tenoient comme pour leur seigneur et maitre.' These words seem to signify that the count de Boulogne was uncle to the king lately deceased, father to St Louis. Such a mistake must not be imputed to Joinville, who could not be ignorant that Philippe of France, count of Boulogne, was son to Philippe Auguste, consequently brother to Louis VIII. and uncle to St Louis. We may therefore be certain that the words '*darreinément trespasé son pere*, are an addition of an interpolator; and we may the more positively affirm this, as they are not to be found in the manuscript of king René: the edition of Poitiers calling the count of Boulogne simply *uncle to the king*.

But all these changes and alterations in the Joinville of Menard will be more readily known if the reader will take the pains to collate the ordinance of St Louis on the reformation of manners and justice, which is there cited with the same ordinance published in the great collection of ordinances of our kings of the third race, or with the copy inserted in the second manuscript life of St Louis that I before spoke of.

This manuscript forms a small folio of seventy leaves of vellum: it had belonged to the famous Bureau de la Riviere, chamberlain, and, in some measure, first minister to Charles V. The lord de la Riviere died in 1400; but as the notice that informs us this book had belonged to him, seems written in a much more modern hand than that of the body of the

work, it must have been written in the reign of Philippe de Valois, if it is but a copy : should it be an original, it will be prior to 1298, because the historian never gives to St Louis the title of Saint, and makes no mention whatever of his canonization, not even when he says that the bones of this prince were put into a shrine at St Denis, and that they had performed many miracles. This life is consequently more ancient than that of Joinville, who did not begin his until after the canonization of that monarch, of which he speaks more than once, and is the first of the lives of this king written in French. The author being a contemporary has faithfully transcribed the ordinance of St Louis, such as he had published it ; and as it was impossible for him to change the language, there is not the smallest probability that he should have altered its provisions.

It is equally improbable that Joinville, writing a few years after, should have made any changes in it ; and yet, in the same ordinance as it stands in the Joinville of Menard, not only the language is very different from that of the manuscript, but also the several clauses that are in it are mixed and confounded with each other : many are totally suppressed, and, beside this, we find in it mention made of things that were unknown until a long time after the age of Joinville. I will give a remarkable instance of this. It is said in the second article of this ordinance, ‘ Li bailli et li official dessus nommés jureront que ilz garderont loyaument nos rentes et nos droiz, ne ne soufferront qu’ ilz faichent qu’ il nous soit soustrait, osté ne amenuisié.’ It is thus in the edition of M. de Laurière, and in the manuscript life of Saint Louis.

In the editions of Menard and Du Cange this same article is as follows : ‘ Nos thresoriers, receveurs, prevotz, auditeurs de comptes, et autres officiers et entre metteurs de nos finances, jureront que bien et loiaument ils garderont nos rentes et domaines aveques toutz et chacuns nos droitz, libertéz et preéminences, fans leffer ni souffrir en estre rien soustrait, ousté, ni amenuisié.’ We cannot but be surprised to see in this sort of paraphrase, that an ordinance of St Louis should mention auditors of accounts. Their origin is well known : they were at first simply called clerks, because they served as clerks to the masters of accounts. An edict of Francis I. dated 1520, on the creation of several new offices in the chamber of accounts,

gave them the title of clerks and auditors, and, in course of time, they were called auditors of accounts, as Miraulmont has justly observed. Here, then, is an interpolation clearly proved, and made at a time very near to that when the first edition of Joinville was printed. It must thence result, either that the manuscript of Menard was not one hundred years old when found at Laval, or that after one hundred years had elapsed, some one through whose hands it passed had made in it interlineary additions, which Menard has improperly mistaken for the text.

The interpolator, sometimes by paraphrasing or abridging the provisions of the ordinance, has so blundered in parts of it, that he makes it declare precisely the contrary to what were the intentions of the legislator. He confines to bailiffs, provosts, judges, and other officers, the injunctions against blasphemy, swearing, playing at dice, frequenting taverns, or houses of ill fame, whereas the article x. of the ordinance extends these injunctions to all the king's subjects generally. By the xvth article all bailiffs and judges are forbidden to marry their sons and daughters within their jurisdictions; but in the Joinville of Menard it is precisely the contrary, for there they are forbidden to marry their children out of their jurisdictions.

I believe I have said enough to show that the text of Joinville has been much interpolated; for assuredly he could never speak of offices that were created after his death, and he was not so illiterate as to construe in a wrong sense the ordinances of St Louis, especially as he had been so often employed by this prince to distribute justice.

I have now proved, if I be not mistaken, first, that the life of St Louis, which bears the name of the lord de Joinville, is not a supposititious work, but is truly his whose name it bears, and that manuscript copies of it have been known for more than three centuries. Secondly, I have also shewn that the first printed edition had been interpolated by the editor, and that the second edition had been edited from a manuscript which in former times had undergone the same alterations, although these alterations were unnoticed by the editor. In discussing these two articles, I have destroyed the objections to the age at which Joinville was supposed to have written this history, and against the difference of style of the authors of the age of St Louis and that of the two editions of Joinville. It must then follow,

that whatever may be found in this life of St Louis contrary to the truths of which Joinville could not be ignorant, ought to be solely placed to the account of the interpolators, since the authenticity of the work has been otherwise so strongly proved. It now only remains for me to give some account of those passages that have caused so much trouble to the celebrated critic whom I am refuting, and the solution will not be difficult by keeping to the principles I have laid down.

Joinville, it is said, dedicated his work, ‘à très noble et très puissant roy Loys, fils de très digne et très sainte mémoire le roy St Loys, par la grace de Dieu, roy de France, de Navarre, de Champagne et de Brie, comte palatin;’ and he thus addresses him in the body of the dedication,—‘Très noble et puissant seigneur, vous plaist sçavoir que feue ma très excellente dame votre mere, que Dieu absoille! pour la grant amour qu’ elle avoit à moy, aussi qu’ elle favoit bien que très loyalement j’ avoye amé et servi le dit seigneur roy St Loys son bon espoux me requist que je fisse faire et escrire un livret et traité des très dignes et très saints faits et dits, du dit seigneur roy St Loys Et parce que à vous qui êtes l’ainé fils et hoir, et qui avés succédé au royaume après le dit seigneur roy St Loys, vostre dit pere, envoie le livret, comme cognoissant que à nul autre vif plus que à vous n’appartient de l’avoir.’

How could it have been possible for Joinville to have given the name of Louis to the eldest son and immediate successor of St Louis, when he must have known that this prince was named Philippe? If it shall be said, that it was a fault of the copyist, and that Joinville had written Philippe instead of Louis, as we read in the first edition; we ask, how could Joinville have given to Philippe le hardy, the titles of king of Navarre and count of Champagne and Brie? how could he have supposed that his mother was dead, since that princess did not die till a year after the decease of her son? Such are the strongest objections that can be made against the authenticity of Joinville. M. du Cange had before observed them, and had seen no other means to obviate them than by saying, that the name of Louis had slipped into the address of the dedication instead of Philippe, and that it was to Philippe le bel that Joinville had dedicated his work; and that, for the expression *father* and *mother*, we must read grandfather and grandmother.

I cannot think that M. du Cange was satisfied with this explanation: I own, that for my part I should not have been contented with it; for, in the first place, the names of Philippe and Louis are not so much alike that a copyist could mistake the one for the other: beside, the name of Louis is not only found in the manuscript of Menard, but also in the manuscript of Lasseré. Secondly, M. du Cange has not produced any instance from authors contemporary with Joinville, where the names of *pere* and *mere* were used for *ayeul* and *ayeule*. Thirdly, if it were queen Margaret of Provence who entreated Joinville to write the life of St Louis, this princess was dead in 1285, and, Joinville not beginning his work before 1305, we shall be forced to suppose, against all probability, that Joinville did not attempt to execute the orders of the queen till twenty years after her death,

My opinion is, that in fact Joinville did dedicate this life to Louis Hutin, who in right of his mother, Jeanne of Champagne, was king of Navarre, and count of Champagne and Brie; that he undertook this work at the request of queen Jeanne and not queen Margaret, and that the expressions by which he seems to signify that the prince to whom he addresses his book was the son and immediate successor to St Louis, are the additions of an ignorant interpolator.

When it is proved that a work has been retouched and altered, we have good reason to maintain that every thing contained in it that is contrary to facts of public notoriety, and of which the true author could not have been ignorant, can be only the work of those who have altered the text, or made additions to it. I say more, that we have grounds for asserting this, when such expressions may be retrenched without the continuity of the discourse suffering from it: now this is precisely the case respecting the dedicatory epistle of Joinville. Let the following words in the dedication be omitted, ‘ *fils de très digne et très sainte mémoire le roy St Loys,*’ we shall then read, ‘ *à très noble, très excellent, et très puissant roy Loys, par la grace de Dieu, roy de France et de Navarre,*’ &c. which is perfectly correct. Omit also ‘ *son bon espoux,*’ and read only, ‘ *aussi qu’ elle favoit bien que très loyalement j’avoie amé et servi ledit seigneur roy St Loys,*’ the sense loses nothing by this omission, and truth gains. I say the same of another passage, ‘ *Après ledit seigneur roy St Loys, vostre dit pere,*’ which must absolutely be omitted,

‘ pour ce à vous très excellent et puissant seigneur, qui estes l’ainé fils et hoïr, et qui avec succédé au royaume, envoie le livret, comme cognoissant que à nul autre vif plus que à vous n’appartient de l’avoir ;’ the sense remains the same, the discourse is not interrupted, and every difficulty disappears.

The additions made to this dedication are of the same nature with those I have before noticed in the body of the work : they consist of words, or half phrases, which an ignorant copyist has inserted, thinking he should make his author better understood, and the persons he speaks of more fully known. I cannot but offer one instance in proof of what I advance. Joinville says, ‘ Et par ce dit me remembray-je une fois du bon seigneur roy, pere du roy qui ors est, pour les pompes et bobans d’habillemens et cottes brodées que on fait tous les jours maintenant aux armes, et disoit audit roy de present que onques en la voye d’oultremer, où je fus avec son pere et s’armée, je ne vis une seule cote brodee, ne la selle de son dit pere, ne selles d’autrui.’ The king under whom Joinville wrote, ‘ *A roy de present, a roy qui ors est,*’ can be no other than Philippe le bel, as I have before proved, and as Joinville himself says three pages further, ‘ Après ces choses, le bon roy (St Louis) appella messeigneurs, Philippe pere du roy qui or est, et aussi le roy Thibaud ses filz.’ Now Joinville never attended Philippe le hardy, father to Philippe le bel into Palestine ; for this prince took the cross only once, when St Louis went to besiege Tunis ; and Joinville, although he had been invited, excused himself from attending the king on this expedition. The words *de present* are therefore an addition improperly made, serving only to throw confusion over the passage : by suppressing them, we shall perfectly understand what the historian intended to inform us of. He says, respecting the luxury which then predominated in dress and equipage, that he remembered the time of the king, father to the present monarch on the throne, (that is, Philippe le hardy, father to Philippe le bel), and that he had told him, that when he accompanied St Louis, his father, to the holy land, there was not in the whole army a single embroidered coat of arms, not one belonging to that prince. So many instances of alterations in the text are surely more than sufficient to induce me to believe that the same may have happened in every passage where I meet with the same difficulties.

The objection, that the titles given to Louis Hutin in the dedication are so different from those given by Joinville in his letter to him in the year 1315, stands on very feeble ground. An old courtier, admitted to the most intimate familiarity with his master, would have been very cautious of abusing it, by addressing him in a public work, in the same terms which his kindness permitted him to use in private.

It seems more difficult to comprehend how the lord de Joinville, after remaining more than a year in Egypt, should have forgotten that the overflowing of the Nile takes place in June, and not in August, if we had not such glaring proofs of the changes interpolators have made in his history. He had, doubtless, written that the inundations of the Nile began about St Peter's day; and the ignorant copyist, knowing that rivers generally overflow towards the end of September or the beginning of October, had changed the name of St Peter into that of St Remy.

There is an instance of a similar change of name in the passage where one of the lords attendant on St Louis told this prince, that he had been cheated of ten thousand livres, in the payment of the two hundred thousand to the Saracens, for the ransom of the count de Poitiers. The edition of Joinville by Menard attributes this information to Philippe de Montfort; but the confessor to queen Margaret, in the first of the manuscript lives of St Louis, so often quoted, says it was Philippe de Nemours. This author had under his eyes the depositions of Joinville before the commissioners in 1282, and, consequently, it must have been after Joinville he thus wrote it. The copyist, therefore, of the manuscript of Menard must have changed the name of Nemor into Montford; for it is improbable that Joinville should have forgotten the name of him of whom he was speaking, since he had been present when Philippe de Nemours held that conversation with the king, and since he had even contributed to extricate him from the disagreeable situation his imprudence had placed him in. But should we even grant that Joinville's memory had for once failed him in the course of his history, would that be sufficient to have it condemned as a romance? and can it be concluded from this fault, that he is not the author of a work which tradition has constantly attributed to him? and lastly, though it may be added, that Joinville speaks of Turks and Saracens in the recital of the battle of

Maffoura, and in various other places, when the Turks were not established in Egypt during his time; and that then there were no Saracens in the east. The critic must either have been ignorant, or have concealed his knowledge, that the Turks, whose name was well known in the times of Pomponius Mela and Pliny, were spread over all the east in the age of St Louis; and that the army of the sultan of Egypt was filled with mameluke Turks; that the name of Turks, or Turcoples, is often employed by Philippe Mouskes for Saracens; and that our ancient french writers have called for many centuries by the name of Saracens, not only the Mahometans, but likewise all people who were not Christians, and even the pagans of Livonia and Prussia. If this objection had the smallest force, Joinville would not be the sole writer who might be suspected of being supposititious: the two manuscript lives of St Louis in the national library must be considered as romances; for they almost always call the enemies whom that prince had to combat in Egypt by the name of Saracens. In the same rank must be placed the latin life of St Louis written by Geoffroy de Beaulieu, his confessor: we must even consider the bull for his canonization as apocryphal, wherein the Mahometans, against whom he had undertaken the croisade, are never called otherwise than Saraceni. There is no danger that any person of a sound understanding will adopt principles whence such dangerous consequences may follow.

ADDITIONS

TO

THE LIFE OF SAINT LOUIS,

WRITTEN BY

THE LORD DE JOINVILLE.

BY M. LE BARON DE LA BASTIE.

IN the dissertation which I read last year to the Academy, on the life of St Louis composed by the lord de Joinville, I was not solely occupied in destroying the unfounded suspicions which a celebrated critic had endeavoured to throw on the authenticity of this history ; but I also wished to awaken the attention of men of letters, in regard to a piece so interesting to the nation. It was from the same motive that I then made an enumeration of the manuscripts of Joinville known in the fourteenth, fifteenth, and sixteenth centuries, flattering myself that it would not be impossible to recover some of these, if pains were taken in searching the libraries in France, and those of foreign countries.

I had, above all, the greatest hopes of success among the archives of the castle of Joinville, which at present belongs to the duke of Orleans, but I was soon forced to give them up. M. le marquis d'Argenson, who had

been present when I read my foregoing dissertation, had the kindness to write to the person who has the care of these archives, and who seems well versed in the knowledge of ancient deeds. The answer M. d'Argenson received, and which he communicated to me, after having read it to the Academy, was, that after the most exact researches, nothing could be found relative to the manuscript of the life of St Louis; but only many ancient title-deeds of the house of Joinville, which may one day serve to render the genealogy we have of that family more exact and complete.

Nearly at this time, I thought I had discovered in the collections of Messieurs Dupuy, which are in the cabinet of M. le procureur-general du parlement, the title of another manuscript of the life of St Louis, by Joinville, existing in the sixteenth century. In the 488th volume of these collections is the original catalogue of the books found in the castle of Moulins in the Bourbonnois, the 29th September 1523, drawn up by Pierre Antoine, conseiller au grand conseil, and commissioner deputed by the king to put his seal on all the effects belonging to the duke of Bourbon, constable of France. The books thus catalogued were delivered to the king's commissioner by Matthieu Espinette, who had the care of the duke's library, and the catalogue is signed by both.

In running over this catalogue, I found the work of the lord de Joinville pointed out in these terms,—‘ *Les Chroniques de Monsieur Saint Loys, roy de France, en papier à la main.*’ The name of Joinville, it is true, is omitted in the catalogue; but it is not the less certain that it is his work alone that it is intended to denote, for of all the lives of St Louis, whether printed or manuscript, that are known to us, that which the lord de Joinville wrote is the only one that has the title of Chronicles of St Louis. But although the manuscript of Moulins augments the number of those that have been known in former times, and although it strengthens the proof I have drawn from existing manuscripts, that Joinville had in truth written the life of St Louis, nevertheless the catalogue wherein it is announced does not afford us any light which may enable us to recover it; for the fate of the library of the dukes of Bourbon at Moulins is equally unknown to us as that of the collection of books which the dukes of Guise had made in their castle of Joinville.

It was reserved for one of the members of the Academy to have the happiness of recovering and making known the only manuscript which perhaps at this day exists of the history of Joinville.

M. de la Curne de Sainte Palaye, in the course of a journey undertaken from his love of letters, had remembered when passing through Lucca, that another learned man, on his return from Italy, had spoken to him of a manuscript of Joinville which he thought he had seen in the library of the senator Fiorentini. On this information, M. de Sainte Palaye eagerly examined all the manuscripts of this library, and having in fact discovered this manuscript of Joinville, took as many notes of it as his time would allow of, and has had the kindness to communicate them to me.

This manuscript is a small folio on vellum and fairly written, but seems to be only of the beginning of the sixteenth century. It is in several places ornamented with miniatures, one of which represents the king in his bed speaking to the lord de Joinville, who is dictating to a secretary. The others represent the principal actions of the life of St Louis, and are headed with titles somewhat like the following,—‘*Comment le roy fut prins, comment il monta sur mer pour revenir en France,*’ &c. There are likewise in this book escutcheons, the first and fourth quarterings of which are, Lorraine, Bar, Jerusalem, &c. and in the second and third France, with a bend gules, charged with three lioncels argent.

It is certain that these are the arms of the first owner of the book, and the name of this person is not difficult to be discovered; for it was doubtless Antoinette de Bourbon, daughter to Francis de Bourbon, count de Vendôme by Adrienne d’Estouteville, his second wife. This princess was married, the 9th June 1513, to Claude de Lorraine, first duke of Guise. Hence it follows that in the escutcheon of her arms, she was entitled to bear in the first and fourth quarters, Lorraine, in right of her husband, and in the second and third Bourbon-Vendôme, from being of that branch of the royal family.

If my readers will have the goodness to recollect that I said in the first part of this dissertation, that the manuscript of Joinville, which Louis Lasseré had made use of in 1541, had been lent him by Antoinette de Bourbon duchess of Guise, they will be fully convinced it must be the same

manuscript as that at Lucca. It would be a weak objection to say the writing of this manuscript is but of the sixteenth century; and the language the same as was spoken in France at the beginning of the reign of Francis I.; for we may readily believe that when the duchess of Guise found in the castle of Joinville, which belonged to her husband, an original manuscript of the life of St Louis, she wished to have a copy of it, which would be more easily read, and the meaning of the author better understood. This is the more probable because the book was doubly interesting to the duchess of Guise: on the one hand, it was the life of a king from whom she was descended by the male line; and, on the other, the author of this life was one of the maternal ancestors of the duke her husband.

Although the copyist, whom the duchess of Guise employed, has put the work of Joinville into a more modern style, he has been very far from imitating the other copyists, who have taken the liberty of altering and interpolating the text of those manuscripts from which the editions of Joinville have been taken, which interpolations I have before detailed. By comparing some of the passages which M. de St Palaye has copied from the Lucca manuscript with the editions published by Antoine Pierre and Menard, it is clear that in this manuscript nothing has been visibly added, as in the printed copies; and hence I think I have a right to conclude that the copyist of the Lucca manuscript, seeking only to render his author intelligible, has solely changed the style, and has punctually followed as to the rest what was in the manuscript under his eyes, which ought to make this manuscript still more precious.

One of the principal objections that have been made against the authenticity of the history of St Louis by Joinville, is grounded on the dedicatory epistle addressed to Louis Hutin, as it is found in the editions of Menard and Du Cange, wherein this prince is called ‘*fils de très digne et très sainte mémoire le roy St Loys.*’ How can it be supposed, say the critics, that the lord de Joinville was ignorant that St Louis was great grandfather to Louis Hutin, and not his father? To solve this difficulty I have maintained, in my answer, that the passage had been interpolated. The Lucca manuscript determines it in my favour; for we only read in that

copy, ' A très noble et très puissant roy Loys, fils de roy de France, par la grace de Dieu, roy de France et de Navarre, de Champagne et de Brie, comte palatin, Jean, sire de Joinville, ses sénéchaux de Champagne,' &c. In all these expressions there is nothing but what is right, nothing but what might have come from the pen of the lord de Joinville.

There was also another objection made, namely, that Joinville, in this same dedication, is represented as saying that he had undertaken at the entreaty of the queen, mother to Louis Hutin, to write the life of Saint Louis *son bon espoux*; for it was farther observed, the queen Margaret, widow to St Louis, was grandmother to Louis Hutin, and died nearly thirty years before this prince mounted the throne: on the other hand, the queen, Jeanne of Navarre, who was the mother of Louis Hutin, could not give to St Louis the title of *son bon espoux*, since she was his grand-daughter by the mother's side. I had conjectured that the words *son bon espoux* were the addition of some interpolator, and my conjecture is confirmed by the Lucca manuscript.

This is the beginning of the dedication, as M. de St Palaye has copied it from the manuscript, ' Chier sire, je vous fais à savoir que madame la roine, vostre mere, me pria, que je lui fisse faire un livre des saintes paroles, et des beaux fais de nostre roy saint Loys.'

It is immediately after these words that the lord de Joinville adds, according to the same manuscript, that he shall divide his work into two parts, of which he points out the subjects; but in the editions of Menard and Du Cange, this division is reserved to a sort of preface, which follows the dedicatory epistle. This difference may give us some idea of the licentiousness in which the interpolators indulged themselves of altering the text of Joinville, by adding, transposing, or changing whole passages. Hence my readers must not be surprised at the boldness of the conjectures that I have offered on other passages which have been visibly altered in the printed copies.

The conclusion of the dedication in the Lucca manuscript is very different from that in our editions; for whereas we read in the latter,—
' Et parce que à vous très excellent et puissant seigneur, qui estes

aîné filz et hoir, et qui avez succédé au royaume après le dit seigneur roy St Loys, vostre pere, envoye le livret, comme cognoissant que à nul autre vif plus que à vous n'appartient de l'avoir, affin que,' &c. we read, on the contrary, in the manuscript,—‘ Or dis-je à vous sire roy de Navarre, que je promis à madame la royne, vostre mere que je ferois ce livre, et pour ne manquer à remplir ma promesse, l'ay fait ; et pour ce que je ne voi nul qui si bien le doive avoir comme vous qui estes son hoir, je vous envoye le ; pour ce que vous et vostre frere et tous les autres qui l'orront, y puissent prendre de bons exemples, et les exemples mettre en pour que Dieu et nostre dame l'aye en son gré.’

It is not strange that in reading the life of St Louis in the common editions, we should be embarrassed to discover how Joinville could have said to the king, Louis Hutin, that he was the eldest son to St Louis, and had succeeded him on the throne. I had suspected that this phrase was the work of an interpolator, and the Lucca manuscript completely clears away any difficulty that might have remained on this passage.

We see from this manuscript, that the lord de Joinville had said to Louis Hutin, when he was but king of Navarre (that is, during the lifetime of Philippe le bel), that he had promised the queen his mother (Jeanne de Navarre) to write the life of St Louis ; that, although that princess was dead, he had not failed to keep his word, and that seeing no one to whom this work could so legitimately belong as to Louis Hutin, son and heir to queen Jeanne, he had sent it to him that he might profit from the good examples that St Louis had left. This manuscript, therefore, plainly shews the extreme ignorance of the interpolators of the work of Joinville, who have carried it so far as to make Joinville say that Louis Hutin was the immediate heir to St Louis, in a passage which solely relates to the queen of Navarre, and wherein the author says nothing else than that he thinks himself obliged to send the book he had composed by order of this queen to Louis Hutin, her son and heir.

It may be said, that the interpolators have been determined to give to Louis Hutin the title of son to St Louis, in every part where Joinville has occasion to name him. I will mention another instance of this, which had escaped me. The lord de Joinville, after having spoken of the canonization

of St Louis, relates, toward the end of his book, that being one day in his chapel at Joinville, he fancied he saw the holy king with a smiling countenance, and that, having proposed to conduct him to his house of Chevillon, St Louis had answered, ‘ Lord de Joinville, on my faith to you, I will not quit this place so soon, since I am now here.’ Joinville then adds, that for this reason he had caused to be built on the spot a chapel in honour to St Louis. He then continues, ‘ And these things I told to my lord Louis his son, in order that, in fulfilling the will of God and of my lord St Louis, I might possess some portion of the real body of my lord St Louis,’ &c.

It is thus in the two last editions; but in the Lucca manuscript it is,— ‘ And these things did I relate to my lord the king, Louis, who inherits his name; and I think he will do the will of God and of our holy king, if, through his means, I may obtain some relics of the real body of Saint Louis.’

We may judge from this sample of the exactness of the Lucca manuscript, and of the use it may be of in publishing a new edition of Joinville, free from the interpolations that disfigure all the preceding ones. The grand collection of the french historians now publishing affords a good opportunity of thinking of this new edition; and I am persuaded that, under a ministry attentive to the progress of letters, the learned editors will not have cause to complain of neglect in furnishing them with materials to enrich their collection with so important a piece of history. They will thereby enjoy an advantage M. du Cange sighed for in vain; and should it be impossible to acquire the manuscript itself, there certainly would not be any difficulty in obtaining a faithful copy of it, from which may be given a corrected text of the life of St Louis.

My readers may, perhaps, be curious to know how a manuscript of this value could have passed from France to Italy, but M. de St Palaye could not, on this head, give me any information. In my own opinion, I imagine it may have been transported among the furniture and books of Charles de Lorraine, duke of Guise, great-grandson to Antoinette de Bourbon, when, in 1630, this prince being forced to quit the kingdom, fixed his residence at Florence. After his death in 1640, his furniture may have been sold, and the manuscript of Joinville would have had the same fate. It is fortunate for

us, that the frequent changes in private libraries, which have annihilated the greater part of the manuscripts they contained, have not caused the loss of this also. It is to be wished, for the sake of literature, that it may now be securely deposited where nothing could be feared from similar changes.

Before I conclude, I hope to be permitted to make some observations on what I have before said respecting the liberty the copyists and editors have taken to alter the style of Joinville, and on the manuscript life of St Louis, of which I have given so long a detail. Some time before Claude Menard published his second edition of Joinville, the learned had noticed the alterations made in the author's style. Antoine Laval, in his '*Dessins de Professions nobles et politiques*,' thus speaks,—' Et sçay mauvais gré à ceux qui m' ont otée la vraye chronique du sire de Joinville, chambellan de St Louis, et nous l'ont corrigé en nôtre François. Ses vieux termes l'eussent plus autorisé, et nous eussent montré comme on parloit an ce tans là.'

But before Antoine Laval, Pasquier, infinitely more learned than him in french antiquities, had remarked, ' that when there was a good book composed by our ancestors, and it was necessary to transcribe it, the copyists copied it, not according to the simple language of the author, but according to their own.' Pasquier proves this from instances in the romance of the Rose, the chronicle of Ville-hardouin, and the ordinance of Saint Louis before mentioned, which he says he has seen diversified into as many different styles as possible. Thus, therefore, as the alteration of the language cannot authorize any one to treat as supposititious works the ordinance of St Louis, the chronicle of Ville-hardouin, or the romance of the Rose, neither can the life of St Louis by Joinville be considered as a modern romance because the style has been changed.

With regard to the manuscript life of St Louis written by the confessor to queen Margaret, and to her daughter Blanche of France, I have shewn that the pieces on which the author grounded this life were the judicial inquests taken before the commissioners delegated by the pope for the canonization of this holy monarch, and that the lord de Joinville was among the witnesses heard at this inquest; but I forgot to add, that this lord afterward mentioned in his history of St Louis, the depositions he had made long before in the presence of the pope's commissioners. This is

what he says,—‘ Shortly after, there came to Paris, by orders from the holy father at Rome, a prelate who was archbishop of Rouen, accompanied by another bishop, and they proceeded to St Denis in France; at which place they remained a considerable time holding an inquest on the life, acts and miracles of the good king, St Louis. They summoned me to appear before them, and I there staid two days, that they might learn from me all that I knew on the subject. When they had there, and every where else, made sufficient inquiries concerning the good king St Louis, they returned to Rome, and carried the inquest with them.’

The perfect agreement which runs through the history of the lord de Joinville with that written by the confessor to queen Margaret, is a convincing proof of the veracity of the recitals we read in the work of the feneschal of Champagne, and very rarely are so many proofs united to assure to an author a work published under his name.

My last remark is, that M. du Cange, who was unacquainted with this manuscript life of St Louis, has advanced, in his observations on Joinville, first, That the delegates from the pope had employed twelve years to make their inquest on the life and miracles of St Louis; secondly, That this inquest having commenced in the year 1273, the archbishop of Rouen must have been Odon Rigaud, and the second delegate the bishop of Auxerre of the name of Erard. All these conjectures are equally false, for the manuscript life of St Louis tells us that the inquest commenced in the month of May 1282, and that it was terminated in March 1283, not continuing a complete year. We perceive in it also, that the archbishop of Rouen and the bishop of Auxerre both bore the name of William. The mistakes which happen to so learned a man as M. du Cange ought to make us cautious, not to establish facts on simple conjectures.

HISTORY

OF

SAINT LOUIS, IX. OF THE NAME, KING OF FRANCE.

BY JOHN LORD OF JOINVILLE, HIGH SENESCHAL OF CHAMPAGNE.

To the most noble, most excellent, and most potent Prince, Louis son to the King Saint Louis, of most renowned and holy memory, by the grace of God, King of France and Navarre, and Count Palatine of Champagne and Brie, John Lord of Joinville, Seneschal of Champagne, sends health, wishing that, at his prayer, Jesus may anoint him with holy love.

MAY it please you to know, most noble and potent lord, that my late most excellent lady your mother, whose soul may God pardon ! from the great affection she bore me, and from her knowing with how much loyalty and love I had served and attended the deceased king, St Louis, her spouse, in several countries, had most earnestly entreated me, that in honour to God, I would collect and write a small book or treatise of the holy actions and sayings of the above-mentioned king St Louis. This I very humbly promised her to execute to the best of my power ; and because you, my most excellent and potent lord, are his eldest son and heir, and have

succeeded to the crown and kingdom of our late lord and king, Saint Louis, I send this book to you, not knowing any one living to whom it can more properly belong, in order that you and all others who may read it, or hear it read, may profit by imitating the examples and deeds which it contains, and may God our Father and Creator be worshipped and honoured by it.

PREFACE.

IN the name of the most holy and most sovereign Trinity, the Father, Son and Holy Ghost, I John lord of Joinville, high steward of Champagne, do indite (1), and cause to be formed into a book, the life and most pious acts and sayings of my late lord, Saint Louis king of France, from what I personally saw or heard during the space of six whole years that I was in his company, as well in the holy expedition and pilgrimage beyond sea as since our return thence. This book will be divided into two parts. The first will shew how the above-mentioned king, St Louis, governed himself according to the precepts of God and of our holy mother the church, to the profit and advancement of his kingdom.

The second part will speak of his gallant chivalry and deeds of arms, that the one may follow the other, to enlighten and exalt the understandings of such as shall read or hear it. The contents of both parts will shew plainly that no man of his time, from the beginning of his reign unto the end of it, ever lived a more godly or conscientious life than he did.

It seems, however, to me, that sufficient respect has not been shewn him, inasmuch as he has not been ranked among the martyrs, for the great vexations he suffered on his pilgrimage for the honour of the Cross during the six years that I attended him; for, as our Lord God died for the human race on the cross; so in like manner died the good king, St Louis, at Tunis, with the cross on his breast. Because nothing is to be preferred to the salvation of the soul, I shall begin this first part which speaks of his righteous doctrine and holy conversation, which is food for the soul.

FIRST PART.

THIS holy man, king St Louis, loved and feared God during his life above all things, and, as is very apparent, was in consequence favoured in all his works. As I have before said that our God died for his people, so in like manner did St Louis several times risk his life and incur the greatest dangers for the people of his realm, as shall be touched on hereafter.

The good king, being once dangerously ill at Fontainebleau, said to my lord Louis, his eldest son (II); ‘ Fair son, I beseech thee to make thyself beloved by the people of thy kingdom; for, in truth, I should like better that a Scotman (III), fresh from Scotland, or from any other distant and unknown country, should govern the subjects of my realm well and loyally, than that thou shouldest rule them wickedly and reproachfully.’

The holy king loved truth so much, that even to the Saracens and infidels, although they were his enemies, he would never lie, nor break his word in any thing he had promised them, as shall be noticed hereafter. With regard to his food, he was extremely temperate; for I never in my whole life heard him express a wish for any delicacies in eating or drinking, like to many rich men, but he sat and took patiently whatever was set before him.

In his conversation he was remarkably chaste; for I never heard him, at any time, utter an indecent word, nor make use of the devil’s name, which, however, is now very commonly uttered by every one, but which I firmly believe is so far from being agreeable to God, that it is highly displeasing to him.

He mixed his wine with water, by measure, according to the strength of it, and what it would bear. He once asked me, when at Cyprus, why

I did not mix water with my wine. I answered what the physicians and surgeons had told me, that I had a large head and a cold stomach, which would not bear it. But the good king replied, that they had deceived me, and advised me to add water; for that if I did not learn to do so when young, and was to attempt it in the decline of life, the gout, and other disorders, which I might have in my stomach, would greatly increase; or, perhaps, by drinking pure wine, in old age, I should frequently intoxicate myself; and that it was a beastly thing for an honourable man to make himself drunk.

My good lord the king asked me at another time, if I should wish to be honoured in this world, and afterward to gain paradise; to which I answered, that I should wish it were so. 'Then,' replied he, 'be careful never knowingly to do or say any thing disgraceful, that should it become public, you may not have to blush, and be ashamed to say I have done this, or I have said that.' In like manner he told me never to give the lie, or contradict rudely whatever might be said in my presence, unless it should be sinful or disgraceful to suffer it, for oftentimes contradiction causes coarse replies and harsh words, that bring on quarrels, which create bloodshed, and are the means of the deaths of thousands.

He also said, that every one should dress and equip himself according to his rank in life, and his fortune, in order that the prudent and elders of this world may not reproach him, by saying such a one has done too much, and that the youth may not remark, that such a one has done too little, and dishonours his station in society. On this subject, I remember once the good lord king, father to the king now on the throne, speaking of the pomp of dress, and the embroidered coats of arms that are now daily common in the armies. I said to the present king, that when I was in the holy land with his father, and in his army, I never saw one single embroidered coat, or ornamented saddle, in the possession of the king, his father, or of any other lord. He answered, that he had done wrong in embroidering his arms; and that he had some coats that had cost him eight hundred livres parisis. I replied, that he would have acted better if he had given them in charity, and had his dress made of good fendal, (iv) lined and strengthened with his arms, like as the king, his father, had done.

The good king, once calling me to him, said he wanted to talk with me, on account of the quickness of understanding he knew I possessed. In the presence of several, he added,—‘ I have called these two monks, and before them ask you this question respecting God.’ ‘ Seneschal, what is God?’ ‘ Sire,’ replied I, ‘ he is so supremely good, nothing can exceed him.’ ‘ In truth,’ answered the king, ‘ that is well said, for your answer is written in the little book I have in my hand. I will put another question to you, whether you had rather be ‘ *mezeau et ladre*,’ (v) or have committed, or be about to commit, a mortal sin?’ But I, who would not tell a lie, replied, ‘ that I would rather have committed thirty deadly sins than be a leper.’

When the two friars were gone away, he called me to him alone, making me sit at his feet, and said,—‘ How could you dare to make the answer you did to my last question?’ When I replied, ‘ Were I to answer it again, I should repeat the same thing,’ he instantly said,—‘ Ah, foul *mufart*! (vi). *Mufart*, you are deceived; for you must know there can be no leprosy so filthy as deadly sin, and the soul that is guilty of such is like the devil in hell. It is very true,’ he added, ‘ that when the leprous man is dead, he is cured of that disorder; but when the man who has committed a deadly sin dies, he is not assured for certain that he had sufficiently repented of it before his death, to induce the goodness of God to pardon him: for which cause, he must have great fears lest this leprosy of sin may endure for a length of time, even so long as God may remain in paradise.’

‘ I therefore entreat of you, first for the love of God, and next for the affection you bear me, that you retain in your heart what I have said, and that you would much rather prefer having your body covered with the most filthy leprosy than suffer your soul to commit a single deadly sin, which is of all things the most infamous.’

He then inquired if I washed the feet of the poor on holy Thursday. On which I said,—‘ Oh, for shame no; and never will I wash the feet of such fellows.’ ‘ This is in truth,’ replied he, ‘ very ill said, for you should never hold in disdain what God did for our instruction; for He who is Lord and Master of the universe, on that same day, holy Thursday, washed the feet of all his apostles, telling them, that he who was their Master had

thus done, that they, in like manner, might do the same to each other. I therefore beg of you, out of love to him first, and then from your regard to me, that you would accustom yourself to do so.'

He loved every one who, with uprightness of heart, feared and loved God; inasmuch that from the great reputation he had heard of my brother Sir Gilles de Bruyn (vii), who was not a Frenchman, for his fear and love of God, as was the truth, he appointed him constable of France.

In like manner, from the favourable report which he had heard of Master Robert de Sorbon (viii) being a courageous and discreet man, he made him one of his personal attendants, and permitted him to partake of his table. One time, as we were sitting near each other, and eating and drinking at the king's table, we conversed together in a low voice (ix), which the good king observing, reprimanded us by saying,—' You act wrong thus to whisper together: speak out, that your companions may not suspect you are talking of them to their disadvantage, and railing at them. When eating in company if you have any things to say that are pleasant and agreeable, say them aloud, that every one may hear them: if not, be silent.'

When the good king was in a cheerful mood, he frequently put questions to me in the presence of Master Robert; and once he said,—' Seneschal, now tell me the reason why a discreet man is of more worth than a valiant man?' Upon this, a noisy dispute arose between Master Robert and me; and when we had long argued the question, the good king thus gave his judgment,—' Master Robert, I should not only like to have the reputation of a discreet man, but to be so in reality, and your other distinctions you may keep; for discretion is of such value, that the very word fills the mouth. On the contrary,' added the good king, ' it is most wicked to take the goods of others; for the surrendering of them to their rightful owners is so grievous that the pronouncing of it tears the palate, from the number of rrr's that are in the word; which rrr's signify the rents of the devil, who daily draws to him all those who wish to give away the chattels of others they have seized upon (x). The devil does this with much subtilty, for he seduces the usurers and despoilers, and urges them to give their usuries and rapines to the church, in honour of God, which they ought

to restore to the proper owners, who are well known to them.' When thus conversing, he told me to say in his name to king Thibaut his son-in-law (xi), that he must look well to his actions, and not overcharge his soul, thinking to acquit himself by the large sums which he gave, or should leave to the monastery of father-preachers in Provins; for the discreet man, as long as he lives, ought to act like to the faithful executor of a will (xii). First, he ought to restore and make amends for any wrongs or misdeeds done to others by the deceased; and from the residue of the fortune of the dead he should give alms to the poor, in the name of God, as the Scripture plainly sheweth.

The holy king was, one whitfun-holidays, at Corbeil, accompanied by full three hundred knights, and also by master Robert de Sorbon and myself. After dinner the king went into the meadow above the chapel, to speak with the earl of Brittany (xiii), father to the present duke, whose soul may God receive! when master Robert, taking hold of my mantle, in the presence of the king and the noble company, asked my opinion, whether if the king should seat himself in this meadow, and I were to place myself on a bench above him, I should, or should not, be blameable; to which I answered, 'Yes, most certainly.' 'Why then,' added he, 'do not you think yourself blame-worthy for being more richly dressed than the king?' 'Master Robert,' replied I, 'saving the king's honour and yours, I am in this respect blameless; for the dress I wear, such as you see it, was left me by my ancestors, and I have not had it made from my own authority. It is you, on the contrary, that deserve being reprimanded; for you who are descended from bond-men (xiv), on both sides, have quitted the dress of your ancestors, and have clothed yourself in finer camlet (xv) than what the king now wears.'

I then took hold of his surcoat (xvi) and compared it with what the king had on, saying, 'Now see, if I did not tell the truth.' The king, upon this, undertook the defence of master Robert, and to save his honour as much as he could, declared the very great humility he possessed, and how kind he was to every one.

After this conversation, the good king called to him my lord Philip, father to the king now on the throne, and king Thibaut, his son-in-law,

and, seating himself at the door of his oratory, he put his hand on the ground, and said to his sons, 'Seat yourselves here near me, that you may be out of fight.' 'Ah, sir,' replied they, 'excuse us, if you please; for it would not become us to sit so close to you.' The king, then addressing me, said, 'Seneschal, sit down here,' which I did, and so near him that my robe touched his. Having made them sit down by my side, he said, 'You have behaved very ill, being my children, in not instantly obeying what I ordered of you; and take care that this never happen again.' They answered, that they would be cautious it should not.

Then turning towards me, he said, that he had called us to him to confess to me that he had been in the wrong in taking the part of master Robert; 'but,' continued he, 'I did so from seeing him so much confounded, that he had need of my assistance: you must not, however, think or believe that I did it from the conviction of his being in the right; for, as the seneschal said, every one ought to dress himself decently, in order to be more beloved by his wife, and more esteemed by his dependants.' The wise man says, we ought to dress ourselves in such manner that the more observing part of mankind may not think we clothe ourselves too grandly, nor the younger part say we dress too meanly...

You shall now hear a matter of information which the good king made me to understand. When returning from Asia we were driven near to the isle of Cyprus by a wind called Garbun (xvii), which is not one of the principal winds that rule the sea; and our vessel struck with such force on a rock as frightened our sailors, who, in despair, tore their clothes and beards. The good king leaped out of his bed bare-footed, with only a gown on, and ran to throw himself on his knees before the holy sacrament (xviii), like one instantly expecting death. Shortly after, the weather became calm. On the morrow the king called me and said, 'Seneschal, know that God has shewn to us a part of his great power; for one of these trifling winds, which scarcely deserves a name, had almost drowned the king of France, his queen, children and family; and St Anceaune declares, they are the menaces of our Lord, as if God had said, 'Now see and feel that if I had willed it, you would all have been drowned.' The good king added, 'Lord God, why dost thou menace us? for the threat thou utterest is neither for thy

honour nor profit; and if thou hadst drowned us all, thou wouldst not have been richer nor poorer: thy menaces, therefore, must be intended for our advantage, and not for thine, if we be capable of understanding and knowing them. By these threatenings,' said the holy king, 'we ought to know, that if we have in us the smallest thing displeasing to God, we should instantly drive it from us; and, in like manner, we should diligently perform every thing that we suppose would give him pleasure and satisfaction. If we thus act, our Lord will give us more in this world and in the next than we ourselves can imagine. But should we act otherwise, he will do to us as the master does to his wicked servant; for if the wicked servant will not correct himself, in consequence of the menaces he receives, his master punishes him in his body, and in his goods until death, or farther were it possible. In suchwise will our Lord punish the perverse finner who shall not be reclaimed by the threats which he hears; and he will be the more heavily stricken in body and goods.'

This holy king, and good man, took infinite pains, as you shall hear, to make me firmly believe the Christian laws which God has given us. He said, we should so punctually believe every article of the faith, that for any thing that may be done against us personally, we ought not to act or say any thing contrary to them. He added, that the enemy of mankind, the devil, is so subtle, that when any persons are near dying, he labours with all his power to make them depart with doubts of the articles of our faith; for he knows well that he cannot deprive a man of the good works which he may have done; and that he loses the soul if the man die in the true belief of the catholic faith. For this reason, every one should be on his guard, and have such a steady belief, that he may say to the enemy when he comes to tempt him, 'Go thy way, thou enemy of mankind: thou shalt never take from me what I so firmly believe, namely, the articles of my religion, I had rather that thou shouldst cut off all the members of my body; for I am determined to live and die in the faith.' Whoever acts thus, conquers the enemy with the staff with which he meant to slay him.

The good king, however, said that faith in God was of such a nature that we ought to believe in it implicitly, and so perfectly as not to depend on hearsay. He then asked me if I knew the name of my father.

I answered, that his name was Simon. And how do you know that? said he. I replied, that I was certain of it, and believed it firmly, because my mother had told it me several times. Then, added he, you ought perfectly to believe the articles of the faith which the apostles of our Lord have testified to you, as you have heard the credo chaunted every Sunday. He told me that a bishop of Paris, whose Christian name was William (xix), informed him that a very learned man in sacred theology once came to converse with, and consult him; and that when he first opened his case he wept most bitterly. The bishop said to him, ‘ Master, do not thus lament and bewail, for there cannot be any sinner, however enormous, but that God has the power to pardon.’ ‘ Ah,’ replied the learned man, ‘ know, my lord bishop, that I cannot do any thing but weep; for I am much afraid that, in one point, I am an unbeliever, in not being well assured with respect to the holy sacrament that is placed on the altar, according to what the holy church teaches and commands to be believed. This is what my mind cannot receive; and I believe,’ added he, ‘ that it is caused by the temptation of the enemy.’

‘ Master,’ answered the bishop, ‘ now tell me when the enemy thus tempts you, or leads you into this error, is it pleasing to you?’ ‘ Not at all,’ said he; ‘ on the contrary, it is very disgusting, and displeases me more than I can tell you.’

‘ Well, I ask you again,’ said the bishop, ‘ if ever you accepted of money or worldly goods, to deny, with your mouth, the holy sacrament on the altar, or the other sacraments of the church?’ ‘ You may be truly assured,’ answered the learned man, ‘ that I have never accepted money, or worldly goods, for such purposes; and that I would rather have my limbs cut off, one by one, while I was alive, than in any way to deny these sacraments.’

The bishop then remonstrated with him on the great merit which he gained in the sufferings of such temptations, and added, ‘ You know, master, that the king of France is now carrying on a war against the king of England. You know, likewise, that the castle situated nearest to the frontiers of each monarch is la Rochelle, in Poitou; now tell me, if the good king of France was to nominate you governor of the castle of la Rochelle, on the frontiers, and to make me governor of the castle of

Montlehery, which is in the heart of France, to whom would the king, at the end of the war, feel himself most obliged, you or me, for having prevented the loss of his castles?’

‘Certainly, sir,’ replied the learned men, ‘I should suppose it would be me, and for this good reason, that I had well guarded la Rochelle, as being in a more dangerous situation.’ ‘Master,’ answered the bishop, ‘I assure you that my heart is like the castle of Montlehery; for I am perfectly convinced of the truth respecting the holy sacrament displayed on the altar, as well as the other sacraments, without having the most trifling doubt on their subject. I must however tell you, that whatever good-will God the Creator bears me, because I believe his commandments without doubting, he will have double satisfaction in you, for having preserved to him your heart in the midst of perplexity and tribulation; and that for no earthly good, nor for any distress that adversity might bring on your body, you would ever deny or abandon your faith in his religion. It is for this reason, I say, that your state is more pleasing to him than mine; and I am much rejoiced thereat, and entreat that you will keep it in your remembrance, for he will succour you in your distress.’

The learned man, on hearing these words, threw himself on his knees before the bishop, and felt his mind much at ease, and was well contented with the bishop’s comfortable advice.

The holy king related to me (xx) that the Albigeois once came to the count de Montfort, who was guarding that country for the king, and desired he would come and see the body of our Saviour, which had become flesh and blood in the hands of the officiating priest, to their very great astonishment. But the count replied,—‘Ye who have doubts respecting the faith may go thither; but, with regard to me, I implicitly believe every thing respecting the holy sacrament, according to the doctrines of our holy mother church. In return for this faith, I hope to receive a crown greater than the angels, who see the Divinity face to face, which must make them firm in their belief.’

At another time, the holy king told me, that during a great disputation at the monastery of Clugny, between the monks and Jews, an ancient knight happened to be present, who requested the abbot of the monastery

to allow him to say a few words, which with difficulty was granted him. The old knight, raising himself on his crutches, desired the most learned clerk and the first rabbi of the Jews to come near him, which being done, the knight put the following question to the rabbi: 'Do you believe in the Virgin Mary, who bore our Saviour JESUS CHRIST in her womb, and then in her arms, and that she was a virgin when delivered, and is now the mother of God?' The Jew replied, that he did not believe one word of all this. The knight said,—'Very stupidly hast thou answered, and fool-hardy art thou, when, disbelieving all I have asked, thou hast entered the monastery and house of God, for which truly thou shalt now pay;' and, lifting up his crutch, he smote the Jew such a blow on the ear as felled him to the ground. The other Jews, seeing their rabbi wounded, fled away, and thus ended the disputation between the monks and the Jews.

The abbot advanced to the knight, and said, 'Sir knight, you have done a foolish thing, in thus striking the Jew;' but the knight answered,—'You have committed a much greater folly, in permitting such an assembly, and suffering such a disputation of errors; for here are numbers of very good Christians, who might have gone away unbelievers in consequence of the arguments of the Jews.'

'I therefore tell you,' continued the king, 'that no one, however learned or perfect a theologian he may be, ought to dispute with the Jews; but the layman, whenever he hears the Christian faith contemned, should defend it, not only by words, but with a sharp-edged sword (xxi), with which he should strike the scandalizers and disbelievers, until it enter their bodies as far as the hilt.'

The king's mode of living was such, that every day he heard prayers chaunted, and a mass of requiem, and then the service of the day, according to what saint it was dedicated to, was sung. It was his custom to repose himself daily on his bed after dinner, when he repeated privately, with one of his chaplains, prayers for the dead, and every evening he heard complines.

One day a good cordelier friar came to the king, at the castle of Hieres, where we had disembarked, and addressed him, saying, that he had read in the Bible, and other good books which spoke of unbelieving princes; but

that he never found a kingdom of believers or unbelievers was ruined but from want of justice being duly administered. ‘ Now,’ continued the cordelier, ‘ let the king, who I perceive is going to France, take care that he administer strict and legal justice to his people, in order that our Lord may suffer him to enjoy his kingdom, and that it may remain in peace and tranquillity all the days of his life.’

It is said that this discreet cordelier, who thus lessoned the king, is buried at Marfeilles, where our Lord, through him, does many fair miracles.

This cordelier would not remain longer with the king than one day, in spite of all the entreaties that were made him. The good king was not forgetful of what the friar had told him, to govern his realm loyally according to the laws of God, but was anxious that justice should be done to all, according to the manner you shall hear.

It was customary after the lord de Neeles (xxii), the good lord de Soissons (xxiii), myself, and others that were about the king’s person, had heard mass, for us to go and hear the pleadings at the gateway, which is now called the Court of Requests, in the palace at Paris. When the good king was in the morning returned from the church, he sent for us, and inquired how things had passed, and if there were any matters that required his decision. And when we told him that there were some, he sent for the parties, and asked them why they would not be contented with the sentence of his officers, and then instantly made their differences up to their satisfaction, according to the custom of this godly king.

Many times have I seen this holy saint, after having heard mass in the summer, go and amuse himself in the wood of Vincennes; when, seating himself at the foot of an oak, he would make us seat ourselves round about him, and every one who wished to speak with him came thither without ceremony, and without hindrance from any usher or others. He then demanded aloud if there were any who had complaints to make; and when there were some, he said, ‘ My friends, be silent, and your causes shall be dispatched one after another (xxiv).’ Then, oftentimes, he called to him the lord Peter de Fontaines (xxv) and the lord Geoffroy de Vilette (xxvi), and said to them, ‘ Dispatch these causes;’ and whenever he heard any thing that could be amended in the speeches of those who pleaded for others, he

most graciously corrected them himself. I have likewise seen this good king oftentimes come to the garden of Paris dressed in a coat of camlet, a furcoat of tyretaine*, without sleeves, and a mantle of black fendal, and have carpets spread for us to sit round him, and hear and discuss the complaints of his people with the same diligence as in the wood of Vincennes.

I remember all the prelates of France (xxvii) once assembled at Paris, to speak with the good St Louis, and to make him a request; which when he heard, he went to the palace to hear what they had to say. The meeting being full, it was the bishop Guy d'Auseure (xxviii), son to the lord William de Melot, who addressed the king, by the unanimous assent of the other prelates, as follows: 'Sire, know that all these prelates who are here assembled in your presence instruct me to tell you that you are ruining Christendom, and that it is sinking in your hands.'

The king, upon this, crossed himself, and said, 'Bishop, inform me how this happens, and by what cause?' 'Sire,' answered the bishop, 'it is because no notice is taken of excommunicated persons; for at this moment a man would rather die in a state of excommunication than be absolved, and will no way make satisfaction to the church. It is for this reason, sire, that they unanimously call on you, in the name of God, and in conformity to your duty, that you would be pleased to command your bailliffs, provosts, and other administrators of justice, that wherever in your realm they shall find any who have been excommunicated a whole year and a day, they constrain him to be absolved, by the seizure of his goods.'

The holy man replied, that he would most cheerfully order this to be done to every one who should be found unjust towards the church, or towards his parents. The bishop said, it only belonged to them to be acquainted with their own cause of complaint. To this, the good king said, he would not act otherwise, and that it would be blameable before God, and against reason, to force those who had been injured by churchmen to absolve themselves without being heard in their own defence. And he quoted, as an example, the count of Brittany, excommunicated as he was,

* Tyretaine, Tiretaine,—a woollen stuff used in the present times, that took its name from the town of Tyre.—*Gloss. to Capperonier's édition of Joinville.*

having pleaded for seven years against the prelates of Brittany, and at last brought the business before our holy father the pope, who gave judgment against them in favour of the count. ‘ Now, should I have constrained the count to seek absolution instantly after the expiration of the first year, he would have been forced to allow to these prelates their demands whether he would or not, and I should, by so doing, have behaved wickedly towards God and towards the count of Brittany.’

After the prelates had heard this, they were satisfied with the favourable answer the king had made them; and from that time I have never heard that there was further question about it.

The peace which St Louis made with the king of England (xxix) was contrary to the opinion of his whole council, who said to him,—‘ Sire, it seems to us that you are doing wrong to your realm by giving up so much of its territory to the king of England, to which he appears to us not to have any right, since his father lost it by a legal sentence. The king replied, that he knew well the king of England had no right to it; but that, for a good reason, he thought he was bound to give it to him, adding, ‘ We have married two sisters: our children, therefore, are cousins-german; and it is fitting that there should be union among us. It has likewise given me great pleasure to make peace with the king of England, for he is at present my vassal, which was not the case before.’

The uprightness of this good king was very apparent in the case of the lord Reginald de Trie (xxx), who brought to the holy man letters which declared he had given to the heirs of the countess of Boulogne, lately deceased, the county of Dammartin, which letters were disfigured and the seals broken (xxxi). All that remained of the seals were one half of the legs of the king’s effigies and the chancel (xxxii) on which the royal feet were placed.

The king shewed these letters to us who were of his council, to have our advice on the occasion. We were unanimously of opinion that the king was not bounden to put these letters into execution, and that the persons mentioned in them ought not to enjoy that county. The king instantly called to him John Sarrazin (xxxiii) his chamberlain, and asked for the letter which he had commanded him to draw up. When he had

examined it, he looked at the seal, and at the remains of that on the letters of sir Reginald, and then said to us,—‘ My lords, this is the seal I made use of before I went to the holy land, and the remnant on these letters so much resembles the whole seal that I dare not, without sinning against God and reason, retain the county of Dammartin.’ He then called for the lord Reginald de Trie, and said,—‘ My fair sir, I restore to you the county which you demand.’

SECOND PART.

HERE begins the second part of this present book, in which, as I have before said, you shall hear of grand feats of chivalry.

In the name of the all-powerful God, this good king, St Louis, as I have frequently heard say, was born (I) on the feast-day of St Mark the apostle and evangelist. On this day, crosses were carried in processions in several parts of France, and were called The Black Crosses (II), a sort of superstition among the people, in commemoration of the great multitudes who died as it were crucified in the expeditions of their holy pilgrimages; that is to say, in Egypt and before Carthage. This caused much grief and moaning in this world, and at present there is great joy in paradise among those who died for the faith of God in these devout pilgrimages.

He was crowned (III) the first Sunday in advent, on which Sunday the mass begins with these words, ‘Ad te levavi animam meam,’ which is as much as to say, ‘Good Lord God, I have raised my heart and soul toward thee: I put my trust in thee.’ In these words the good king had great confidence, as respecting himself personally, for the great charge he had just undertaken. He had the fullest trust in God from his infancy to his death; for at the end of his latter days, he called upon God and his saints, and especially on St James and St Genevieve as his intercessors. In return he was protected by God, in regard to his soul, from his earliest years to his death, and also in respect to the good doctrine he received from his mother, who taught him to believe in God, and to love and fear him, in his youth; and

he has, ever since that time, lived a virtuous and holy life. His mother caused him to be attended by religious persons, who preached to him the word of God on Sundays and feast-days. Many times has he related that his mother should frequently say that she would rather he was in his grave, than that he should commit a mortal sin.

It was needful that God should help him in his youth ; for his mother was from Spain, a foreign country, and remained in France without any of her own family, relations or friends. The barons of France thus seeing him an infant, and his mother a foreigner, without any support but from God, made the count of Boulogne, uncle to the king just dead, their leader, and considered him as their lord and master. It happened, therefore, after the coronation of this good king, that, by way of beginning the rebellion, some of these great barons of France required of the queen-dowager, that she would give them lands appertaining to the crown of France ; and because she would not consent, urging, as an excuse, that it was not for her to dismember the kingdom of France contrary to the will of her son, who was now crowned king, these barons assembled at Corbeil. The holy king told me, that when he and his mother were at Montlehery, they dared not go to Paris until the inhabitants came with a large force of men at arms to escort them thither ; and he added, that the whole road from Montlehery to Paris was filled on all sides with men at arms, who besought the Lord that he would grant the king long life and prosperity, and that he would defend him against all his enemies. And this God did in different places, and at different times, as you shall hear in the course of this history.

While the barons were assembled at Corbeil, they practised among themselves, and resolved, with one accord, to raise up the count of Brittany (IV), against the king. They promised him, in order to act more treacherously to the good king, that they would obey the royal summons ; and if the king should send them to make war against the earl of Brittany, they would not bring with them more than two knights each, that the count might the more easily conquer the good king Louis, and his mother, who was a foreigner, as you have before heard.

This plot the barons put into execution, according to the engagement which they had entered into with the count of Brittany ; and I have heard

many say, that the count would have destroyed and subdued the king and his mother, if it had not been for God's assistance, which never failed him. The count Thibaut de Champagne, as it were by divine permission, put himself and his forces in motion, to wait on the good king when he was in such distress and danger. In good truth, he set off with full three hundred knights, perfectly well equipped, and, through God's grace, arrived in good time; for, by this timely reinforcement of the count of Champagne, the count of Brittany was forced to surrender himself to the king, and beg his mercy. The good king had no desire of revenge; and, considering the victory he had obtained was gained through the power and will of God, in sending to him so opportunely the count of Champagne, received the count of Brittany into favour, and thenceforward the king travelled throughout his kingdom in security.

Because incidents frequently happen that deserve mention, I shall at times leave the principal matter of my history to relate them; but, notwithstanding this, you shall hear of some things necessary to be related, for the better understanding the matters I treat of. I will therefore advance with truth.

The good count Henry le Large had, by the countess Mary his wife, who was sister to the king of France, and to Richard king of England, two sons: the elder was called Henry, and the second Thibaut. Henry had put on the cross, and had accompanied king Philip and king Richard to the holy land, where these three besieged the city of Acre, and took it.

Immediately after the capture, king Philip returned to France, for which he was greatly blamed. King Richard remained in Palestine, and performed very great feats of arms against the unbelievers and Saracens. They were so much in dread of him, that, as it is written in the history of this expedition to the holy land, whenever Saracen children cried, their mothers said to them, 'Be quiet, be quiet: here is king Richard (v) coming to fetch you;' and, instantly, through the fear which these Saracen children had of the name of king Richard, they became quiet. In like manner, when the Saracens or Turks were riding in the fields, and their horses started at a bush or shadow, and took fright, they said to their horses, sticking spurs into their sides, 'What, dost think king Richard is there?'

All this clearly proves that he performed grand deeds of arms against them, to make him so much dreaded.

This king Richard gained so great renown by his valour that he gave to count Henry (vi) of Champagne, who, as I have before said, had remained with him, the queen of Jerusalem for his wife. Henry of Champagne had by her two daughters, the elder of whom was queen of Cyprus, and the other was married to sir Ayrart de Brienne (vii), from whom a noble progeny descended, as is apparent in France and in Champagne (viii).

Of the wife of my before said lord, sir Ayrart de Brienne, I will not say more at present, but speak of the queen of Cyprus (ix), because it is right to continue my subject properly, and thus proceed.

After the good king had conquered the count of Brittany, through the aid of count Thibaut de Champagne, the barons of France, indignant against count Thibaut, agreed among themselves to disinherit him, as being a son of the second son of Champagne, and to send for the queen of Cyprus. This, however, did not seem to them to be for their advantage; and for this reason, and because some of the barons foreseeing they could not accomplish their ends, undertook to be mediators of a peace between count Peter of Brittany and count Thibaut of Champagne, the matter was so warmly pushed forward that, for greater solidity of peace, count Thibaut promised to espouse the daughter of count Peter of Brittany (x). A day was fixed on for this ceremony, when the young lady was to be conducted to an abbey belonging to the preaching friars near Château Thierry called Valferre, when the count of Champagne was to marry her. And thus, as I have heard, the count of Brittany set out attended by the barons of France, who were almost all his relations, to conduct the damsel to the monastery of Valferre, and sent to summon the count of Champagne, then at Château Thierry, to come and marry the lady, according to his engagement, which he was well inclined to do. But suddenly there came to him sir Geoffroy de la Chappelle (xi) bringing letters from the king, the contents of which were as follows.

‘ Sir Thibaut de Champagne, I have learnt that you have entered into engagements to marry the daughter of the count Peter of Brittany. I therefore send to require of you, that for the sake of all you love in

France, you do not perform them. The reason of my desiring it is well known to you : I have never found any one more willing to do me evil than the count of Brittany.'

When count Thibaut had read these letters, although he had left Château Thierry, he instantly returned thither.

The count Peter of Brittany and the french barons, in opposition to the king of France, were waiting for the count of Champagne at Valserre; and, perceiving that he had deceived them, in the first burst of their rage against him, they sent for the queen of Cyprus, who shortly afterward joined them.

Immediately on her arrival, they, with one accord, having discussed the matter, sent each of them to collect as many men at arms as they possibly could, and resolved to make an inroad by way of France, into the territories of count Thibaut, even into Champagne and Brie.

They had a good understanding with the duke of Burgundy, who had for his wife the daughter of Robert count de Dreux; and who likewise engaged, on his part, to enter the county of Champagne from Burgundy. A day was appointed for their assembling all together before the city of Troyes, in order to take it; but all this was known to good king Louis, who, in like manner, summoned his men at arms to accompany him to the aid of count Thibaut de Champagne.

The barons, in fact, burnt and pillaged the whole country they marched through, as did their ally the duke of Burgundy. When the count of Champagne thus saw himself and his country attacked on all sides, he burnt and destroyed several of his towns, such as Epernay, Vertus and Sezanne, that his enemies might not find them well furnished with provisions and stores, and turn them against him.

The citizens of Troyes, finding their good master and lord, the count of Champagne, had left their town, instantly sent to Simon lord of Joinville, father to the lord de Joinville of the present day, and whose name is inscribed in the prologue of this book, to desire that he would come to their assistance. That good gentleman did so. His people were immediately informed of the intelligence that had been brought him, and before day they were in the city of Troyes, where, for his part, he performed such wonders in aiding the citizens, that the barons failed to take it.

The barons were forced to march beyond the town, and fix their quarters in the meads with the duke of Burgundy. When the king of France knew where they were lodged, he marched his army straight to combat them; which the barons learning, they sent to entreat that he would withdraw his army, for that they were going to fight the count of Champagne, and the duke of Lorraine (xii) and their forces, with three hundred knights less than were with the count and the duke of Lorraine. But the king replied, that they should no way fight with his vassals without his being personally engaged in their defence. This answer threw the barons into confusion, and, speedily after, they sent again to say, they would cheerfully persuade the queen of Cyprus to offer terms of peace to count Thibaut of Champagne. The king's answer was, that he would not listen to any proposals for peace, nor suffer the count of Champagne to do so, until they should have quitted the county of Champagne.

On hearing this, they instantly marched away, and at one march quartered themselves under Juilli. The king lodged at Ylles, whence he had driven them; and the barons perceiving the king was so closely pursuing them, they decamped from Juilli, and quartered at Langres, which is in the county of Nevers, and attached to their party. Thus did the good king, St Louis, make up the differences between the queen of Cyprus and the count of Champagne, in spite of the enterprise of the barons; and peace was concluded between them (xiii) in such wise, that the count of Champagne gave to the queen of Cyprus, for her rights of succession, two thousand livres of landed annual revenue; and the king paid her, in behalf of the count of Champagne, the sum of forty thousand livres for the reimbursement of her expenses. To repay these forty thousand livres the count of Champagne sold to the king (xiv) the following fiefs and lordships, namely, the fief of the county of Blois; the fief of the county of Chartres; the fief of the county of Sancerre; the fief of the viscounty of Châteaudun. Some said that the king held them only as a security for the repayment, but that is not the truth; for I put the question to the good king in Palestine, and he told me he held them by purchase.

The lands which the count de Champagne gave to the queen of Cyprus were part of the present county of Brienne (xv) and the county of Joigny, because the grandmother of the count de Brienne was daughter to the queen of Cyprus, and wife to the great count, Walter de Brienne. And that you may know whence came the fiefs which the count of Champagne fold to the king, I shall inform you, that the great count Thibaut, who is interred at Laigny, had three sons, the eldest of whom was named Henry, the second Thibaut, and the third Stephen. Henry was afterwards count of Champagne and of Brie, and surnamed Henry the Liberal; for generous and liberal was he toward God and man. Toward God he was apparently liberal (xvi), by his founding the church of St Stephen (xvii) at Troyes, as well as many others, to each of which he daily made great gifts, as is well known throughout Champagne.

Towards man he was equally generous, as is notorious from his conduct to Arthault of Nogent (xviii), and in many other instances, too tedious to relate; but I must mention that of Arthault of Nogent. This Arthault was a citizen in whom, for a time, count Henry had the greatest confidence; and Arthault increased so much in riches that he built the castle of Nogent. Now it chanced that count Henry was desirous of descending from his castle of Troyes to hear mass at St Stephen's church on Whitsunday: on the lower steps of the entrance to the church, he found a poor knight on his knees, who with a loud voice cried out, 'Sir count, I request of you, in the name of God, that you would give me wherewith to portion my two daughters that are by my side, for I am unable to do it.' Arthault de Nogent, who was behind the count, replied to the knight, 'Sir knight, you do wrong to make such a request to my lord; for he has given away so much, he is no longer able to be generous.'

The count, on hearing this, turned round to Arthault and said 'Sir Vilain, you do not speak truth when you say I have no longer wherewithal to give, for I have you in my disposal, and I give you to him. Here, sir knight, I give this man to you, and warrant him your bondsman.' The poor knight was greatly surprised, and instantly seizing the citizen by his hood, said he would not let him go until he should have ransomed himself handsomely. Arthault was forced to pay a fine of five hundred livres,

The second brother to Henry the liberal was Thibaut count de Blois, and the third Stephen count de Sancerre; but these two brothers held their counties (xix) and lordships under their elder brother Henry the liberal, and after him under his heirs who possessed the county of Champagne, until this count Thibaut sold them to the king, St Louis, as has been mentioned.

Let us now return to our more immediate subject, and say, that shortly after this king Louis held a great and open court at Saumur in Anjou (xx), which I shall speak of, having been present. I can assure you that it was the grandest sight I ever witnessed, the best ornamented and prepared. At the king's table were seated the count de Poitiers (xxi), whom he had knighted on the last St John's day; the count John de Dreux (xxii), whom he had lately knighted; the count de la Marche (xxiii), and the count Peter of Brittany.

At another table, before that of the king on the side where the count de Dreux was seated, the king of Navarre dined. He was most richly dressed in cloth of gold, in coat, mantle, girdle, clasp (xxiv) and cap of fine gold, to whom I was the carver. The count d'Artois (xxv) served the king, St Louis, and his brother, and the count de Soissons cut up the meat. Sir Ymbert de Beljeu (xxvi), who was afterwards constable of France, sir Honourat de Coucy (xxvii), and sir Archibald de Bourbon (xxviii) were the guards of the king's table; and there were behind these three barons, full thirty of their knights in cloth of silk to serve under them. There were likewise behind these knights a great many ushers of arms, and of the apartments who bore the arms of the count de Poitiers worked on fendal.

The king was dressed as magnificently as it was possible, but it would be tedious to enter into the particulars of his habiliments. I have heard several persons declare, that they never before saw at any feast so many furcoats and other dresses of cloth of gold as at this.

After this feast, the king conducted the count of Poitiers to that city, to recover the fiefs and lordships. It happened immediately after the king's arrival there, that the count de la Marche, who had even dined at the king's table at Saumur, secretly assembled a large body of men at arms to wage war against the king, until he should gain his object, and kept himself at Lusignan

near to Poitiers. The good king wished to have been in Paris, but he was forced to remain at Poitiers fifteen days without daring to venture beyond its walls. It was said, that the king and the count of Poitiers had made a disadvantageous peace with the count de la Marche. It was necessary, therefore, for the king, in order to make up matters with the count de la Marche, to hold a parley with him and the dowager queen of England his wife, mother to the monarch on the throne.

It was not long after the king was returned from Poitiers to Paris that the king of England and the count de la Marche united together to make war on good St Louis, and to collect as large a body of men at arms as they could. They assembled in Gascony, before the castle of Taillebourg, which is situated on a dangerous river called the Charente, near which there was only one narrow stone-bridge that could be passed over.

King Louis, on hearing this, marched an army against them towards Taillebourg; and his men no sooner saw the host of the enemy, who had the castle of Taillebourg on their side, than with great peril they hastened to cross the bridge, and others passed over the river in boats, and began to charge the English. Heavy blows were given on each side, which the good king beholding, he with much danger joined them: indeed, the risk was very considerable, for the English were more numerous than the French who had passed the river by one hundred to one.

Notwithstanding this superiority, when the English found that the king of France had crossed the river, they took fright, as it seemed God willed, and made for the city of Saintes, which they entered. It happened in the confusion that several of our men entered that city with them, and were made prisoners.

I have heard from some among them, that during that night there was much discord between the king of England and the count de la Marche in Saintes (xxix), as they were informed; and that the king of England should tell the count that he had sent for him, under promise that he would find great aid in France; and that, perceiving the fallacy of his information, he should return to Gascony, whence he had come. The count de la Marche thus deserted, and knowing that he could not amend himself for the evil he had done, surrendered himself, his wife and children, prisoners to the king,

who gained, on consenting to a peace, many considerable territories from the count (xxx). I know not what quantity ; for I was not present at the treaty, not having then put on the coat of mail (xxxI); but I have heard, that with the lands the king acquired, the count de la Marche gave him an acquittance for ten thousand livres parisis, which he was wont to receive from him annually.

Shortly after this, the good king was taken grievously ill at Paris (xxxII); and so bad was his state, that I have heard that one of the ladies who nursed him, thinking it was all over, wanted to cover his face with a cloth, but that another lady, on the opposite side of the bed (so God willed it,) would not suffer his face to be covered, or buried as it were, declaring continually that he was alive.

During the conversation of these ladies, our Lord worked upon him and restored to him his speech. The good king desired them to bring him a crucifix, which was done ; and when the good lady, his mother, heard that he had recovered his speech, she was in the utmost possible joy ; but when she came and saw that he had put on the cross (xxxIII) she was panic-struck, and seemed as if she would rather have seen him dead.

In the like manner as the king had put on the cross, so did Robert count d'Artois, Alphonso count of Poitiers, Charles count d'Anjou, who was afterwards king of Sicily, all three brothers to the king ; Hugh duke of Burgundy (xxxIV); William earl of Flanders (xxxv); his brother, Guion de Flandres, who died shortly after at Compiègne ; the valiant count Hugh de St Pol (xxxvi); his nephew, sir Walter (xxxvii), who behaved most gallantly beyond sea, and would have gained great renown had longer life been granted him. The count de la Marche, whom we have lately mentioned, was also of the number ; sir Hugh le Brun and his son (xxxviii); the count de Salebruche; sir Gaubert d'Apremont (xxxix) and his brothers, in whose company, being my cousins, I John de Joinville crossed the sea in a small ship which we hired. We were twenty knights: ten of whom accompanied me, and ten came with my cousins. This event took place after Easter, in the year of grace 1248.

Before my departure, I summoned all my men and vassals of Joinville, who came to me the vigil of Easter-day, which was the birth-day of my

son, John lord of Ancarville, by my first wife, sister to the count of Grand Pré. During that whole week I was occupied in feasts and banquets with my brother de Vaucouleur, and all the rich men (XL) of that part of the country, where, after eating and drinking, we amused ourselves with songs, and led a joyous life. When Friday came, I addressed them thus :— ‘ Gentlemen, know that I am about to go to the holy land, and it is uncertain whether I may ever return : should there be any of you (XLI), therefore, to whom I have done wrong, and who thinks he has cause for complaint, let him come forward ; for I am willing to make him amends, as I am accustomed to do to those who have complained of me or of my people.’

I did this according to the usual manner of my country and my lands ; and in order that they might not be awed by my presence while they consulted together, I withdrew, and would only listen to what they might say to me without the restraint of fear. I likewise adopted this measure because I was unwilling to carry with me one single penny wrongfully ; and to fulfil any demands that might be made, I had mortgaged (XLII) to friends a great part of my inheritance, so that there did not remain at the utmost more than twelve hundred livres of yearly revenue from my lands ; for my lady-mother was still living, who held the best of my estate in dower.

I set out, as I before said, with my nine knights, having three banners ; and I have mentioned the things above, because if it had not been for the aid and assistance of God, who never forgot me, I should never have been able to support such a burden as I bore for six years, the time I was on my pilgrimage in the holy land.

When I was on the point of departure, John lord d’Apremont and the count de Salebruche sent to me to inquire if I were willing to join parties, and embark together, for that they were ready to march, and their company consisted of ten knights. I cheerfully assented, and we ordered a vessel to be hired for us at Marseilles, which carried us, our arms and horses.

You must know, that before the king left the realm, he summoned all the barons to Paris, and there made them renew their fealty and homage (XLIII), and swear loyalty to his children, should any unfortunate event happen to

himself during this expedition to the holy land. He summoned me also ; but I, who was not his subject (XLIV), would not take the oath : besides, it was not my intention to remain behind.

When I was nearly ready to set out, I sent for the abbot of Cheminon (XLV), who was at that time considered as the most discreet man of all the white monks, to reconcile myself with him. He gave me my scarf and bound it on me, and likewise put the pilgrim's staff in my hand. Instantly after, I quitted the castle of Joinville without ever re-entering it, until my return from beyond sea. I made pilgrimages to all the holy places in the neighbourhood, such as Bliecourt, St Urban, and others near to Joinville, on foot without shoes, and in my shirt. But as I was journeying from Bliecourt to St Urban, I was obliged to pass near to the castle of Joinville, I dared never turn my eyes that way for fear of feeling too great regret, and lest my courage should fail on leaving my two fine children and my fair castle of Joinville, which I loved in my heart. Being suddenly called upon by the count de Salbruche, my brother in arms (XLVI), with our knights and attendants, we went to dine at La Fontaine Archevêque before Dongeux ; and there the abbot of St Urban, to whom may God shew mercy ! gave to me and my knights very handsome jewels. We then took our leave of him, and went straight to Auxonne, where we embarked with our armour on the Soane for Lyon : our cavalry and war-horses were led along its banks. When we came to Lyon, we embarked on the river Rhône to go to Arles le Blanc. I remember well that on its banks we saw the remains of a castle called La Roche-gluy, which castle the king had caused to be demolished on account of the lord of it, named Roger (XLVII), having a very ill-famed reputation of stopping and plundering all merchants and pilgrims that passed that way.

It was the month of August in this same year (XLVIII) that we embarked at the rock of Marfeilles (XLIX), and the ports of the vessel were opened to allow the horses we intended carrying with us to enter (L). When we were all on board, the port was calked and stopped up as close as a large tun of wine, because when the vessel was at sea, the port was under water. Shortly after the captain of the ship cried out to his people on its prow, ' Is your work done ? Are we ready ? ' They replied, ' Yes : in truth, we are.'

When the priests and clerks embarked, the captain made them mount to the castle of the ship, and chaunt psalms in praise of God, that he might be pleased to grant us a prosperous voyage. They all, with a loud voice, sang the beautiful hymn of 'Veni Creator,' from the beginning to the end; and while they were singing, the mariners set their sails in the name of God. Instantly after, a breeze of wind filled our sails, and soon made us lose sight of land, so that we only saw sea and sky, and each day we were at a farther distance from the places from which we had set out.

I must say here, that he is a great fool who shall put himself in such dangers, having wronged any one, or having any mortal sins on his conscience; for when he goes to sleep in the evening, he knows not if in the morning he may not find himself under the sea.

I will tell you the first marvel that befel us at sea. It was a great round mountain which we met with, about vespers off Barbary: when we had passed it, we made all the sail we could the whole night, and in the morning we supposed we must have run fifty leagues, or more, but we found ourselves again off this large mountain. We were, of course, much alarmed, and continued to make all the sail we could that day and the following night, but it was all the same, we still had the mountain near at hand. We were more astonished than ever, and thought we ran great risk of our lives; for the sailors told us that the Saracens of Barbary would come and attack us. A very discreet churchman, called the dean of Mauru, came forward and said,—'Gentlemen, I never remember any distress in my parish, either from too much abundance, or for want of rain or any other plague, but that God and his mother delivered us from it, and caused every thing to happen as it could be wished, when a procession had been made three times with devotion on a Saturday.' Now this day was a Saturday, and we instantly began a procession round the masts of the ship. I remember well that I was forced to be supported under my arms, because I was at the time very sick. Immediately afterwards we lost sight of this mountain, and arrived at Cyprus the third Saturday after we had made our procession.

We found, on our landing at Cyprus (LI), that the good king, St Louis, was already there, and had laid in provisions in great abundance (LII).

You would have taken his cellars, at a distance, for great houses formed of casks of wine, placed one on the other, which his purveyors had bought two years before, and had left in the open fields. In like manner was the wheat, barley, and other grain in large heaps, which, from their immense size, appeared like mountains; and in truth many would have supposed them such; for the rains which had battered their sides had made the corn grow, so that there was nothing to be seen but green corn. When the army of the king came to remove the grain, in order to its being sent to Egypt, and to take off the crust of green corn, they found the corn underneath as fine and fresh as if it had been just threshed.

The good king was impatient to set sail, so that if it had not been for his barons, and near relations, who prevailed on him to wait the arrival of forces that were daily expected, he would have embarked alone, or with a very small company.

While the king remained in Cyprus (LIII) the great cham of Tartary (LIV) sent him an ambassador, who paid him many fine compliments; among others, the cham of Tartary sent him word that he was ready and at his command to assist him in the conquest of the holy land, and to deliver Jerusalem from the hands of the Saracens and Pagans. The king received this embassy with kindness, and, in return, sent ambassadors (LV) to the cham of Tartary, who were two years before they returned. The king of France sent likewise to the cham a tent in the form of a chapel: it was of fine scarlet cloth, very rich, and handsomely made, with the intent to see if he could induce the cham and his subjects to embrace our faith and religion; and, as a further inducement, he had embroidered on the inside of the tent the annunciation of the Virgin, mother of God, with other mysteries of our faith. Two black monks, who understood the saracen language, had charge of this tent, and to exhort the Tartars, and shew how they ought to put their belief in God.

The two monks shortly returned, thinking to meet the king at Acre; but he was already in Cæsarea, upon which they went back to France. To say how the other ambassadors, whom the king had sent to the king of Barbary, were received, would be to tell of wonders, as I heard them related

to the king from their own mouths. I have likewise frequently enquired of them concerning their adventures ; but I will not say any thing of them at present, for fear of breaking in upon the principal matter which I had already begun.

You must know that when I quitted France, to join this expedition to the holy land, I did not possess more than twelve hundred livres of yearly revenue, and yet I took charge of nine other knights and three banners. On my arrival at Cyprus I had but twelve score livres in gold and silver, after paying the freight of the ship, so that many of my knights told me they would leave me if I did not better provide myself with money. I was somewhat cast down in courage on hearing this, but had ever my confidence in God ; and when the good king St Louis heard of my distress, he sent for me, and retained me in his service, allowing me, like a kind lord, eight hundred livres tournois. I instantly returned thanks to God, for I had now more money than I had need of.

It is now necessary, that I speak of the state and power of the princes beyond sea, and I shall first begin with the sultan of Connie (LVI). This sultan is the most powerful king of all pagan land, and had a most marvellous work achieved ; for he had melted part of his gold (LVII), and made it into large vessels after the manner of the earthen pots in which wine is preserved in those countries, each of which held about a tun of wine. He afterwards had these pots broken, and the pieces lay in one of his castles, which was open for every one to see and touch these broken masses of gold. It was said that he had six or seven of these large golden pots. His great riches were apparent in a pavilion which the king of Armenia sent to the king of France when he was at Cyprus, for it was estimated at five hundred livres. The king of Armenia sent word, that it had been given to him by one of the ferrals of the sultan of Connie. Now you must know that these ferrals have the care and management of the pavilions of the sultan ; and their employment is to clean every day the apartments of his different palaces.

This king of Armenia (LVIII) was vassal to the sultan of Connie ; and went to the grand cham of Tartary to complain that the sultan had made war upon him, and kept him in vassalage, and at the same time to entreat

he would support and succour him. He consented to become vassal to the cham of Tartary, if he would supply him with a large body of men at arms against the sultan of Connie.

The cham of Tartary was willing to do this, and sent him a considerable force, with which the king of Armenia marched against the sultan, whose army was nearly equal to his; but the Armenians and Tartars defeated the troops of their enemy; and in consequence of this the king of Armenia was no longer vassal nor subject to the sultan. This victory, which he had gained by the assistance of the Tartars, increased his renown so much in Cyprus, that many of our people went to Armenia to seek for profit in these engagements; but of them we had never after any intelligence.

Of the sultan of Babylon (LIX) I shall say, that he imagined the king was about to make war on the sultan of Hamault (LX), his ancient enemy: he was therefore waiting for the king to join his forces against the sultan of Hamault; but when he perceived that the king did not advance, he departed, and went to lay siege to the city of Hamault, in which the sultan resided.

The sultan, thus finding himself besieged, knew not how to act; for he was aware, that if the sultan of Babylon should remain long, he must conquer and overthrow him. He, however, practised so successfully by gifts and promises with one of the varlets of the chamber of the sultan of Babylon that he poisoned his master. The manner of his doing it was as follows. The varlet, who in their language is officially called Serais, knowing that the sultan after playing at chess (LXI) was frequently used to lie down on mats that were at the foot of his bed, poisoned one of these mats; and it chanced that the sultan, having thrown aside part of his dress, lay on the mat with his naked legs, and turning about rubbed a fore he had on one of them against the poisoned part. The venom instantaneously took effect through this fore, and his whole body became so much affected that he lost the use of that side. When the venom was come towards the head, he continued for two days without eating or drinking, and this was the cause that the sultan of Hamault remained in peace, for the sultan of Babylon was obliged to be carried back to his own country by his people.

As soon as the month of March was come, it was proclaimed by orders of the king, that all vessels should be laden and ready to sail whenever the

king should command. All things being ready, the king, the queen, and their households embarked on board their different ships. On the Friday preceding Whitfunday, the king ordered every one to follow him on the morrow, and proceed to Egypt; and on the morrow, being Saturday, every vessel made sail, which was a pleasant sight to see, for it seemed as if the whole sea, as far as the sight could reach, was covered with cloth, from the great quantity of sails that were spread to the wind, there being eighteen hundred vessels great and small.

The king, followed by the other vessels, came on Whitfunday to the point of Lymeffon (LXII), where he landed, and heard mass: but of full two thousand eight hundred knights, who had embarked to follow the king, there were now only seven hundred with him on shore. A horrible wind that blew from Egypt had made the remainder alter their course, and had separated them from the company of the king, and driven them on the coast of Acre and other strange countries at a great distance, so that the king did not see them again for a long time. He and his companions were much grieved at their loss, for they believed them drowned, or in great danger at least.

On the morrow of Whitfunday, the wind was favourable, and the king and we who were with him made sail, in God's name, to pursue our route. It happened that in our course we met the prince of Morea (LXIII) and the duke of Burgundy (LXIV), who has sojourned in the Morea. The king arrived with his fleet on the Thursday after Whitsuntide at Damietta, where a great company were waiting for us.

On the shore, we saw the whole force of the sultan, who were handsome men to look at. The sultan wore arms of burnished gold of so fine a polish, that when the sun shone on them, he seemed like a sun himself. The tumult and noise they made with their horns and nacaires (LXV) was frightful to hear, and seemed very strange to the French.

The king, perceiving this, called together his barons and counsellors to consult on what should be done. They advised him to wait until the whole of his force should arrive; for he had not now with him a third part, owing, as I before said, to the contrariety of the wind. But the king would not consent, saying, that by such conduct he should encourage the enemy;

and likewise because there was not any port near in those seas whither he might retire, and wait in safety the return of those who had been dispersed by the storm. He added, that a strong gust of wind might arise and separate them from each other in these foreign countries, as had happened to his other knights on Whitsunday last. They acceded, therefore, to his proposal, that on the Friday preceding Trinity Sunday the king should disembark, and combat the Saracens, if it were not their fault. The king ordered the lord John de Belmont (LXVI) to cause a galley to be given to the lord Airart de Brienne (LXVII), with whom I was, to land us and our men at arms, because the large ships could not approach near enough to the shore. Thus was it the will of God that I should quit my ship, and enter a small galley, which I thought I had lost, and wherein were eight of my horses. This galley had been given me by madame de Baruth (LXVIII), cousin-german to the count de Montbelial.

The lord Airart de Brienne and I, fully armed, went to the king on the Friday, to ask for the galley which he had ordered for us; but sir John de Belmont replied, in the presence of the king, that we should not then have it; from which may be known, that the good king had as much trouble in keeping his own people in peace together, as in his ill fortunes and losses.

When our people saw that we were not bringing back the galley, they dropped into the boat with all their weight, and when the sailors perceived the boat was gradually sinking, they retired into the ship, abandoning my knights in the boat. On seeing this, I called out to the captain, and asked how many there were overweight for the boat. He said, too many by eighteen so armed. I then instantly discharged so many from the boat, and put them in the ship with my horses. As I was thus arranging these men at arms, a knight, belonging to the lord Airart de Brienne, named Plouquet, wanting to descend from the ship to the boat as it was pushing off, fell into the sea and was drowned (LXIX).

We then began to sail after the boat of the king's large ship, and made for land; but when those attached to the king, who were hastening to land like ourselves, saw that we made more speed than them, they cried out for us to wait for the arrival of the standard of St Denis (LXX); but I would

not attend to them, and continued advancing towards a large battalion of Saracens and Turks, consisting of six thousand men, at least, on horseback. The moment they saw us on shore they spurred their horses full gallop toward us; but we stuck our spears and shields into the sand with their points against them, which as soon as they perceived, and that we were advancing inland, they suddenly wheeled about and fled.

That discreet man sir Baldwin de Rheims, as soon as I was landed, sent one of his squires to desire I would wait for him. I made answer, by his messenger, that I would cheerfully do so, for that so valiant a man as he was, well deserved waiting for; and he was thankful for this attention as long as he lived. He shortly after joined our company, with a thousand knights at least. You must know that when I first landed I had not any one person with me, neither friend nor servant, of all those I had brought from France. Notwithstanding this, God always assisted me with his grace, for which I ever praise him.

On our left the count de Japhe (LXXI), cousin-german to the count de Montbelial, and of the lineage of the house of Joinville, drew up his men. This count Japhe had disembarked in a most grand manner; for his galley was all painted, within and without, with escutcheons of his arms, which were a cross patée gules on a field or. There were full three hundred failors on board the galley, each bearing a target of his arms, and on each target was a small flag with his arms likewise, of beaten gold. It was a sight worthy to be viewed when he went to sea on account of the noise which these flags made, as well as the sounds of the drums (LXXII), horns, and faracennacaires, which he had in his galley.

The moment his vessel grounded on the sand, and as near as she could be brought to the land, he himself, his knights, and men at arms, disembarked, well armed at all points, and posted themselves by our side. The count de Japhe instantly ordered his pavilions to be pitched, which when the Saracens saw were about to be done, they again returned, spurring their horses against us; but finding we were not any way intimidated, and that we were firmly waiting for them, they turned their backs and galloped away.

On our right, the galley bearing the standard of St Denis arrived, within a cross-bow shot of us; and it happened, that as she was touching the

ground, a Saracen rode against the crew full speed. I know not why he did so, whether he could not stop his horse, or expected support from his countrymen, but the poor creature was very soon destroyed and cut to pieces.

When the good king St Louis learnt that the standard of St Denis was landed, he quitted his vessel, which was already close to the shore, without waiting until he could disembark from it, and against the will of the legate (LXXIII) who was with him, leaped into the sea, which was up to his shoulders, and advanced to the land, his shield on his neck, his helmet on his head, and lance in hand (LXXIV). On joining his men, he observed the Saracen-army, and asked who they were. On being told they were Turks and Saracens, he wanted to make a course alone against them, but his attendants would not permit it, and made him remain quiet, until his whole army should be assembled and armed.

A messenger called Coullon was sent thrice to the sultan of the Saracens, to inform him of the arrival of the king of France; but no answer was returned, because the sultan was ill. The Saracens, hearing of this, abandoned the city of Damietta, believing their sultan was dead (LXXV). When the king heard this news, he sent one of his knights to Damietta to know the truth of it, who on his return related that the sultan was really dead, and that the Saracens had fled from Damietta, for he had entered their houses that were empty.

Upon this, the king had the legate called, with all the prelates of the army, and ordered the 'Te Deum laudamus' to be sung throughout. The king and his army, shortly after, mounted their horses, and went to take up their quarters in Damietta. The Turks were ill advised to retreat so suddenly without destroying the bridges which they had made of boats, which would have distressed us much. But in another way they did us great mischief by setting fire to all parts of the Soule (LXXVI), where their merchandise and plunder had been deposited, which they burnt for fear we might make any advantage of them. It would be the same thing if fire were set to the petit pont of Paris, which God preserve from such an accident!

Now let us ask ourselves, what grace did not God the Creator shew us in preserving us from death and danger, on our landing, and when we

joyfully advanced to our enemies who were on horseback? What other greater grace did not our good Lord shew us in delivering up Damietta (LXXVII) without any risk of our lives, and which we never could have gained but by starving the garrison? These graces, we may say, were wondrous great, and apparent to every one.

King John (LXXVIII) had indeed taken it by famine in the times of our ancestors: but I doubt if the good Lord God may not say as much of us as he did of the children of Israel, when he had conducted and led them into the land of promise; for which he reproached them, saying, ‘*Et pro nihilo habuerunt terram desiderabilem, et quæ sequuntur.*’ He said this, because they had forgotten him, who had showered down on them so much good. He had saved them, and brought them out of the captivity of Pharaoh, and given them the land of promise. Thus may he say of us who forgot him, as shall hereafter be told.

I shall begin with the person of the king himself, who assembled all the barons and prelates that had accompanied him, and asked their advice what he should do with the riches he had found in Damietta, and how he should divide them? A patriarch who was present (LXXIX) spoke first, and said,—‘Sire, it seems right to me, that you should reserve the wheat, barley, rice, and all other provisions, in order that the city may not suffer famine; and that you should order proclamation to be made throughout the army, that all other goods and furniture should be carried and deposited in the house of the legate, under pain of excommunication.’ This advice was acceded to by the barons and all present, and put in execution.

The furniture that was carried to the legate’s house was found, on valuation, not worth more than six thousand livres. When all had been brought thither, the king and the barons sent to seek for the good and discreet man, sir John de Valeri (LXXX). On his arrival, the king told him what had been done, and that his council had advised that the legate should give him the six thousand livres at which the goods had been valued, which he would carry to his house, in order that he might dispose of them in the manner he should see right, and where he should think them best employed.

‘Sire,’ replied sir John, ‘I most humbly thank you for the honour you do me; but, under your good pleasure, I will not accept your proposal: never, please God, will I alter good and ancient customs, and such as our predecessors have followed in the holy land; for whenever any city, or other considerable booty, was gained from the enemy, the king never received but one-third of all the riches or goods that were found in that city, and the pilgrims had two parts. This was the custom followed by king John, when formerly he took Damietta; and thus, as I have heard my elders say, did the king of Jerusalem act before king John’s time, without failing in any one point. Now, consider if you be willing to give me two parts of the grain and other provisions which you have retained, and most cheerfully will I divide and distribute them among the pilgrims, in honour of God.’

The king did not agree to this advice, and matters remained as before, which made many discontented with the king, because he had broken through good ancient customs.

The king’s officers, when they were at their ease, and comfortably lodged in the city of Damietta, instead of well treating and entertaining the merchants, and those who followed the army with provisions, hired out to them stalls and workmen at as dear a rate as they possibly could. This conduct was spread abroad to distant countries; and those who would have supplied the army with provisions delayed doing so, which was a great evil and loss.

The barons, knights and others, who ought to have attended to their money-concerns, and to have practised economy, as a resource in times of need, began to give sumptuous banquets in rivalry to each other, with the utmost abundance of the most delicious meats. The commonalty likewise gave themselves up to debauchery, and violated both women and girls. Great were the evils in consequence; for it became necessary for the king to wink at the greatest liberties of his officers and men. The good king even told me, that at a stone’s throw round his own pavilion were several brothels (LXXXI), kept by his personal attendants. Other disorders were going forward, and to a greater extent than any person had hitherto seen.

But let us return to our principal object. After we had remained some time in this city of Damietta, the sultan laid siege to it, on the land side, with a numerous army. The king and his men at arms were soon properly

drawn out. In order to prevent the Turks from taking possession of the camp we had on the plain, I went to the king fully armed, whom I found in the same state of preparation, as well as all his knights seated around him on benches (LXXXII), and most humbly requested that he would permit me and my people to make a course against the Saracens. But the moment sir John de Belmont heard me, he cried out with a loud voice, commanding me, in the king's name, not to dare to quit my quarters until I should be so ordered by the king.

You must know that there were with the king eight good and valiant knights, who had several times won the prize of arms, as well on this side of the sea as on the other ; and they were usually called the good knights. Among them were sir Geoffroy de Sargines (LXXXIII), sir Mahom de Marly (LXXXIV), sir Philip de Nantuel (LXXXV), and sir Ymbert de Beaujeu, constable of France ; but these were not present when I made my request, being on the plain without the city, as well as the master of the cross bows (LXXXVI), with a large body of men at arms to prevent the Turks from approaching our main army. It happened that sir Walter d'Entrache (LXXXVII) having caused himself to be well armed, and his lance and shield to be given to him, mounted his horse ; and one of the sides of his pavilion being raised, stuck spurs into his horse, and rode full gallop against the Turks. He thus quitted his pavilion, attended by only one of his people, named Castillon ; but his horse flung him to the ground, and ran off, covered with his arms, full speed to the enemy ; for the greater part of the Saracens were mounted on mares, which caused the horse to play these tricks and run away. I heard, from those who said they had witnessed it, that while the lord d'Entrache lay on the ground, four Turks came to him, and, as they crossed him backward and forward, gave him heavy blows with their clubs, and would have killed him, if the constable of France had not gone to his succour with a body of the king's troops which were under him. He was led back to his pavilion, but so much bruised by the blows he had received, that he was speechless. He was soon attended by the physicians and surgeons ; and because they did not think him in any danger of death they bled him in the arm, from which fatal consequences ensued.

Towards evening, sir Aubert de Nancy desired I would accompany him on a visit to him, for that he was a man of great renown and valour : this I very willingly did, and we went together. On our entering his tent, one of his squires came to us, and desired we would tread softly, lest we might awaken him. We followed this advice, and found him lying on his mantle of minever (LXXXVIII), which covered him, but, on approaching his face, we saw he was dead.

We, and several more, were much grieved at the loss of such a man ; but when it was told the king, he replied, that he did not wish for any one's service who would not attend to him, and obey his orders better than the lord d'Entrache had done ; and that through his own fault he had caused his death.

I must inform you that the sultan gave for every head (LXXXIX) of a Christian that was brought him a befant of gold ; and these saracen traitors entered our camp during the night, and wherever they found any asleep they cut off their heads. They once surprised the watch (xc) of the lord de Courtenay (xci), and cut off his head, leaving the body lying on a table. They were likewise well informed of the manner of our encampment ; for the engagements between us brought each party near to the other in the evenings ; and the Saracens, in consequence of this knowledge, entered the camp as soon as the guard had made its round, and committed many disorders and murders.

The king, when he heard of this, gave orders for those who were wont to go the rounds on horseback henceforward to do so on foot : by this means the army was in security ; for we were so closely encamped that we touched each other ; and there were no void spaces.

We remained a long time in and before Damietta ; for the king had none in his council who advised him to march further, until his brother, the count de Poitiers (xcii), whom the storms had driven, as before mentioned, to Acre, was returned ; for he had with him the arriere ban of France. From fear that the Turks might force the camp with their cavalry, the king ordered it to be surrounded with deep ditches ; and on their banks there were numerous parties of cross-bows and others, who watched during the nights.

The feast of St Remy had passed without the army receiving any news from the count de Poitiers or his men. This alarmed the king greatly, and the army were in much distress; for they began to fear, from his not coming, that he was either dead, or in very great danger. I then recollected the worthy dean of Mauru, and told the legate how, by means of the three processions which he made us perform when at sea, we were delivered from the great peril we were in, as I have already related. The legate believed what I said, and ordered three processions to be proclaimed throughout the army, to be put into practice the three following Saturdays.

The first procession began at the house of the legate, and proceeded to the church of our Lady in the town of Damietta. This church had been a mosque (xciii) of the Turks and Saracens; but the legate had consecrated it to the honour of the mother of God, the glorious Virgin Mary. Thus was it continued for two Saturdays; and each time the legate preached a sermon. The king and the great lords attended, to whom, after they had heard the sermon, the legate gave absolution. Before the third Saturday the count de Poitiers arrived with his men, and fortunately for him he did not come earlier; for during the space of the two preceding Saturdays there were such continued storms at sea before Damietta, that twelve score vessels, great and small, were wrecked and sunk, and their crews drowned. Had the count de Poitiers arrived at that time he would have run great risk of suffering a similar fate; and I believe it would have been so, if God had not assisted him.

There was much joy in the whole army on the arrival of the count de Poitiers, the king's brother; and shortly after the king assembled his barons and council, and asked them what route he should pursue, whether to Alexandria or to Babylon? The count Peter of Brittany, with several other barons, were of opinion, that the king should march to Alexandria, because there was a good harbour for boats and vessels, to bring provision to the army. But this plan was not approved of by the count d'Artois, who said he would never march to Alexandria until he should have been at Babylon which was the seat of empire in Egypt. He added, among other reasons, that whoever wished to kill a snake, should begin with the head. To this opinion the king assented, and gave up the former plan.

At the beginning of Advent (xciv), the king and his whole army began their march toward Babylon, according to the advice given by the count d'Artois. On the road near to Damietta, we met a branch of the great river; and the king was advised to halt a day, until a dam should be thrown across that the army might pass. This was easily done; and the river was stopped so level that it did not overflow, and might be crossed with facility.

What did the sultan do? He sent craftily to the king five hundred of his best mounted troops, saying they were come to assist him, but in reality to delay him as much as possible. On St Nicholas' day, the king commanded his army to mount their horses, and forbade any of his people to dare to hurt, in any way, one of the Turks or Saracens whom the sultan had sent to him. Now it happened, that when the Saracens perceived the king's army was in motion, and heard that the king had forbidden any one to touch them, they advanced with great courage in a body toward the Templars, who had the van of the army. One of these Turks gave a knight in the first rank so heavy a blow with his battle-axe as felled him under the feet of sir Reginald de Bicher's horse, who was marshal of the Templars.

The marshal, seeing this, cried out to his men at arms,—‘Now, companions, attack them, in the name of God! for I cannot longer suffer this.’ He instantly stuck spurs into his horse, and charged the Saracens, followed by the whole army. The horses of the Turks were worn down and tired, while ours were fresh and hearty, which caused their misfortune; for I have since heard, that not one escaped being slain or drowned in the sea.

It is proper that I say something here of the river (xcv) which runs through Egypt, and which comes from the terrestrial paradise; for such things should be known to those who are desirous of understanding the subject I am writing on. This river differs from all others, for the more brooks fall into a large river, the more it is divided into small streamlets, and spread over a country; but this river has not such aids, and seems always the same. When arrived in Egypt, it spreads its waters over the country. About the period of St Remy's day, it expands itself into seven branches, and thence

flows over the plains. When the waters are retired, the labourers appear, and till the ground with ploughs without wheels, and then sow wheat, barley, rice, cummin, which succeed so well that it is not possible to have finer crops.

No one can say whence this annual increase of water comes, except from God's mercy. Were it not to happen, Egypt would produce nothing from the very great heat of that country; for it is near to the rising sun, and it scarcely ever rains but at very long intervals.

This river is quite muddy from the crowds of people of that and other countries who, towards evening, come thither to seek water to drink. They put into their vessels which hold it four almonds or four beans, which they shake well, and on the morrow it is wondrous clear and fit to drink. When this river enters Egypt, there are expert persons accustomed to the business, who may be called the fishermen of this stream, and who in the evenings cast their nets into the water, and in the mornings frequently find many spices in them, which they sell in these countries dearly, and by weight; such as cinnamon, ginger, rhubarb, cloves, lignum-aloes, and other good things. It is the report of the country, that they come from the terrestrial paradise, and that the wind blows them down from these fine trees, as it does in our forests the old dry wood. What falls into the river is brought down with it, and collected by merchants, who sell it to us by weight.

I heard in the country of Babylon, that the sultan had frequently attempted to learn whence this river came, by sending experienced persons to follow the course of it. They carried with them a bread called biscuit, for they would not have found any on their route, and on their return reported, that they had followed the course of the river until they came to a large mountain of perpendicular rocks, which it was impossible to climb, and over these rocks fell the river. It seemed to them, that on the top of this mountain were many trees; and they said, they had seen there many strange wild beasts, such as lions, serpents, elephants, and other sorts, which came to gaze at them as they ascended the river. These travellers, not daring to advance further, returned to the sultan.

Now, to pursue my subject, this river, on entering Egypt, spreads its branches over the plain: one of them flows to Damietta, another to

Alexandria, another to Tunis, and another to Rexi. To this branch which runs by Rexi, the king of France marched with his whole army, and encamped between the Damietta branch and that of Rexi (xcvi). We found the sultan encamped with his entire force on the opposite bank of the Rexi branch, to prevent and oppose our passage. It was easy for him to do this, for none of us could have crossed unless we had stripped ourselves naked, as there were no other means to pass.

The king determined to have a causeway made, to enable him to pass over to the Saracens; and to guard those employed on it, he had built two beffrois (xcvii) called Chaf-chateils (xcviii). There were two towers in front of these beffrois, and two houses in their rear, to receive the things the Saracens threw upon their machines, of which they had sixteen that did wonders. The king ordered eighteen machines to be constructed, under the direction of a man named Jouffelin de Courvant, who was the inventor and undertaker; and with these engines did each army play on the other. The king's brother was on guard over the cats in the day-time, and we, other knights, guarded them at night.

These chaf-chateils were finished the week before Christmas, and then the causeway was set about in earnest; but as fast as we advanced, the Saracens destroyed it. They dug, on their side of the river, wide and deep holes in the earth, and as the water recoiled from our causeway it filled these holes with water, and tore away the banks; so that what we had been employed on for three weeks or a month, they ruined in one or two days: they also very much annoyed, by their arrows, our people who were carrying materials for the dam.

The Turks, after the death of their sultan, who died of the disorder he was seized with when before Hamault, chose for their chief a Saracen named Sacedun, son of the Sheik (xcix), whom the emperor Ferrait (c) had made a knight.

Shortly after this Sacedun sent part of his army to cross near Damietta, and to a small town called Sourmefac, which is on the Rexi branch, that from that quarter they might fall on us. On Christmas day, whilst I and all my people were at dinner with my companion, Pierre d'Avalon (ci), the Saracens entered our camp, and slew many of our poor soldiers who had strayed into the fields.

We instantly mounted our horses to attack them; and well timed was it, for my lord Perron, our host, who had quitted the camp on the first alarm; for before we could overtake him, the Saracens had made him prisoner, and were carrying him off with his brother, the lord du Val. We pushed our horses forward, attacked the Saracens, and rescued these two good knights, whom they had already, by their blows, struck to the ground, and brought them back to the camp. The Templars, who were within hearing, formed a bold and determined rear-guard.

The Turks continued to make repeated attacks on us in that quarter with much courage, until our army had closed up the canal toward Damietta, from that branch to the one of Rexi.

This Sacedun, chief of the Turks, was held to be the most able and courageous of all the infidels. He bore on his banners the arms of the emperor who had made him a knight: his banner had several bends (CII), on one of which he bore the same arms with the sultan of Aleppo, and on another bend on the side were the arms of the sultan of Babylon. His name was, as I said before, Sacedun, son of the Sheik, which signifies the same in their language as to say the son of the Old Man. His name had great weight with them; for they are a people, it is said, who pay much honour to such old men as have in their youth been especially careful to preserve their characters from reproach. This chief, as it was told the king by his spies, boasted, that on St Sebastian's day next coming, he would dine in the king's tent.

When the king heard this, he replied, that he would take good care to prevent it. He then drew his army in closer array, orders for which were given to the men at arms; and to the count d'Artois, brother to the king, was given the command of the beffrois and machines. The king, and the count d'Anjou, who was afterwards king of Sicily, took on them the guard of the army, on the side of Babylon; and the count de Poitiers, with me, seneschal of Champagne, had the guard on the side towards Damietta.

Not long after this, the chief of the Turks, before named, crossed with his army into the island that lies between the Rexi and Damietta branches, where our army was encamped, and formed a line of battle, extending from one bank of the river to the other. The count d'Anjou, who was on the

spot, attacked the Turks, and defeated them so completely that they took to flight ; and numbers were drowned in each of the branches of the Nile.

A large body, however, kept their ground, whom we dared not attack, on account of their numerous machines, by which they did us great injury with the divers things cast from them. During the attack on the Turks by the count d'Anjou, the count Guy de Ferrois (CIII), who was in his company, galloped through the turkish force, attended by his knights, until they came to another battalion of Saracens, where they performed wonders. But at last he was thrown to the ground with a broken leg, and was led back by two of his knights, supporting him by the arms.

You must know there was much difficulty in withdrawing the count d'Anjou from this attack, wherein he was frequently in the utmost danger, and was ever after greatly honoured for it.

Another large body of Turks made an attack on the count de Poitiers and me ; but be assured they were very well received, and served in like manner. It was well for them that they found their way back by which they had come ; but they left behind great numbers of slain. We returned safely to our camp without having scarcely lost any of our men.

One night the Turks brought forward an engine, called by them La Perriere, a terrible engine to do mischief, and placed it opposite to the chas-chateils, which sir Walter de Curel and I were guarding by night. From this engine they flung such quantities of greek fire (CIV), that it was the most horrible fight ever witnessed. When my companion, the good sir Walter, saw this shower of fire, he cried out,—‘ Gentlemen, we are all lost without remedy ; for should they set fire to our chas-chateils we must be burnt ; and if we quit our post we are for ever dishonoured ; from which I conclude, that no one can possibly save us from this peril but God, our benignant Creator, I therefore advise all of you, whenever they throw any of this greek fire, to cast yourselves on your hands and knees, and cry for mercy to our Lord, in whom alone resides all power.’

As soon, therefore, as the Turks threw their fires, we flung ourselves on our hands and knees, as the wise man had advised ; and this time they fell between our two cats into a hole in front, which our people had made to extinguish them ; and they were instantly put out by a man appointed for

that purpose. This greek fire, in appearance, was like a large tun, and its tail was of the length of a long spear : the noise which it made was like to thunder ; and it seemed a great dragon of fire flying through the air, giving so great a light with its flame, that we saw in our camp as clearly as in broad day. Thrice this night did they throw the fire from la perriere, and four times from cross-bows.

Each time that our good king, St Louis, heard them make these discharges of fire, he cast himself on the ground, and with extended arms and eyes turned to the heavens, cried with a loud voice to our Lord, and shedding heavy tears, said, ‘ Good Lord God JESUS CHRIST, preserve thou me, and all my people ;’ and believe me, his sincere prayers were of great service to us. At every time the fire fell near us, he sent one of his knights to know how we were, and if the fire had hurt us. One of the discharges from the Turks fell beside a chas-chateils, guarded by the men of the lord Courtenay, struck the bank of the river in front, and ran on the ground toward them, burning with flame. One of the knights of this guard instantly came to me, crying out,—‘ Help us, my lord, or we are burnt ; for there is a long train of greek fire, which the Saracens have discharged, that is running strait for our castle.’

We immediately hastened thither, and good need was there ; for as the knight had said, so it was. We extinguished the fire with much labour and difficulty ; for the Saracens, in the mean time, kept up so brisk a shooting from the opposite bank, that we were covered with arrows and bolts (cv).

The count of Anjou, brother to the king, guarded these castles during the day, and annoyed the saracen army with his cross-bows. It was ordered by the king that after the count of Anjou should have finished his daily guard, we, and others of my company, should continue it during the night. We suffered much pain and uneasiness ; for the Turks had already broken and damaged our tandeis (cvi) and defences. Once these turkish traitors advanced their perriere in the day-time, when the count d’Anjou had the guard, and had brought together all their machines, from which they threw greek fires on our dams, over the river, opposite to our tandies and defences, which completely prevented any of the workmen from shewing themselves ;

and our two chas-chatiels were in a moment destroyed and burnt. The count d'Anjou was almost mad at seeing this; for they were under his guard, and, like one out of his senses, wanted to throw himself into the fire to extinguish it, whilst I and my knights returned thanks to God; for if they had delayed this attack to the night, we must have all been burnt.

The king, on hearing what had happened, made a request to each of his barons, that they would give him as much of the largest timbers (CVII) from their ships that were on the coast as they could spare, and have them transported to where the army lay; for there was not any timber near fit to make use of. After the king had made this request, they all aided him to the utmost; and before the new chas-chateils were finished, the timber employed was estimated to be worth upwards of ten thousand livres. You may guess from this that many boats were destroyed, and that we were then in the utmost distress.

When the chas-chateils were completed, the king would not have them fixed, or pointed, until the count of Anjou resumed the guard: he then ordered, that they should be placed on the exact spot where the others had been burnt. This he did to recover the honour of his said brother, under whose guard the two others had been destroyed. As the king had ordered, so was it done; which the Saracens observing, they brought thither all their machines, and, coupling them together, shot at our new chas-chateils vigorously. When they perceived that our men were afraid of going from one castle to the other for fear of the showers of stones which they were casting, they advanced the perriere directly opposite to them, and again burnt them with their greek fires. I and my knights returned thanks to God for this second escape. Had they waited until night to make the attack, when the guard would have devolved to us, we must all have been burnt with them.

The king, seeing this, was, as well as his army, much troubled; and he called his barons to council, to consider what should be done; for they now perceived themselves that it would be impossible to throw a causeway over the river to cross to the Turks and Saracens, as our people could not make such advances on their side, but they were more speedily ruined by the Turks on the other.

Sir Humbert de Beaujeu, constable of France, then addressed the king, and said, that a Bedouin had lately come to him to say, that if we would give him five hundred golden besants, he would shew a safe ford, which might easily be crossed on horseback. The king replied, that he most cheerfully granted this, provided he spoke the truth; but the man would on no account shew the ford before the money demanded was paid.

It was determined by the king, that the duke of Burgundy, and the nobles beyond sea his allies, should guard the army from the alarms of the Saracens; whilst he, with his three brothers, the counts of Poitiers, Artois, and Anjou who was afterward king of Sicily, as I have said before, should with their attendants on horseback make trial of the ford the Bedouin was to shew them. The day appointed for this purpose was Shrove Tuesday, which when arrived we all mounted our horses, and, armed at all points, followed the Bedouin to the ford.

On our way thither, some advanced too near the banks of the river, which being soft and slippery, they and their horses fell in and were drowned. The king, seeing it, pointed it out to the rest, that they might be more careful and avoid similar danger. Among those who were drowned was that valiant knight sir John d'Orleans (CVIII), who bore the banner of the army. When we came to the ford, we saw on the opposite bank full three hundred saracen cavalry ready to defend this passage. We entered the river, and our horses found a tolerable ford with firm footing, so that by ascending the stream we found an easy shore, and, through God's mercy, we all crossed over with safety. The Saracens, observing us thus cross, fled away with the utmost dispatch.

Before we set out, the king had ordered that the Templars should form the van, and the count d'Artois, his brother, should command the second division of the army: but the moment the count d'Artois had passed the ford with all his people, and saw the Saracens flying, they stuck spurs into their horses and galloped after them; for which those who formed the van were much angered at the count d'Artois, who could not make any answer on account of sir Foucquault du Melle, who held the bridle of his horse; and sir Foucquault, being deaf, heard nothing the Templars were saying to the count d'Artois, but kept bawling out, 'Forward, forward!'

When the Templars perceived this, they thought they should be dishonoured if they allowed the count d'Artois thus to take the lead, and with one accord they spurred their horses to their fastest speed, pursuing the Saracens, through the town of Massoura, as far as the plains before Babylon : but on their return the Turks shot at them plenty of arrows, and other artillery, as they repassed through the narrow streets of the town. The count d'Artois, and the lord de Coucy, of the name of Raoul, were there slain (cix), and as many as three hundred other (cx) knights. The Templars lost, as their chief informed me, full fourteen score men at arms and horses. My knights, as well as myself, noticing on our left a large body of Turks, who were arming, instantly charged them; and, when we were advanced into the midst of them, I perceived a sturdy Saracen mounting his horse, which was held by one of his esquires by the bridle, and, while he was putting his hand on the saddle to mount, I gave him such a thrust with my spear, which I pushed as far as I was able, that he fell down dead. The esquire, seeing his lord dead, abandoned master and horse, but, watching my motions, on my return struck me with his lance such a blow between the shoulders as drove me on my horse's neck, and held me there so tightly that I could not draw my sword, which was girthed round me. I was forced to draw another sword which was at the pommel of my saddle, and it was high time; but, when he saw I had my sword in my hand, he withdrew his lance, which I had seized, and ran from me.

It chanced that I and my knights had traversed the army of the Saracens, and saw here and there different parties of them, to the amount of about six thousand, who, abandoning their quarters, had advanced into the plain. On perceiving that we were separated from the main body, they boldly attacked us, and slew sir Hugues de Trichatel, lord d'Esconflans, who bore the banner of our company. They also made prisoner sir Raoul de Wanon, of our company, whom they had struck to the ground. As they were carrying him off, my knights and myself knew him, and instantly hastened, with great courage, to assist him, and deliver him from their hands. In returning from this engagement, the Turks gave me such heavy blows, that my horse not being able to withstand them, fell on his knees, and threw

me to the ground over his head (cxī). I very shortly replaced my shield on my breast, and grasped my spear, during which time the lord Errart d'Esmeray, whose soul may God pardon ! advanced towards me, for he had also been struck down by the enemy ; and we retreated together towards an old ruined house to wait for the king, who was coming, and I found means to recover my horse.

As we were going to this house, a large body of Turks came galloping towards us, but passed on to a party of ours whom they saw hard by : as they passed, they struck me to the ground, with my shield over my neck, and galloped over me, thinking I was dead ; and indeed I was nearly so. When they were gone my companion, sir Errart, came and raised me up ; and we went to the walls of the ruined house. Thither also had retired sir Hugues d'Escoffe, sir Ferreys de Loppei, sir Regnault de Menoncourt, and several others ; and there also the Turks came to attack us, more bravely than ever, on all sides. Some of them entered within the walls, and were a long time fighting with us at spear's length, during which my knights gave me my horse, which they held lest he should run away, and at the same so vigorously defended us against the Turks, that they were greatly praised by several able persons who witnessed their prowess.

Sir Hugues d'Escoffe was desperately hurt by three great wounds in the face and elsewhere. Sir Raoul and sir Ferreys were also badly wounded in their shoulders, so that the blood spouted out just like to a tun of wine when tapped. Sir Errart d'Esmeray was so severely wounded in the face by a sword, the stroke of which cut off his nose, that it hung down over his mouth. In this severe distress, I called to my mind St James, and said,— ‘ Good lord St James succour me, I beseech thee ; and come to my aid in this time of need.’ I had scarcely ended my prayer, when sir Errart said to me,— ‘ Sir, if I did not think you might suppose it was done to abandon you, and save myself, I would go to my lord of Anjou, whom I see on the plain, and beg he would hasten to your help.’ ‘ Sir Errart,’ I replied, ‘ you will do me great honour and pleasure, if you will go and seek succour to save our lives ; for your own also is in great peril ;’ and I said truly, for he died of the wound he had received. All were of my opinion that he

should seek for assistance ; and I then quitting hold of the rein of his bridle, he galloped towards the count d'Anjou, to request he would support us in the danger we were in.

There was a great lord with him who wished to detain him, but the good prince would not attend to what he urged, but, spurring his horse, galloped towards us followed by his men. The Saracens, observing them coming, left us, but when on their arrival they saw the Saracens carrying away their prisoner, sir Raoul de Wanon, badly wounded, they hastened to recover him, and brought him back in a most pitiful state.

Shortly after, I saw the king arrive with all his attendants, and with a terrible noise of trumpets, clarions and horns. He halted on an eminence, with his men at arms, for something he had to say ; and I assure you I never saw so handsome a man under arms. He was taller than any of his troop by the shoulders ; and his helmet, which was gilded, was handsomely placed on his head ; and he bore a german sword (CXII) in his hand.

Soon after he had halted, many of his knights were observed intermixed with the Turks : their companions instantly rushed into the battle among them ; and you must know, that in this engagement were performed, on both sides, the most gallant deeds that were ever done in this expedition to the holy land ; for none made use of the bow (CXIII), cross-bow, or other artillery. But the conflict consisted of blows given to each other by battle-axes, swords, butts of spears, all mixed together. From all I saw, my knights and myself, all wounded as we were, were very impatient to join the battle with the others.

Shortly after one of my esquires, who had once fled from my banner, came to me, and brought me one of my flemish war-horses : I was soon mounted, and rode by the side of the king, whom I found attended by that discreet man, sir John de Valeri. Sir John seeing the king desirous to enter into the midst of the battle, advised him to make for the river side, on the right, in order that in case there should be any danger, he might have support from the duke of Burgundy (CXIV) and his army, which had been left behind to guard the camp ; and likewise that his men might be refreshed, and have wherewith to quench their thirst ; for the weather was at this moment exceedingly hot.

The king sent orders for his barons, knights, and others of his council, to quit the turkish army, and, on their arrival, demanded their counsel, what was best to be done. Several answered, that the good knight, sir John de Valeri, now by his side, would give him the best advice. Then, according to the former opinion of sir John de Valeri, which many agreed was good, the king turned to the right hand, and advanced toward the river.

As this was doing, sir Humbert de Beaujeu, constable of France, came up, and told the king that his brother, the count d'Artois, was much pressed in a house at Massoura, where, however, he defended himself gallantly, but that he would need speedy assistance; and entreated the king to go to his aid. The king replied, 'Constable, spur forward, and I will follow you close.' I also, the lord de Joinville, said to the constable, that I would be one of his knights, and follow him in such a case as this.

All of us now galloped strait to Massoura, and were in the midst of the turkish army, when we were instantly separated from each other by the greater power of the Saracens and Turks. Shortly after, a serjeant at mace of the constable, with whom I was, came to him, and said the king was surrounded by the Turks, and his person in imminent danger. You may suppose our astonishment and fears, for there were between us and where the king was full one thousand or twelve hundred Turks, and we were only six persons in all. I said to the constable, that since it was impossible for us to make our way through such a crowd of Turks, it would be much better to wheel round and get on the other side of them. This we instantly did. There was a deep ditch on the road we took between the Saracens and us; and, had they noticed us, they must have slain us all; but they were solely occupied with the king, and the larger bodies: perhaps also they might have taken us for some of their friends. As we thus gained the river, following its course downward between it and the road, we observed that the king had ascended it, and that the Turks were sending fresh troops after him. Both armies now met on the banks, and the event was miserably unfortunate; for the weaker part of our army thought to cross over to the division of the duke of Burgundy, but that was impossible from their horses being worn down, and the extreme heat of the weather. As we

descended the river, we saw it covered with lances, pikes, shields, men and horses, unable to save themselves from death.

When we perceived the miserable state of our army, I advised the constable to remain on this side of the river, to guard a small bridge that was hard by; 'for if we leave it,' added I, 'the enemy may come and attack the king on this side, and if our men be assailed in two places, they must be discomfited.'

There then we halted; and you may believe me when I say, that the good king performed that day the most gallant deeds that ever I saw in any battle. It was said, that had it not been for his personal exertions, the whole army would have been destroyed; but I believe that the great courage he naturally possessed was that day doubled by the power of God, for he forced himself, wherever he saw his men in any distress, and gave such blows with battle-axe and sword it was wonderful to behold.

The lord de Courtenay and sir John de Salenay one day told me, that at this engagement six Turks caught hold of the bridle of the king's horse, and were leading him away; but this virtuous prince exerted himself with such bravery in fighting the six Turks, that he alone freed himself from them; and that many, seeing how valiantly he defended himself, and the great courage he displayed, took greater courage themselves, and, abandoning the passage they were guarding, hastened to support the king.

After some little time, the count Peter of Brittany came to us who were guarding the small bridge from Massoura, having had a most furious skirmish. He was so badly wounded in the face that the blood came out of his mouth, as if it had been full of water, and he vomited it forth. The count was mounted on a short, thick, but strong horse, and his reins and the pommel of his saddle were cut and destroyed, so that he was forced to hold himself by his two hands round the horse's neck for fear the Turks, who were close behind him, should make him fall off. He did not, however, seem much afraid of them, for he frequently turned round, and gave them many abusive words by way of mockery.

Towards the end of this battle, sir John de Soissons and sir Peter de Nouille, surnamed Cayer, came to us: they had suffered much from the

blows they had received by remaining behind in the last battle. The Turks seeing them began to move to meet them, but observing us who were guarding the bridge, with our faces towards them, suffered them to pass, suspecting that we should have gone to their succour, as we certainly should have done. I addressed the count de Soissons, who was my cousin-german, 'Sir, I beg that you will remain here to guard this bridge. You will act right in so doing; for, if you leave it, the Turks whom you see before you will advance to attack us, and the king may thus have his enemies in front and rear at the same moment.' He asked, if he should stay, would I remain with him? to which I most cheerfully assented.

The constable, hearing our conversation and agreement, told me to defend this bridge, and not on any account to quit it, and that he would go and seek for succour. I was sitting quietly there on my horse, having my cousin sir John de Soissons on my right and sir Peter de Nouille on my left hand, when a Turk, galloping from where the king was, struck sir Peter de Nouille so heavy a blow with his battle-axe on the back as felled him on the neck of his horse, and then crossed the bridge full speed to his own people, imagining that we would abandon our post and follow him, and thus they might gain the bridge. When they perceived that we would on no account quit our post, they crossed the rivulet, and placed themselves between it and the river; on which we marched towards them in such-wise that we were ready to charge them, if they had further advanced.

In our front were two of the king's heralds: the name of one was Guillaume de Bron, and that of the other John de Gaymaches; against whom the Turks, who, as I have said, had posted themselves between the rivulet and river, led a rabble of peasants of the country, who pelted them with clods of earth and large stones. At last, they brought a villanous Turk, who thrice flung greek fires at them; and by one of them was the tabard of Guillaume de Bron set on fire, but he soon threw it off, and good need had he, for if it had set fire to his clothes, he must have been burnt. We were also covered with these showers of stones and arrows which the Turks discharged at the two heralds.

I luckily found near me a gaubifon (cxv) of coarse cloth which had belonged to a Saracen, and, turning the flit part inward, I made a sort of shield, which was of much service to me; for I was only wounded by their shots in five places, whereas my horse was hurt in fifteen. Soon after, as God willed it, one of my vassals of Joinville brought me a banner with my arms, and a long knife for war, which I was in want of; and then, when these turkish villains, who were on foot, pressed on the heralds, we made a charge on them, and put them instantly to flight.

Thus when the good count de Soissons and myself were returned to our post on the bridge, after chasing away these peasants, he rallied me, saying, ‘ Seneschal, let us allow this rabble to bawl and bray; and, by the ‘ Cresse Dieu,’ his usual oath, ‘ you and I will talk over this day’s adventures in the chambers of our ladies.’

It happened that towards evening, about sun-set, the constable, sir Hymbert de Beaujeu, brought us the king’s cross-bows that were on foot; and they drew up in one front, while we, horsemen, dismounted under shelter of the cross-bows. The Saracens, observing this, immediately took to flight, and left us in peace. The constable told me that we had behaved well in thus guarding the bridge; and bade me go boldly to the king, and not quit him until he should be dismounted in his pavilion. I went to the king, and at the same moment sir John de Valeri joined, and requested of him, in the name of the lord de Chastillon (cxvi), that the said lord might command the rear-guard, which the king very willingly granted. The king then took the road to return to his pavilion, and raised the helmet from his head, on which I gave him my iron skull-cap, which was much lighter, that he might have more air.

Thus as we were riding together, father Henry, prior of the hospital of Ronnay, who had crossed the river, came to him and kissed his hand, fully armed, and asked if he had heard any news of his brother, the count d’Artois. ‘ Yes,’ replied the king, ‘ I have heard all;’ that is to say, that he knew well he was now in paradise. The prior, thinking to comfort him for the death of his brother, continued, ‘ Sire, no king of France has ever reaped such honour as you have done; for with great intrepidity have you

and your army crossed a dangerous river to combat your enemies ; and have been so very successful, that you have put them to flight, and gained the field, together with their warlike engines, with which they had wonderfully annoyed you, and concluded the affair by taking possession this day of their camp and quarters.'

The good king replied, that God should be adored for all the good he had granted him ; and then heavy tears began to fall down his cheeks, which many great persons noticing, were oppressed with anguish and compassion, on seeing him thus weep, praising the name of God, who had enabled him to gain the victory.

When we arrived at our quarters, we found great numbers of Saracens on foot holding the cords of a tent which some of our servants were erecting, and pulling against them with all their might. The master of the Temple (cxvii), who had the command of the vanguard, and myself, charged this rabble, and made them run away. The tent remained, therefore, with us ; not, however, that there was any great fight, for which reason many boasters were put to shame. I could readily mention their names, but I abstain from doing so because they are deceased ; and we ought not to speak ill of the dead. Of sir Guyon de Malvoisin (cxviii) I am willing to speak, for the constable and I met him on the road, returning from Massoura, bearing himself gallantly, although hard pressed by the Turks, who closely pursued him ; for after they had dispersed the count of Brittany and his battalion, as I have before said, they followed the lord Guyon and his company. He had not suffered much in this engagement, for he and his people had most courageously behaved ; which is not to be wondered at, when, as I have heard from those who knew him and his family, almost all his knights were of his kindred and lineage, and his men at arms his liege vassals. This gave them the greater confidence in their chief.

After we had discomfited the Turks, and driven them out of their quarters, the Bedouins (cxix), who are a powerful people, entered the camp of the Saracens and Turks, and seized and carried off whatever they could find, and all that the Saracens and Turks had left behind them.

I was much surpris'd at this; for the Bedouins are subjects and tributary to the Saracens; but I never heard that they were treated the worse by the Saracens for what they had thus pillaged. They said it was their usual custom to fall on the weakest, which is the nature of dogs; for when there is one dog pursued by another, and a shouting made after him, all the other dogs fall on him.

As my subject requires it, I shall say something concerning these Bedouins, and what sort of people they be. The Bedouins reside in deserts and mountains, and have no great faith in Mahomet, like the Turks, but believe in the religion of Aly (cxx), who, they say, was uncle to Mahomet. They are persuaded that when any one of them dies for the service of his lord, or when attempting any good design, his soul enters a superior body, and is much more comfortable than it was before: this makes them ready to die at the command of their superiors or elders. These Bedouins do not reside in town or city, but always lie in the fields and deserted places, where, whenever the weather is bad, they, their wives and children, make themselves a habitation, by sticking into the ground poles connected by hoops, like to what women use in drying their washed clothes; and over these hoops they throw skins of their large sheep, which they call skins of Somas, tanned with alum. The Bedouins have large pelisses of coarse hair, which cover their whole bodies, and when evening comes, or when it is cold or wet, they wrap themselves up in them, and retire to rest. Those who follow war have their horses feeding near them during the night, and have only to take off their bridles and let them eat. In the morning they spread their pelisses to the sun, and, when dry, rub them, so that they do not appear as if they had been wetted. They never are armed for combat, for they say, and believe, that no one can die but at his appointed hour: they have, likewise, a mode of cursing, alluding to their faith, when they swear at their children, saying, 'Be thou accursed, like him who arms himself for fear of death.' In battle they use only a sword, made after the turkish manner, and are clothed in linen robes like to surplices. They are an ugly race, and hideous to look at; for their hair and beards are long and black. They live on the superabundance of the milk from their herds; and

their numbers are not to be counted ; for they dwell in the kingdoms of Jerufalem, Egypt, and throughout all the lands of the Saracens and infidels, to whom they are tributary.

Now, I am on the subject of the Bedouins, I must say that I have seen, since my return from the holy land, some calling themselves Christians, who hold similar faith with the Bedouins ; for they maintain, that no man can die before his determined time, happen what may, which is a falsehood. I consider such a belief the same as if they should say that God had not the power to assist or hurt us, nor to lengthen or abridge our lives, which is heresy. On the contrary, I declare that we ought to put our whole faith in him who is all-powerful, and may, according to his good pleasure, send us death sooner or later. This is the opposite to the faith of the Bedouins, who firmly believe the day of death to each person is determined infallibly, without any possibility of prolonging or shortening the time.

To return to the original matter, and continue my history. In the evening of this severe engagement that I spoke of, and when we had taken up our quarters in those from whence we had driven the Saracens, my people brought me, from the main army, a tent, which the master of the Templars, who had the command of the van, had given me. I had it pitched on the right of those machines we had won from the enemy, as each of us was eager for repose : indeed we had need of it from the wounds and fatigues we had suffered in the late battle.

Before day-break, however, we were alarmed by the cries of ‘ To arms, to arms ! ’ and I made my chamberlain rise, who lay by my side, to go and see what was the matter. He was not long in returning, much frightened, and crying out,—‘ My lord, up, up instantly ; for the Saracens have entered the camp, both horse and foot, and have already defeated the guard which the king had appointed for our security, and to defend the engines we had won from them.’

These engines were in front of the king’s pavilions, and of us who were near to him. I immediately rose, threw a cuirass on my back, and put my iron skull-cap on my head ; and having roused our people, wounded as we were, we drove the Saracens from the engines which they were so anxious to recover.

The king, seeing that scarcely any of us had armour on, sent sir Walter de Chastillon (cxxxī), who posted himself between us and the Turks, for the better guard of the engines. After sir Walter had several times repulsed the enemy, who made frequent attempts during the night to carry off these engines, the Saracens, finding they could not succeed, retreated to a large body of their horse, that were drawn up opposite to our lines, to prevent us from surprising their camp, which was in their rear.

Six of the principal Turks dismounted, armed from head to foot, and made themselves a rampart of large stones, as a shelter from our cross-bows, and from thence shot volleys of arrows which often wounded many of our men. When I and my men at arms who had the guard of that quarter saw their stone rampart, we took council together, and resolved that, during the ensuing night, we would destroy this rampart, and bring away the stones.

Now I had a priest called John de Wayfy (cxxxii), who, having overheard our council and resolution, did not wait so long, but set out alone towards the Saracens, with his cuirass on, his cap of iron, and his sword under his arm. When he was near the enemy, who neither thought of nor suspected any one coming against them thus alone, he rushed furiously on, sword in hand, and gave such blows to these six captains that they could not defend themselves, and took to flight, to the great astonishment of the other Turks and Saracens.

When the Turks saw their leaders fly, they stuck spurs into their horses, and charged the priest, who was returning to our army, whence had fallen fifty of our men to oppose them, as they were pursuing him on horseback: the Turks would not meet them, but wheeled off two or three times. It happened, however, that during these wheelings, one of our men threw his dagger (cxxxiii) at a Turk, and hit him between the ribs: he carried off the dagger, but it caused his death. The other Turks, seeing this, were more shy than before, and never dared to approach while our men were carrying away the stones of the rampart. My priest was well known ever after by the whole army, who said when they saw him, 'That is the priest who, single-handed, defeated the Saracens.'

These things happened during the first day of Lent; and this same day the Saracens elected another chief, in the place of their late chief Secedun, of whom mention has been made, and who died in the battle of Shrove Tuesday (cxxxiv); at the same time, probably, that the good count d'Artois, brother to the king St Louis, was slain. This new chief found among the other dead the body of the count d'Artois, who had shewn great intrepidity in this battle, magnificently dressed, becoming a prince; and this chief took the count's coat of armour, and, to give courage to the Turks and Saracens, had it hoisted before them, telling them it was the coat-armour of the king their enemy, who had been slain in battle; adding, ' My lords, this should make you exert yourselves the more, for body without head is nothing, nor is an army without prince or chief to be feared. I advise, and you ought to have confidence in me, that we increase the force of our attacks on them; and on Friday next we must conquer and gain the battle, since they have now lost their commander.' All who heard him cheerfully agreed to follow his advice.

You must know that the king had many spies in the saracen army, who, having overheard their plans, knew their intentions, and how they meant to act. Some of them informed the king of the intended attack of the enemy, and that they believed him dead and the army without a leader.

Upon this, the king summoned all his captains, and commanded them to have their men at arms completely armed, and ready drawn up before their tents at midnight, and then to advance as far as the lines which had been made to prevent the Saracens entering the camp on horseback, although they were so constructed that they might pass them on foot. This was punctually executed according to the king's orders.

You may suppose, that the plan the saracen chief had proposed and adopted he lost no time in putting into execution. On the friday-morning, by sun-rise, four thousand knights, well armed and mounted, were drawn up in battalions, alongside our army, which lay on the banks of the river toward Babylon, and extending as far as a town called Reffil (cxxxv). When the pagan chief had thus drawn up his four thousand knights in front of our army, he then brought another large body of Saracens on foot, and in such numbers that they surrounded all the other side of it. After doing this, he

drew up at a short distance other bodies in conjunction with the power of the sultan of Babylon, to succour and aid each of the two former, as occasion might occur.

The chief of the Saracens, having now completed the arrangement of his army, advanced on horseback alone, to view and make his observations on the manner in which the king's army was formed; and where he saw ours was the strongest or weakest, he strengthened or diminished his own. After this he ordered three thousand Bedouins, whose nature and character I have described, to march in front of the troops under the command of the duke of Burgundy, which were posted between the two branches of the Nile, thinking that part of the king's army might be under the duke, and his own so much the weaker, and that these Bedouins would effectually prevent the duke from affording any support to the king.

All these operations of the infidel chief took him up until about mid-day. This done, he ordered the naquaires and drums to be loudly sounded, according to the mode of the Turks, which is certainly very surprising to those who have not been accustomed to hear them; and then both horse and foot began to be in motion on all sides. I will speak first of the battalion under the count d'Anjou, which received the first attack, being posted the nearest to Babylon. The enemy advanced in a chequered manner, like to a game of chess; for their infantry ran towards our men, and burnt them with greek fires, which they cast from instruments made for that purpose. On the other hand, the turkish cavalry charged them with such rapidity and success, that the battalion of the count d'Anjou was defeated. He himself was on foot among his knights, very uncomfortably situated.

When news was brought to the king of the danger his brother was in, nothing could check his ardour; nor would he wait for any one, but, sticking spurs to his horse, galloped into the midst of the battle, lance in hand, to where his brother was, and gave most deadly blows to the Turks, hastening alway to where he saw the greatest crowd. He suffered many hard blows; and the Saracens covered all his horse's tail and rump with greek fires. You may be assured that at such a time he had God in his heart and mind; and in good truth our Lord in this distress befriended him,

and so far assisted him, that the king rescued his brother, the count d'Anjou, and drove the Turks before him without the lines.

Next to the battalion of the count d'Anjou was that commanded by sir Guy de Guivelins (cxxxvi), and his brother Baldwin, which joined the battalion of that bold and gallant man sir Walter de Chastillon. He had with him numbers of chivalrous knights ; and these two battalions behaved so vigorously against the Turks, that they were neither any way broken nor conquered.

The next battalion, however, fared but badly, under the command of friar William de Sonnac, master of the Temple, who had with him the remnant of the men at arms that had survived the battle of Shrove-Tuesday, which had been so severely murderous. The master of the Temple, having but few men, made of the engines that had been taken from the enemy, a sort of rampart in his front: this, nevertheless, availed him nothing, for the Templars having added to them many planks of fir-wood, the Saracens burnt them with their greek fires ; and seeing there were but few to oppose them, they waited not until they were destroyed, but, vigorously attacking the Templars, defeated them in a very short time. It is certain, that in the rear of the Templars there was about an acre of ground so covered with bolts, darts, arrows, and other weapons, that you could not see the earth beneath them : such showers of these had been discharged against the Templars by the Saracens. The commander of this battalion had lost an eye in the preceding battle of Shrove Tuesday ; and in this he lost the other, and was slain : God have mercy on his soul !

Sir Guy de Malvoisin, a bold and valiant captain of another battalion, was severely wounded in the body ; and the Saracens perceiving his gallant conduct and address, shot greek fire at him incessantly, so that at one time when he was hit by it, his people had much difficulty to extinguish it. But, notwithstanding this, he stood bold and firm, unconquered by the pagans.

From the battalion of sir Guy de Malvoisin, the lines which inclosed our army descended to where I was, within a stone's cast of the river, and passed by the division of the lord William earl of Flanders, which extended to that branch of the river which entered the sea. Our battalion was posted

opposite, and on that bank of the river where sir Guy de Malvoisin was. The Saracens, observing the appearance of the division of the earl of Flanders fronting them, dared not make any attack on us, for which I thanked God, as neither my knights nor myself could put on any armour, on account of the wounds we had received in the engagement of the Tuesday, which rendered it impossible to wear any defensive clothing.

The lord William of Flanders and his battalion did wonders: they gallantly and fiercely attacked the Turks on horseback and on foot, and performed great deeds of arms. Seeing their prowess, I ordered my cross bows to shoot strongly at the Turks, who were on horseback at this engagement; and the moment they felt themselves or horses wounded by the arrows, they instantly took flight, and abandoned their infantry. The earl of Flanders and his division, observing the Turks fly, passed the lines, and charged the pagans, who were on foot, killing great numbers, and bringing off many targets. Among others, sir Gaultier de la Horgne (cxxxvii), who bore the banner of the count d'Aspremont, displayed much courage.

Adjoining this battalion was that of my lord the count de Poitiers, brother to the king, it was composed solely of infantry, and the only person on horseback was the count, which was unfortunate for him; for the Turks defeated this battalion, and made the count prisoner. They would surely have carried him away, had not the butchers, and all the other traffickers, men and women, who supplied the army with provision, hearing that the Turks were carrying off the count de Poitiers, set up a great shout, and rushed on the Saracens with such fury that they rescued the count de Poitiers, and drove the Turks beyond the lines (cxxxviii).

The next battalion to that of the count de Poitiers was the weakest of the whole army, and commanded by sir Jofferant de Brançon (cxxxix), whom my lord de Poitiers had brought with him to Egypt. This division was also formed of dismounted knights, sir Jofferant and his son sir Henry being the only persons on horseback. The Turks broke this battalion on all sides, on which sir Jofferant and his son fell on the rear of the Turks, and cut them down with their swords. They pressed the enemy so much that they frequently turned on them again, leaving the main body of his men. In the end, this would have been fatal; for the Turks must have slain the

whole if sir Henry de Cone, a wise and valiant knight of the division under the duke of Burgundy, well knowing the weakness of the lord de Brançon's battalion, had not, every time he saw the Turks make their charge on it, ordered the king's cross-bows to shoot at them. He exerted himself so effectually that the lord de Brançon escaped from this danger, but lost twelve of the twenty knights whom it was said he had, without counting other men at arms. He himself, however, was the victim of the wounds he received in the service of God, who, we are bound to believe, has well rewarded him for it.

This lord was my uncle, and I heard him on his death-bed say, that he had in his time been in thirty-six battles or warlike skirmishes, and had borne off the prize of arms in most. Of some of them I have a remembrance; for once being in the army of the count de Mascon (cxxx), who was his cousin, he came to me and a brother of mine on a Good Friday, and said to us, 'Come my nephews with all your men, and join us in charging these Germans, who are destroying the monastery of Mascon.'

We were instantly on horseback, and hastened to attack the Germans, whom, with hard blows of sword and lance, we drove from the monastery, where many were killed and wounded. When this was done, the good man fell on his knees before the altar, and cried with a loud voice to our Lord, praying that he would be pleased to have mercy on his soul, that he might die for his service, to the end that he might be entitled to the reward of paradise. I have related this, that you may know, as I firmly believe, that God has granted to him the request he then made.

After this battle was ended, the king summoned all his barons, knights, and other great lords, to whom, when assembled, he thus kindly addressed himself: 'My lords and friends, you have all now witnessed the great grace which God our Creator has of late shewn us, and continues to do so daily, for which we are bounden to return him our thanksgiving. Last Tuesday, which was Shrovetide, we, aided by him, dislodged our enemies from their quarters, of which we have gained the possession. This Friday, which is now passed, we have defended ourselves against them, very many of us being without arms, while they were completely armed on horseback, and on

their own ground.' Many more fair speeches did he make; and the good king dwelt much upon what had passed, to comfort and give them courage and faith in God.

In pursuing the subject matter of my book it is necessary now and then to make digressions, and to inform you of the manner in which the sultan supported his men at arms, and how his armies were supplied. It is true that the greater part of his chivalry was composed of foreigners, whom the merchants trading by sea had bought when young, and whom the Egyptians purchased by order of their sultan. They came mostly from the east; for when an eastern king (cxxx1) had defeated in battle another neighbouring monarch, the victor, and his people, seized the subjects of the vanquished, whom they sold to merchants, who bought them, as I have said, to sell again in Egypt. The children born from these captives the sultan supported and educated, and when their beards appeared they were taught to draw the bow, by way of amusement; and when he was in a jocund mood they displayed their skill before him.

As they increased in strength, their small bows were exchanged for others of greater weight, and proportioned to their powers. These youths bore the arms of the sultan, and were called his Bahairiz *. When their beards were grown, the sultan made them knights; and their emblazonments were like his, of pure gold, save that to distinguish them, they added bars of vermilion, with roses, birds, griffins, or any other difference as they pleased.

* Bahairiz.—This word comes from Bahr, which the Arabians use to express the sea, or any great collection of water. The name of Bahairiz was first given to a thousand youths, whom Melik-Ussali had bought of the Tartars who ravaged the Turquestan, and whom he had educated in all military exercises in a castle, built by his orders, opposite to Cairo, on an island of the Nile called Revdhah. This fort was called Bahrieh, or the Maritime Fortress, on account of the Nile surrounding it. It was in this castle that Melik-Ussali, who had not forgotten the cowardly conduct of his troops at the siege of Napoulous, fixed his residence. He gave his whole confidence to these Bahairiz, loaded them with favours, and named from among them the governors of provinces, the commanders of his armies, and the first officers of the state. The remainder were reserved for the guard of his new palace, and to attend on him wherever he went, during peace or war. It is this body of troops the lord de Joinville means under the name of La Hauleca.

Gloss. to Louvre edit. voc. Bahari.

They were called the band of La Hauleca (cxxxii), which signifies the archers of the king's guard; and were always about the person of the fultan to defend him. When the fultan went to war they were quartered near him, as his body-guard.

He had, beside these, other guards still nearer to his person, such as porters and minstrels, who played upon their instruments from the break of day until the fultan rose; and in the evenings founded the retreat. Their instruments made so loud a noise, that those who were near them could not hear each other speak; and their notes were distinctly heard throughout the army. During the day-time, they dared on no account play on them, without express orders from the commander of the hauleca.

When the fultan wanted any thing, or wished to give orders to his men at arms, he mentioned it to the above commander, who ordered the minstrels to sound their saracen horns, drums and naquaires; and to this sound the whole of the chiefs drew up before their fultan's tent, to whom the commander of la hauleca told the good pleasure of the fultan, which they instantly obeyed to the utmost of their power. Whenever the fultan went personally to war, he nominated from such of the knights of la hauleca as shewed the most courage and abilities admiral (cxxxiii), or captain over the men at arms, and according as they rose in merit the more the fultan gave them, by which means every one of them tried who should surpass the other to the utmost.

The manner of the fultan's acting towards them was, that whenever any one of the knights of the hauleca had, by his prowess and chivalry, gained a sufficiency (cxxxiv), so that he was no longer in want, and could live independent, the fultan, for fear he should dethrone or kill him, had him arrested and thrown into prison, where he was secretly put to death, and then he took possession of all the fortune his wife or children might have had left to them. An example of this happened while I was in that country; for the Sultan had imprisoned those who, by their valour and address, had made prisoners of the counts of Montfort and of Bar (cxxxv); and from envy and jealousy, and from his dread of them had them put to death. He acted in like manner to the Boudendars, who are his subjects; for when they had defeated the king of Armenia (cxxxvi), and came to inform

him of the event, they found him hunting wild beasts. Having dismounted to make their obeisance, and thinking, as they had behaved so well, they should be recompensed, he eyed them maliciously, and said he should not return their salute, for they had made him lose his chase; and ordered their heads to be struck off.

To return to our subject. The sultan lately deceased had left a son (cxxxvii), who was twenty-five years old, well informed, prudent, and already full of malice. The last sultan, fearing he might dethrone him, kept him at a distance from his person, and had given him a kingdom in the east; but the moment his father was dead, the admirals of Babylon sent for him, and made him their sultan. On taking possession of his dignity he deprived the constable, marshals, and seneschals of his father, of their golden wands (cxxxviii), and the offices which they held, and gave them to those whom he had brought with him from the east.

This caused great discontent in those who had been removed, as also in those of the council of his late father, who suspected strongly that he would act by them, after seizing their wealth in the same manner as the sultan had done by those who had taken the counts of Montfort and of Bar, as already related. They, therefore, unanimously agreed to put him to death, and found means of obtaining from those called la hauleca, who were the sultan's guard, a promise to murder him.

After the two battles I have mentioned, which were marvellously sharp and severe, the one on Shrove Tuesday (cxxxix), and the other the first Friday in Lent, another great misfortune befel our army. At the end of eight or ten days, the bodies of those who had been slain in these two engagements, and thrown into the Nile, rose to the top of the water. It was said, this always happens when the gall is burst and rotten. These bodies floated down the river until they came to the small bridge that communicated with each part of our army; and the arch was so low it almost touched the water, and prevented the bodies passing underneath. The river was covered with them from bank to bank, so that the water could not be seen a good stone's throw from the bridge upward.

The king hired one hundred labourers, who were full eight days in separating the bodies of the Christians from the Saracens, which were easily

distinguishable: the faracen bodies they thrust under the bridge by main force, and floated them down to the sea; but the Christians were buried in deep graves, one over the other. God knows how great was the stench, and what misery it was to see the bodies of such noble and worthy persons lying so exposed. I witnessed the chamberlain of the late count d'Artois seeking the body of his master, and many more hunting after the bodies of their friends: but I never heard that any who were thus seeking their friends amidst such an infectious smell ever recovered their healths. You must know, that we eat no fish the whole Lent but eelpouts, which is a gluttonous fish, and feeds on dead bodies. From this cause, and from the bad air of the country, where it scarcely ever rains a drop, the whole army was infected by a shocking disorder, which dried up the flesh on our legs (cxl) to the bone, and our skins became tanned as black as the ground, or like an old boot that has long lain behind a coffer. In addition to this miserable disorder, those affected by it had another sore complaint in the mouth, from eating such fish, that rotted the gums, and caused a most stinking breath. Very few escaped death, that were thus attacked; and the surest symptom of its being fatal was a bleeding at the nose, for when that took place none ever recovered.

The better to cure us, the Turks, who knew our situation, fifteen days afterward attempted to starve us, by means I shall now tell you. These villanous Turks had drawn their galleys overland, and launched them again below our army, so that those who had gone to Damietta for provision never returned, to the great astonishment of us all. We could not imagine the reason of this, until one of the galleys of the earl of Flanders, having forced a passage, informed us how the sultan had launched his vessels, by drawing them overland, below us, so that the Turks watched all galleys going toward Damietta, and had already captured fourscore of ours, and killed their crews.

By this means, all provision was exceedingly dear in the army; and when Easter arrived, a beef was sold for eighty livres, a sheep for thirty livres, a hog for thirty livres, a muid of wine for ten livres, an egg for sixpence, and every thing else in proportion.

When the king and his barons saw this, and that there was not any remedy for it, they advised the king to march the army from near Babylon, and join that of the duke of Burgundy, which was on the other bank of the river that flowed to Damietta. For the security of his retreat, the king had erected a barbican in front of the small bridge I have so often mentioned; and it was constructed in suchwise that it might be entered on each side on horseback. As soon as this barbican was finished, the whole host armed; for the Turks made a vigorous attack, observing our intentions to join the duke of Burgundy's army on the opposite side of the river.

During the time we were entering the barbican, the enemy fell on the rear of our army, and took prisoner sir Errart de Valeri; but he was soon rescued by his brother, sir John de Valeri. The king, however, and his division never moved until the baggage and arms had crossed the river; and then we all passed after the king, except sir Gaultier de Chastillon, who commanded the rear-guard in the barbican.

When the whole army had passed, this rear-guard was much distressed by the turkish cavalry; for from their horses they could shoot point blank, as the barbican was low. The Turks on foot threw large stones and clods of earth in their faces, without the guard being able to defend themselves. They would infallibly have been destroyed, if the count d'Anjou, brother to the king, and afterwards king of Sicily, had not boldly gone to their rescue, and brought them off in safety.

The day preceding Shrovetide I saw a thing which I must relate. On the vigil of that day died a very valiant and prudent knight, sir Hugh de Landricourt (cxli), one under my banner; and during his burial six of my knights talked so loud they disturbed the priest as he was saying mass: on this I arose, and bade them be silent; for it was unbecoming gentlemen thus to talk whilst the mass was celebrating. But they burst into laughter, and told me they were talking of marrying the widow of sir Hugh, now in his bier. I rebuked them sharply, and said, such conversation was indecent and improper, for that they had too soon forgotten their companion.

Now it happened on the morrow, when the first grand battle took place, although we may laugh at their follies, God took such vengeance on them,

that of all the six not one escaped death, and remained unburied. The wives of the whole six re-married. This makes it credible, that God leaves no such conduct unpunished. With regard to myself I fared little better, for I was grievously wounded in the battle of Shrove Tuesday. I had, besides, the disorder in my legs and mouth, before spoken of, and such a rheum in my head it ran through my mouth and nostrils. In addition, I had a double fever, called a quartan, from which God defend us! and with these illnesses was I confined to my tent the half of Lent.

My poor priest was likewise as ill as myself; and one day when he was singing mass before me as I lay in bed, at the moment of the elevation of the host, I saw him so exceedingly weak that he was near fainting; but when I perceived he was on the point of falling to the ground, I flung myself out of bed, sick as I was, and, taking my coat, embraced him, and bade him be at his ease, and take courage from him whom he held in his hands. He recovered some little; but I never quitted him until he had finished the mass, which he completed, and this was the last, for he never after celebrated another, but died. God receive his soul!

To return to our history. It is true there were some parleys between the councils of the king and of the sultan, respecting a peace; and a day was appointed for the further discussion of it. The basis of the treaty was agreed on (CXLII), namely, that the king should restore to the sultan, Damietta, and the sultan should surrender to the king the realm of Jerusalem. He was also to take proper care of the sick in Damietta, and to give up the salted provision that was there, for neither Turk nor Saracen eat of it, and likewise the engines of war: but the king was to send for all these things from Damietta.

The end of this was, that the sultan demanded what security the king would give him for the surrender of Damietta: and it was proposed that he should detain as prisoner one of the king's brothers, either the count de Poitiers or the count d'Anjou, until it were effected. But the Turks refused to accept of any other hostage than the person of the king.

To this the gallant knight, sir Geoffry de Sergines, replied, that the Turks should never have the king's person; and that he would rather they

should all be slain than it should be said, they had given their king in pawn; and thus matters remained.

The disorder I spoke of very soon increased so much in the army that the barbers were forced to cut away very large pieces of flesh from the gums, to enable their patients to eat. It was pitiful to hear the cries and groans of those on whom this operation was performing: they seemed like to the cries of women in labour, and I cannot express the great concern all felt who heard them.

The good king St Louis, witnessing the miserable condition of great part of his army, raised his hands and eyes to Heaven, blessing our Lord for all he had given him, and seeing that he could not longer remain where he was, without perishing himself as well as his army, gave orders to march on the Tuesday evening after the octave of Easter, and return to Damietta. He issued his commands to the masters of the galleys to have them ready to receive on board the sick, and convey them to Damietta. He likewise gave his orders to Joffelin de Corvant, and to other engineers, to cut the cords which held the bridges between us and the Saracens; but they neglected them, which was the cause of much evil befalling us.

Perceiving that every one was preparing to go to Damietta, I withdrew to my vessel, with two of my knights, all that I had remaining of those that had accompanied me, and the rest of my household. Towards evening, when it began to grow dark, I ordered my captain to raise the anchor, that we might float down the stream; but he replied, that he dared not obey me, for that between us and Damietta were the large galleys of the sultan, which would infallibly capture us.

The king's seamen had made great fires on board their galleys, to cherish the unfortunate sick; and many others in the same state were waiting on the banks of the river for vessels to take them on board. As I was advising my sailors to make some little way, I saw, by the light of the fires, the Saracens enter our camp, and murder these sick that were waiting on the banks of the Nile: and as my men were raising the anchor, and we began to move downward, the sailors who were to take the sick on board advanced with their boats; but, seeing the Saracens in the act of killing them, they

retreated to their large galleys, cut their cables, and fell down on my small bark.

I expected every moment they would have sunk me; but we escaped this imminent danger, and made some way down the river. The king had the same illness as the rest of his army, with a dysentery (CXLIII), which, had he pleased, he might have prevented, by living on board his larger vessels; but he said, he had rather die than leave his people. The king, observing us make off, began to shout and cry to us to remain, and likewise ordered some heavy bolts (CXLIV) to be shot at us, to stop our course until we should have his orders to fail.

I will now break the course of my narration, and say in what manner the king was made prisoner (CXLV), as he told me himself. I heard him say, that he had quitted his own battalion and men at arms, and, with sir Geoffry de Sergines, had joined the battalion of sir Gaultier de Chastillon, who commanded the rear division. The king was mounted on a small courser, with only a housings of silk; and of all his men at arms, there was only with him the good knight sir Geoffry de Sergines, who attended him as far as the town of Cafel, where the king was made prisoner. But before the Turks could take him, I heard say, that sir Geoffry de Sergines defended him in like manner as a faithful servant does the cup of his master from flies; for every time the Saracens approached him, sir Geoffry guarded him with vigorous strokes of the blade and point of his sword, and it seemed as if his courage and strength were doubled.

By dint of gallantry, he drove them away from the king, and thus conducted him to Cafel, where, having dismounted at a house, he laid the king in the lap of a woman who had come from Paris, thinking that every moment must be his last, for he had no hopes that he could ever pass that day without dying.

Shortly after arrived sir Philip de Montfort (CXLVI), who told the king that he had just seen the admiral of the sultan, with whom he had formerly treated for a truce, and that if it were his good pleasure, he would return to him again, and renew it. The king entreated him so to do, and declared he would abide by whatever terms they should agree on.

Sir Philip de Montfort returned to the Saracens, who had taken their turbans (CXLVII) from their heads, and gave a ring, which he took off his finger, to the admiral, as a pledge of keeping the truce, and that they would accept the terms as offered, and of which I have spoken.

Just at this moment, a villanous traitor of an apostate serjeant, named Marcel, set up a loud shout to our people, and said, ‘ Sir knights, surrender yourselves: the king orders you by me so to do, and not to cause yourselves to be slain.’ At these words, all were thunderstruck; and, thinking the king had indeed sent such orders, they each gave up their arms and staves to the Saracens.

The admiral, seeing the Saracens leading the king’s knights as their prisoners, said to sir Philip de Montfort, that he would not agree to any truce, for that the army had been made prisoners. Sir Philip was greatly astonished at what he saw, for he was aware that, although he was sent as ambassador to settle a truce, he should likewise be made prisoner, and knew not to whom to have recourse. In pagan countries (CXLVIII), they have a very bad custom, that when any ambassadors are dispatched from one king or sultan to another, to demand or conclude a peace, and one of these princes dies, and the treaty is not concluded before that event takes place, the ambassador is made prisoner, wherever he may be, and whether sent by sultan or king.

You must know, that we who had embarked on board our vessels, thinking to escape to Damietta, were not more fortunate than those who had remained on land; for we were also taken, as you shall hear. It is true, that during the time we were on the river, a dreadful tempest of wind arose, blowing towards Damietta, and with such force that, unable to ascend the stream, we were driven towards the Saracens. The king, indeed, had left a body of knights, with orders to guard the invalids on the banks of the river; but it would not have been of any use to have made for that part, as they had all fled. Towards the break of day, we arrived at the pass where the sultan’s galleys lay, to prevent any provisions being sent from Damietta to the army, who, when they perceived us, set up a great noise, and shot at us and such of our horsemen as were on the banks, with

large bolts armed with greek fire, so that it seemed as if the stars were falling from the heavens.

When our mariners had gained the current, and we attempted to push forward, we saw the horsemen whom the king had left to guard the sick flying towards Damietta. The wind became more violent than ever, and drove us against the bank of the river. On the opposite shore were immense numbers of our vessels that the Saracens had taken, which we feared to approach; for we plainly saw them murdering their crews, and throwing the dead bodies into the water, and carrying away the trunks and arms they had thus gained.

Because we would not go near the Saracens, who menaced us, they shot plenty of bolts; upon which, I put on my armour, to prevent such as were well aimed from hurting me. At the stern of my vessel were some of my people, who cried out to me, ‘My lord, my lord! our steerfman, because the Saracens threaten us, is determined to run us on shore, where we shall be all murdered.’ I instantly rose up, for I was then very ill, and, advancing with my drawn sword, declared I would kill the first person who should attempt to run us on the saracen shore. The sailors replied, that it was impossible to proceed, and that I must determine which I would prefer, to be landed on the shore, or to be stranded on the mud of the banks in the river. I preferred, very fortunately, as you shall hear, being run on a mud bank in the river to being carried on shore, where I saw our men murdered, and they followed my orders.

It was not long ere we saw four of the sultan’s large gallies making toward us, having full a thousand men on board. I called upon my knights to advise me how to act, whether to surrender to the gallies of the sultan or to those who were on the shore. We were unanimous, that it would be more advisable to surrender to the gallies that were coming, for then we might have a chance of being kept together; whereas, if we gave ourselves up to those on the shore, we should certainly be separated, and perhaps sold to the Bedouins, of whom I have before spoken. To this opinion, however, one of my clerks would not agree, but said it would be much better for us to be slain, as then we should go to paradise; but we would not listen to him, for the fear of death had greater influence over us.

Seeing that we must surrender, I took a small case that contained my jewels and relics, and cast it into the river. One of my sailors told me, that if I would not let him tell the Saracens I was cousin to the king, we should be all put to death. In reply, I bade him say what he pleased. The first of these galleys now came athwart us, and cast anchor close to our bow. Then, as I firmly believe, God sent to my aid a Saracen, who was a subject of the emperor. Having on a pair of trowsers of coarse cloth, and swimming straight to my vessel, he embraced my knees, and said, ‘ My lord, if you do not believe what I shall say, you are a lost man. To save yourself, you must leap into the river, which will be unobserved by the crew, who are solely occupied with the capture of your bark.’ He had a cord thrown to me from their galley on the escot (CXLIX) of my vessel, and I leaped into the water followed by the Saracen, who indeed saved me, and conducted me to the galley; for I was so weak I staggered, and should have otherwise sunk to the bottom of the river.

I was drawn into the galley, wherein were fourteen score men, besides those who had boarded my vessel, and this poor Saracen held me fast in his arms. Shortly after, I was landed, and they rushed upon me to cut my throat: indeed, I expected nothing else, for he that should do it would imagine he had acquired honour.

This Saracen who had saved me from drowning would not quit hold of me, but cried out to them, ‘ The king’s cousin! the king’s cousin!’

I felt the knife at my throat, and had already cast myself on my knees on the ground; but God delivered me from this peril by the aid of the poor Saracen, who led me to the castle where the Saracen chiefs were assembled.

When I was in their presence, they took off my coat of mail; and from pity, seeing me so very ill, they flung over me one of my own scarlet coverlids, lined with minever, which my lady-mother had given me. Another brought me a white leathern girdle, with which I girthed my coverlid round me. One of the Saracen knights gave me a small cap, which I put on my head; but I soon began to tremble, so that my teeth chattered, as well from the fright I had had as from my disorder.

On my complaining of thirst, they brought me some water in a pot; but I had no sooner put it to my mouth, and began drinking, than it ran back through my nostrils. God knows what a pitiful state I was in; for I looked for death rather than life, having an imposthume in my throat. When my attendants saw the water run thus through my nostrils, they began to weep and to be very sorrowful.

The Saracen who had saved me asked my people why they wept: they gave him to understand, that I was nearly dead, from an imposthume in the throat which was choking me. The good Saracen, having always great compassion for me, went to tell this to one of the Saracen knights, who bade him be comforted, for that he would give me something to drink that should cure me in two days. This he did; and I was soon well, through God's grace, and the beverage which the Saracen knight gave me.

Soon after my recovery, the admiral of the sultan's galleys sent for me, and demanded if I were cousin to the king, as it was said. I told him, I was not, and related why it had been reported, and that one of my mariners had advised it through fear of the Saracens in the galleys, for that otherwise they would put us to death. The admiral replied, that I had been very well advised, or we should have been all murdered without fail, and thrown into the river. The admiral again asked me, if I had any acquaintance with the emperor Ferry* of Germany, then living, and if I were of his lineage: I answered truly, that I had heard my mother say I was his second cousin. The admiral replied, that he would love me the better for it.

Thus, as we were eating and drinking, he sent for an inhabitant of Paris to come to me, who on his entrance, seeing what we were doing, exclaimed, 'Ah, sir, what are you about!' 'What am I about?' replied I. When he informed me, on the part of God, that I was eating meat on a Friday. On which, I suddenly threw my trencher behind me; and the admiral, noticing it, asked of my friendly Saracen, who was always with

* The emperor Frederick II.

me, why I had left off eating. He told him, because it was a Friday, which I had forgotten. The admiral said, that God could never be displeased because I had done it unknowingly. You must know, that the legate who had accompanied the king frequently reproached me for fasting when thus ill, and when there was not any statesman but myself left with the king, and that I should hurt myself by fasting. But notwithstanding this, and that I was a prisoner, I never failed to fast every Friday on bread and water.

A
CONTINUATION
OF
THE SECOND PART
OF THE
MEMOIRS OF JOHN LORD DE JOINVILLE,
&c. &c. &c.
WHICH BEGINS THE SECOND VOLUME OF 'LES MEMOIRES PARTICULIERS RELATIVES
A L'HISTOIRE DE FRANCE.'

ON the Sunday after we had been made prisoners, the admiral ordered all that had been taken on the Nile to be brought from the castle, on the banks of the river. In my presence, my chaplain was dragged from the hold of the galley; but, on coming to the open air, he fainted, and the Saracens killed him instantly before my eyes, and flung him into the stream. His clerk, from the disorder he had caught when with the army, being unable to stand, they cast a mortar on his head, killed him, and flung him after his master.

In the like manner did they deal with the other prisoners; for as they were drawn out of the hold of the gallies wherein they had been confined, there were Saracens purposely posted, who, on seeing any one weak or ill, killed him and threw him into the water. Such was the treatment of the unfortunate sick. Seeing this tyranny, I told them, through the interpretation of my Saracen, that they were doing very wrong, and contrary to the commands of Saladin the pagan, who had declared it unlawful to put to death any one to whom they had given salt and bread. They made answer, that they were destroying men of no use, for that they were too ill with their disorders to do any service.

After this, they brought before me my mariners, and said they had all denied their faith. I replied I did not believe it, but that their fears of death might have caused them to say so, and that the moment they found themselves in another country they would return to their own religion.

The admiral added to this, that he believed firmly what I said, for that Saladin had declared, that a Christian was never known to make a good pagan, nor a good Saracen a Christian. The admiral, soon after, made me mount a palfrey, and we rode side by side over a bridge to the place where St Louis and his men were prisoners.

At the entrance of a large pavilion we found a secretary writing down the names of the prisoners by orders of the sultan. I was there forced to declare my name, which I no way wished to conceal, and it was written down with the others. As we entered this pavilion the Saracen, who had preserved my life and had always followed me, said; ‘ Sir, you must excuse me, but I cannot follow you further. I advise and entreat that you will never quit the hand of this young boy whom you have with you, otherwise the Saracens will murder him.’ The boy’s name was Bartholomew de Montfaucon, son to the lord Montfaucon de Bar (1).

When my name was written down, the admiral led me and the little boy to the tent where were the barons of France, and more than ten thousand other persons with them. On my entrance, every one seemed to testify great pleasure at seeing me again; and for some time nothing could be heard for their noisy joy, as they concluded I had been murdered.

Thus as we were together, hoping, through the grace of God, we should not long remain in this state, a rich Saracen led us into another tent,

where we had miserable cheer. Numbers of knights and other men were confined in a large court, furrounded with walls of mud. The guards of this prison led them out one at a time, and asked each if he would become a renegado: those that answered in the affirmative were put aside, but those who refused, instantly had their heads cut off.

Shortly after, the council of the sultan sent for us, and demanded to whom it was most agreeable they should deliver the Sultan's message. We unanimously answered, by means of an interpreter, who spoke both French and Saracen, to the count Peter of Brittany. This was the message; 'My lords, the sultan asks by us if you wish to be free, and what you are willing to give for your liberty.'

To this the earl of Brittany replied, that we heartily wished to be delivered from the hands of the sultan, who had made us suffer most unreasonably. But when the council of the sultan asked if we would not be willing to give for our ransom some of the castles of the barons of the holy land, the earl of Brittany answered, that we could not possibly comply; for these castles, and strong places, belonged to the emperor of Germany (II) now on the throne, and who would never consent to the sultan holding any fiefs under him.

The council then asked if we would not surrender some of the castles belonging to the Knights Templars, or to the hospital of Rhodes (III), for our deliverance. The earl replied, that that was equally impossible; for it would be contrary to the accustomed oath which the governors or lords of such castles take on their investiture, when they solemnly swear to God that they will never surrender these castles for the deliverance of any man whatever.

The Saracens then spoke together, saying, that it did not appear we had any desire to regain our liberty; and that they would send us those who well knew how to use their swords, to treat us as the others had been dealt with, and on that they left us.

Not long after the sultan's council had departed, a tall old Saracen, of goodly appearance, came to us, accompanied by a great multitude of young Saracens, each of whom had a large sword by his side, which alarmed us much. The old Saracen asked us, by means of an interpreter, who spoke

and understood our language well, if it were true that we believed in one only God, who had been born for our salvation, was crucified to death, and after three days rose again to save us. We answered, that what he had heard was perfectly true. On this he replied, that since it was so, we ought not to be cast down for any persecutions we might suffer for his sake; and that we had not as yet endured death for him, as he had done for us; and since he had the power to raise himself from the dead, it would not be long before he would deliver us.

The old Saracen then went away, with all the young men, without doing any thing more, which rejoiced me exceedingly; for I really thought the intent of his visit was to cut our heads off. It was not long after this before we heard news of our deliverance.

The sultan's council soon returned to us again, and said the king had exerted himself so effectually, that he had succeeded in obtaining our liberty. They ordered us to send four of our company to hear and know the terms on which we were to have our freedom. To this end we deputed the lords John de Valeri, Philip de Montfort, Baldwin de Ebelin, seneschal of Cyprus, and his brother, the constable of Cyprus, who was one of the handsomest and best informed knights I ever knew, and who loved greatly the people of that country.

These four knights were not long in bringing us the terms of our liberty. In order to try the king, the sultan's council had made the same demands from him as from us; but it pleased God that the good king, St Louis, made similar answers to what we had done through the mouth of count Peter of Brittany. The council, seeing the king would not comply with their demands, threatened to put him in the Bernicles (iv), which is the greatest torture they can inflict on any one. The bernicles are formed of two thick blocks of wood, fastened together at the top; and when they use this mode of torture, they lay the person on his side, between these two blocks, passing his legs through broad pins: they then fix the upper block on the sufferer, and make a man sit on it, by which means all the small bones of his legs are broken or dislocated. To increase the torture, at the end of three days they replace his legs, which are now greatly swollen, in the bernicles, and break them again, which is the most cruel thing ever

heard; and they tie his head down with bullock's sinews, for fear he should move himself while in them.

The good king held all their menaces cheap, and said, that since he was their prisoner they might do to him whatever they pleased. The Saracens finding they could not conquer the king by threats, came to him, and asked how much money he would give the fultan for his ransom, in addition to Damietta, which was to be surrendered. The king replied, that if the fultan would be contented with a reasonable ransom, he would write to the queen to pay it for himself and his army. The Saracens asked why he wanted to write to the queen. He answered, that it was but reasonable he should do so, for that she was his wife and companion. The council then went to the fultan to know what sum he required from the king; and on their return told the king, that if the queen would pay a million of golden besants (v), equal at that time to five hundred thousand livres, she would, by so doing, obtain the king's liberty. The king then asked them, on their oath, should the queen pay these five hundred thousand livres, would the fultan consent to his deliverance. On this they again returned to the fultan to know if he would bind himself by such a promise, and brought back his answer, that he was very willing so to do.

The council then took their oaths to the punctual fulfilment of this agreement, which, when done, the king engaged to pay cheerfully, for the ransom of his army, five hundred thousand livres; and that for his own ransom he would surrender the town of Damietta to the fultan; for he was of a rank whose bodily ransom could not be estimated by the value of money.

When the fultan heard the good disposition of the king, he said,—‘ By my faith, the Frenchman is generous and liberal, when he does not condescend to bargain (vi) about so large a sum of money, but has instantly complied with the first demand. Go, and tell him from me,’ added the fultan, ‘ that I make him a present of one hundred thousand livres, so that he will have only to pay four hundred thousand.’

The fultan then commanded that all of the principal nobles, and great officers of the king, should be embarked in four of the largest galleys, and conducted to Damietta. In the galley on board of which I was shipped, were the good count Peter of Brittany, William count of Flanders, John, the good count de Soissons, sir Hymbert de Beaujeu, constable of France,

and those two excellent knights and brothers, sir Baldwin and sir Guy d'Ebelin.

The captain of the galley made us land before a large house which the sultan had erected on the banks of the river, where there was a handsome tower made of poles of fir wood, and covered with painted cloth. At the entrance a great pavilion had been pitched, where the admirals of the sultan left their swords and staves whenever they wanted to speak with him. Passing this pavilion, there was another very handsome gateway, that led to the great hall of the sultan, and adjoining was a tower like unto the first, by which they mounted to the chamber of the sultan. In the midst of this lodgement was a handsome lawn, on which was another tower larger than the others, whence the sultan made his observations on the surrounding country, and on each army. There was in this lawn an alley that led to the river, at the end of which the sultan had made a summer-house on the strand to bathe himself. This summer-house was formed of trellis work, covered with indian linen, to prevent any one seeing what passed within. All the towers were likewise covered with cloth.

We arrived before this lodging on the Thursday preceding the feast of the ascension of our Lord. Near to it the king had landed, to hold a parley with the sultan in a pavilion, and it was then agreed, that the ensuing Saturday the king should go to Damietta.

Just as we were on our departure for Damietta, to surrender it to the sultan, the admiral of the present sultan's father shewed great dissatisfaction with the reigning monarch. Although he had been the principal author of his having been sent for on his father's death at Damietta, to succeed to the throne, he had much disappointed the admiral by dismissing him from his office of constable, and others from their marshalships and seneschalships, to provide for those who had accompanied him to Egypt.

They therefore held a council, when he said,—‘ My lords, you see how much the sultan has dishonoured us, by depriving us of those governments and honours with which his father had entrusted us. Such conduct, you may be assured, will induce him, when once master of the castle and fortresses of Damietta, to have us arrested and put to death in his prisons, through fear that in process of time we may take our revenge on him; as his grandfather did to the admiral and the others who had made the counts de Bar and de

Montfort prisoners. It will be therefore more to our advantage that we destroy him before he escape out of our hands.'

This was unanimously assented to; and they instantly went to practise with the band of the hauleca, who, as I have said before, are those who have the guard of the fultan's person. They made to them remonstrances on the subject similar to those which they had made among themselves, and required of them to slay the fultan, which they promised to do.

One day the fultan invited the knights of the hauleca to dine with him. After the dinner, when he had taken leave of his admirals, and was about to retire to his chamber, one of these knights, who bore the fultan's sword, struck him a blow on the hand, which cut up his arm between the four fingers. The fultan, turning to his admirals, who had been the instigators of it, said,— 'My lords, I make my complaint to you against the knights of the hauleca, who have endeavoured to kill me, as you may see by my hand.' They all replied, that it was much better he should be slain than that he murder them, as he would assuredly do if once in possession of the fortresses of Damietta.

The conspirators acted with great caution, for they ordered the fultan's trumpets and nacquaires to sound for the assembling of the army to know the fultan's will. The admirals and their accomplices told them, Damietta was taken, that the fultan was marching thither, and ordered them to arm and follow him. Instantly all armed, and set off, full gallop, towards Damietta. We were much frightened, on noticing what was going forward, for we really believed Damietta had been stormed.

The fultan, though wounded, being aware of the malice of his enemies, who had conspired against his person, fled to the high tower near his chamber which I mentioned; for those of the hauleca had already destroyed his other pavilions, and were surrounding that in which he had hidden himself. Within this tower were three of his bishops, who had dined with him, who bade him descend. He replied, he would willingly descend, if they would answer for his safety; but they replied, that they would make him come down by force, for that he was not yet arrived at Damietta. They then discharged some greek fire into the tower, which being made only of fir and linen cloth, as I have before said, the whole

was in a blaze; and I promise you, I never beheld so fine nor so sudden a bonfire.

When the sultan saw the fire gaining ground on all sides, he descended into the lawn, of which I have spoken, and ran for the river; but in his flight one of the hauleca struck him a severe blow on the ribs with a sword, and then he flung himself, with the sword in him, into the Nile. Nine other knights pursued and killed him while in the water, near the side of our galley (vii).

One of the fore said knights, whose name was Faracataic, seeing the sultan dead, cut him in twain, and tore the heart from his body. On coming to the king with his hands all bloody, he said, 'What wilt thou give me who have slain thine enemy, who, had he lived, would have put thee to death?' But the good king St Louis made no answer whatever to this demand.

The deed being done, about thirty of them entered our galley with their swords drawn, and their battle-axes on their necks. I asked sir Baldwin d'Ebelin, who understood Saracenic, what they were saying. And he replied, that they said they were come to cut off our heads; and shortly after I saw a large body of our men on board confessing themselves to a monk of la Trinité, who had accompanied the count of Flanders. With regard to myself, I no longer thought of any sin or evil I had done, but that I was about to receive my death: in consequence, I fell on my knees at the feet of one of them, and, making the sign of the cross, said, 'Thus died St Agnes.' Sir Guy d'Ebelin, constable of Cyprus, knelt beside me, and confessed himself to me; and I gave him such absolution as God was pleased to grant me the power of bestowing; but of all the things he had said to me, when I arose up I could not remember one of them.

We were confined in the hold of the galley, and laid heads and heels together. We thought it had been so ordered because they were afraid of attacking us when we were in a body, and that they would destroy us one at a time. This danger lasted the whole night. I had my feet right on the face of the count Peter of Brittany, whose feet, in return, were beside my face. On the morrow we were taken out of the hold, and the admirals sent to inform us that we might renew the treaties we had made with the sultan. Those who were able went thither; but the earl of Brittany, the

constable of Cyprus, and myself, who were grievously ill, remained on board.

The earl of Flanders, the count de Soissons, and the others who had gone to parley with the admirals, related to us the convention for our delivery; and the admirals promised, that as soon as Damietta should be surrendered to them, they would give liberty to the king and the other great personages now prisoners.

They told them, that had the sultan lived, he would have had the king beheaded, with the others; and that, contrary to the treaties entered into, and the promises made to the king, he had already transported to Babylon several of their most considerable men; that they had slain the sultan, because they knew well that the moment he should have been master of Damietta, he would have had them instantly murdered, or would have put them to death when in confinement.

By this new agreement, the king was to swear to leave at their disposal two hundred thousand livres before he quitted the river, and the other two hundred thousand he should pay in Acre. They declared they would detain, for their security, all the sick in Damietta, the cross-bows, armours, machines, and salted meats, until the king should send for them, and should have paid the balance of his ransom.

The oath, which was on this occasion to be taken by the king and the admirals, was drawn up; and on the part of the admirals it ran thus, that in case they failed in their conventions with the king, they would own themselves dishonoured like those who for their sins went on a pilgrimage to Mecca bareheaded, or like to those who divorced their wives, and took them again. By their law, no one can divorce his wife and cohabit with her again, before he has witnessed some other person lying in bed with her. Their third oath was, that they would own themselves blasted and dishonoured, like a Saracen who should eat pork.

The king accepted the above oaths, because master Nicolle of Acre, who knew their manners well, assured him they could not swear more strongly. After the admirals had taken the oath above mentioned, they had one such as they wished him to take written down, and gave it to the king. This oath had been drawn up according to the advice of some renegado

Christians, whom they had with them. It ran thus, that in case the king did not fulfil the conventions he had entered into with them, he might be deprived for ever of the presence of God, of his worthy mother, of the twelve apostles, and of all the saints of both sexes in Paradise. This oath the king took. The other was, that if the king broke his word he should be reputed perjured, as a Christian who had denied God, his baptism and his faith; and in despite of God would spit on his cross, and trample it under foot. But when the king heard this oath read, he declared he would never take it.

The admirals, hearing the king had refused to take the oath which they had required of him, sent in haste for master Nicolle of Acre, to tell him they were greatly dissatisfied with him, and discontented with the king; for that they had sworn every oath he had desired, and now, in his turn, he had refused to comply with the oaths offered to him on their part. Master Nicolle told the king that he was certain, that unless he took the oaths as prescribed, the Saracens would behead him, and all his people.

The king replied, that they might act according to their pleasure, but that for his part he would rather die a good Christian than live under the anger of God, his blessed mother, and his saints. At that time, the patriarch of Jerusalem was with the king: he was eighty years old, or thereabout, and had once before gained the good will of the Saracens for the king, and was then come to him to assist in his delivery from them. It was the custom among the pagans and Christians, that in case any two princes were at war with each other, and one of them should die during the time ambassadors were sent to either, the ambassadors were, in such case, to remain prisoners, whether in pagan land or in Christendom; and because the sultan, lately murdered, had granted a safe-conduct to this patriarch, he was become a prisoner to the Saracens as well as ourselves.

The admirals perceiving the king was not to be frightened by their menaces, one of them said to the others, that it was the patriarch who had thus advised him; and if they would allow him to act, he would force the king to take the oath, for he would cut off the head of the patriarch, and make it fly into the king's lap. The rest would not agree to this; but they seized the good patriarch, and tied him to a post in the presence of the king, and

bound his hands behind his back so tightly, that they soon swelled as big as his head; and the blood spouted out from several parts of his hands. From the sufferings he endured, he cried out, ‘ Ah! fire, fire, swear boldly; for I take the whole sin of it on my own soul, since it is by this means alone you may have the power to fulfil your promises.’ I know not whether the oath was taken at last; but however that may be, the admirals at length held themselves satisfied with the oaths of the king and his lords then present.

When the knights of the hauleca had slain the sultan, the admirals ordered their trumpets and nacquaires to sound merrily before the king’s tent; and it was told the king, that the admirals had holden a council and were very desirous to elect him sultan of Babylon. The king one day asked me, if I were of opinion, that if the kingdom of Babylon had been offered him, he ought to have taken it? I answered, that if he had, he would have done a foolish thing, seeing they had murdered their lord. Notwithstanding this, the king told me, he should have scarcely refused it.

This project only failed from the admirals saying among themselves, that the king was the proudest Christian they ever knew; and that, if they elected him sultan, he would force them to turn Christians, or have them put to death. This they said from observing, that whenever he quitted his lodgings, he made the sign of the Cross on the ground, and crossed his body all over. The Saracens added, that if their Mahomet had allowed them to suffer the manifold evils that God had caused the king to undergo, they would never have had any confidence in him, nor paid him their adorations.

Not long after the conventions had been completed between the king and the admirals, it was determined that on the morrow of the feast of the ascension of our Lord, Damietta should be surrendered to the Turks, and the king and all the other prisoners set at liberty. Our four gallies were anchored before the bridge of Damietta, where a pavilion had been pitched for the king’s landing.

About sun-rise of the appointed day, sir Geoffry de Sergines went to the town of Damietta (viii) to deliver it to the admirals, and instantly the flags of the sultan were displayed from the walls. The saracen knights entered the town, and drank of the wines they found there, insomuch that

the greater part were drunk. One of them came on board our galley with his naked sword reeking with blood, telling us that he had killed six of our countrymen, which was a brutal thing for any knight or other to boast of.

Before the surrender of Damietta, the queen had embarked with all our people on board the ships, except the poor sick, whom the Saracens were bound by their oath to take care of, and give up on the payment of two hundred thousand livres, as has been mentioned. They were also to restore the war machines, salted meats, which they never eat, and our armour; but these infidel dogs, on the contrary, killed all the sick, and cut to pieces the machines and other things which they had promised to take care of, and restore at the proper time and place. They made a great heap of the whole, and set it on fire: and it was so immense, the fire blazed from the Friday to the Sunday following.

After they had thus killed, destroyed and set fire to all they could lay hands on, we that ought to have had our liberties at sunrise remained until sun-set without eating or drinking, and the king suffered equally with us. The admirals were disputing together, and seemed inclined to put us to death. One of them, addressing the others, said,—‘ My lords, if you will believe me and these beside me, we will kill the king and all the great persons with him, and then for forty years to come we need not fear them; for their children are young, and we have possession of Damietta, which will likewise be our security.’

Another Saracen, named Scebrece, a native of Morentaigne (ix), opposed this, and remonstrated with the others, that if they should slay the king, just after they had killed their sultan, it would be said that the Egyptians were the most disloyal and iniquitous race of men in the world. The admiral, who was desirous of our deaths, replied by palliating arguments. He said, that indeed they had been to blame in slaying their sultan, because it was contrary to the law of Mahomet, who had commanded them to guard their sovereign as the apple of their eye, and he shewed them this commandment written down in a book which he held in his hand. ‘ But,’ added he, ‘ listen, my lords, to another commandment,’ and, turning over the leaves of his book, read to them the commandment of Mahomet, that for the security of the faith, the law permitted the death

of an enemy. Then, turning his speech to his former purpose, he continued,—‘ Now consider the sin we have committed in killing the sultan, against the positive command of our prophet, and the great evil we shall again do if we suffer the king to depart, and if we do not put him to death, in spite of the assurances of safety he may have had from us, for he is the greatest enemy to our law and religion.’

One of the admirals that were against us, thinking we should be slain, came to the bank of the river, and shouted out in Saracen to those who were on board our gallies, and taking off his turban made signs, and told them, they were to carry us back to Babylon. The anchors were instantly raised, and we were carried a good league up the river. This caused great grief to all of us, and many tears fell from our eyes, for we now expected (x) nothing but death.

However, as God willed it, who never is forgetful of his servants, it was agreed among the admirals, about sun-set, that we should have our liberty, and we were in consequence brought back to Damietta. Our gallies were moored close to the shore, and we requested permission to land ; but they would not allow it until we had refreshed ourselves, for the Saracens said it would be a shame for the admirals to discharge us fasting from their prison.

Shortly after, they sent us provision from the army ; that is to say, loaves of cheese that had been baked in the sun to prevent the worms from collecting in them, with hard eggs, which had been boiled four or five days, and the shells of which, in honour to us, they had painted with various colours. When we had eaten some little, they put us on shore, and we went towards the king, whom the Saracens were conducting from the pavilion where they had detained him, toward the water-side. There were full twenty thousand Saracens on foot surrounding the king, girded with swords.

It chanced that a Genoese galley was on the river opposite to the king, on board of which there appeared but one man, who, the moment he saw the king, whistled, and instantly four-score cross-bows, well equipped, with their bows bent and arrows placed, leaped on the deck from below. The

Saracens no sooner saw them, than, panic-struck, they ran away like sheep, and not more than two or three staid with the king.

The Genoese cast a plank on shore, and took on board the king, his brother the count d'Anjou, who was afterward king of Sicily, sir Geoffry de Sergines, sir Philip de Nemours (XI), the marshal of France (XII), the master of the Trinity (XIII), and myself. The count de Poitiers remained prisoner with the Saracens until the king should send the two hundred thousand livres which he was bound to pay before he quitted the river.

The Saturday after the Ascension, which was the morrow of our deliverance, the earl of Flanders, the count de Soissons, and many other great lords, came to take leave of the king. He entreated them to delay going until his brother, the count de Poitiers, should have his liberty ; but they replied it was not possible, for their gallies were on the point of sailing.

They embarked on board their gallies, on their return to France, and with them was the earl of Brittany, who was grievously sick. He did not live three weeks, but died at sea.

The king, uneasy at the situation of his brother, was very anxious to pay the two hundred thousand livres ; and the whole of Saturday and Sunday were employed in it. They paid the money according to weight (XIV), and each weighing was to the amount of ten thousand livres. Towards evening of the Sunday, the king's servants, occupied in this payment, sent him word they still wanted thirty thousand livres. There were then with the king only the count d'Anjou, the marshal of France, the master of the Trinity and myself, all the rest being engaged in paying the ransom. I said to the king it would be much better to ask the commander and marshal of the Knights-Templars to lend him the thirty thousand livres to make up the sum, than to risk his brother longer with such people.

Father Stephen d'Outricourt, master of the Temple, hearing the advice I gave the king, said to me,—‘ Lord de Joinville, the council you give the king is wrong and unreasonable ; for you know we receive every farthing on our oath ; and that we cannot make any payments but to those who give us their oaths in return.’

The marshal of the Temple, thinking to satisfy the king, said,—‘Sire, don’t attend to the dispute and contention of the lord de Joinville and our commander. For it is, as he has said: we cannot dispose of any of the money intrusted to us, but for the means intended, without acting contrary to our oaths, and being perjured. Know, that the seneschal has ill-advised you to take by force, should we refuse you a loan; but in this you will act according to your will. Should you, however, do so, we will make ourselves amends from the wealth you have in Acre.’ When I heard this menace from them to the king, I said to him, that if he pleased I would go and seek the sum, which he commanded me to do.

I instantly went on board one of the galleys of the Templars, and, seeing a coffer of which they refused to give me the keys, I was about to break it open with a wedge in the king’s name; but the marshal, observing I was in earnest, ordered the keys to be given me. I opened the coffer, took out the sum wanting, and carried it to the king, who was much rejoiced at my return. Thus was the whole payment of the two hundred thousand livres completed for the ransom of the count de Poitiers. Before it was all paid, there were some who advised the king to withhold it until the Saracens had delivered up his brother; but he replied, that since he had promised it, he would pay the whole before he quitted the river.

As he said this, sir Philip de Montfort told the king, that the Saracens had miscounted one scale weight, which was worth ten thousand livres. The king was greatly enraged at this, and commanded sir Philip, on the faith he owed him as his liege man, to pay the Saracens these ten thousand livres, should they in fact not have been paid. He added, that he would never depart until the uttermost penny of the two hundred thousand livres were paid.

Several persons, perceiving the king was not as yet out of danger from the Saracens, often entreated him to retire to a galley that was waiting for him at sea, to be out of their hands, and at length prevailed on him so to do, for he said that he believed he had now fulfilled his oath.

We now began to make some way at sea, and had advanced a full league without saying a word to each other on the concern we felt to have

left the count de Poitiers in prison. In a very short time, sir Philip de Montfort, who had remained to make good the payment of the ten thousand livres, approached us, calling out to the king, 'Sire, sire, wait for your brother the count de Poitiers, who is following you in this other galley.' The king then said to those near him, 'Light up, light up!' (xv) and there was great joy among us all on the arrival of the king's brother. A poor fisherman having hastened to the countess of Poitiers, and told her he had seen the count at liberty from the Saracens, she ordered twenty livres parisis to be given him, and each then went to his galley.

Before I quit the subject of Egypt, I wish not to forget any occurrences that happened while we were there. I shall first speak of sir Gaultier de Chastillon, and say, that I heard from a knight, that he had seen him post himself with his drawn sword in a street at Cafel, where the king was made prisoner, and, whenever any Turks passed that street, he attacked and drove them before him with hard blows; as they fled, they discharged arrows at him, with which he was covered; and, when sir Walter had put them to flight, he picked the arrows out of his body, and re-armed himself. He was a long time thus engaged; and the knight saw him rise in his stirrups, and call out, 'Ha! Chastillon, chevalier, where are my good companions?' but not one was with him.

One day afterward, as I was conversing with the admiral of the galleys, I inquired of all his men at arms if there were any one who could give me an account of what was become of him, but I could hear nothing. At length, I met with a knight called sir John Frumons, who told me, that as they were carrying him prisoner, he saw a Turk on the horse of sir Gaultier de Chastillon, whose tail and rump were covered with blood; and when he asked him what was become of the knight to whom that horse belonged, he replied, that he had cut his throat while on horseback, and that he was thus covered with his blood.

There was a most valiant man in our army whose name was sir James du Chastel, bishop of Soissons (xvi), who when he saw we were going toward Damietta, and that every one was impatient to return to France, preferred living with God to returning to where he was born. In

consequence, he made a charge on the Turks, as if he alone meant to combat their army; but they soon sent him to God, and placed him in the company of martyrs, for they killed him in a very short time.

Another thing I witnessed. As the king was waiting, on the river, the completion of the payment of the ransom for his brother the count de Poitiers, a handsome and well-dressed Saracen came up, and presented him with some lard in pots, and a variety of sweet-smelling flowers, telling the king it was the children of the nazac (xvii) of the sultan of Egypt, who had been murdered, that sent him this gift.

The king, hearing the Saracen address him in French, asked him where he had learnt it. He replied, that he was a Christian renegade: on which the king bade him withdraw, for he would not say more to him. I took him aside, and inquired who he was, and why he had become a renegade. The Saracen told me, 'that he was born in Provence, and had followed king John to Egypt, where he was married, and had a very considerable property.' I said to him, 'And do you not know, that if you were to die in such a state, you would descend straight to hell, and be damned for ever?' He replied, 'that he knew it well, and that there was not a better religion than that of the Christians; but I fear, were I to return with you, I should suffer great poverty, and be continually reproached all my days by being called 'Renegade, renegade!' I had rather, therefore, live at my ease, like a rich man, than become such an object of contempt.'

I remonstrated with him, that it was much better to suffer the scorn of the world, since at the day of judgment every evil deed would be made manifest to all, and then damnation would follow. But all this was to no purpose, and when he quitted me I never saw him more.

You have had related the great persecutions and miseries the good king, St Louis, and we all suffered in Egypt. You must know also, that the good queen was not without her share, and very bitter to her heart, as you shall soon hear. Three days before she was brought to bed, she was informed that the good king, her husband, had been made prisoner, which so troubled her mind, that she seemed continually to see her chamber filled with Saracens, ready to slay her; and she incessantly kept crying out, 'Help, help!' when there was not a soul near her. For fear the fruit of

her womb should perish, she made a knight watch at the foot of her bed all night without sleeping. This knight was very old, not less than eighty years, or perhaps more; and every time she screamed he held her hands, and said, 'Madam, do not be thus alarmed; I am with you: quit these fears.'

Before the good lady was brought to bed, she ordered every person to leave her chamber except this ancient knight, when she cast herself out of bed on her knees before him, and requested that he would grant her a boon. The knight, with an oath, promised compliance. The queen then said,— 'Sir knight, I request, on the oath you have sworn, that should the Saracens storm this town and take it, you will cut off my head before they seize my person.' The knight replied, that he would cheerfully so do, and that he had before thought of it, in case such an event should happen.

The queen was, shortly after, delivered of a son in the town of Damietta, whose name was John, and his surname Tristan* (xviii), because he had been born in misery and poverty. The day she was brought to bed it was told her, that the Pisans, the Genoese, and all the poorer commonalty that were in the town, were about to fly and leave the king.

The queen sent for them, and addressed them,— 'Gentlemen, I beg of you, for the love of God, that you will not think of quitting this town; for you well know if you do, that my lord the king, and his whole army, will be ruined. At least, if such be your fixed determination, have pity on this wretched person who now lies in pain, and wait until she be recovered, before you put it in execution.'

They answered, they could not remain longer in a town where they were dying of hunger. She said, they should never die of hunger; for that she would buy up all the provision that was in the place, and retain it henceforward in the name of the king. This she was obliged to do; and all the provision that could be found was bought up, which, on her recovery a little time after, cost her upwards of three hundred and sixty thousand livres to feed these people. Notwithstanding this, the good lady was forced to rise before she was perfectly recovered, and set out for the city of Acre, for Damietta was to be surrendered to the Turks and Saracens.

* Tristan died in 1270, at Tunis, aged twenty years.

It should be known, that although the king had suffered such a variety of woes, his attendants, when he embarked, had not made any preparations for him on board, such as robes, bed, bedding, and other necessary things. He was thus forced, for six days, to sleep on mattresses, until we arrived at Acre. The king had not any other habiliments but two robes which the sultan had caused to be made for him: they were of a black filken stuff, lined with squirrel skins, with a number of golden buttons.

While we were on our voyage to Acre, on account of illness, I was always seated near the king; and it was then he related to me how he had been taken, and how, through the aid of God, he had accomplished his own ransom and ours. I was likewise obliged to tell him how I had been captured on the river, and how a Saracen had saved my life. The king said, I ought to feel myself under the greatest obligations to our Lord, who had delivered me from such imminent dangers. At times, the good and holy king bewailed bitterly the death of his brother the count d'Artois.

He one day inquired what his brother, the count d'Anjou was doing, and complained, that notwithstanding they were in the same galley, he never once thought of being in his company a single day. When the king was told that he was playing at tables (xix) with sir Walter de Nemours, he arose hastily, though from his severe illness he could scarcely stand, and went staggering to where they were at play, when seizing the dice and tables he flung them into the sea, and was in a violent passion with his brother for so soon thinking of thus amusing himself by gaming, forgetful of the death of his brother the count d'Artois, and of the great perils from which the Lord had delivered them. But sir Walter de Nemours suffered most, for the king flung all the money that lay on the tables after them into the sea (xx).

At this place I must relate some great persecutions and evils that befel me when at Acre, but from which those two, in whom I had my whole confidence, our Lord God and the blessed Virgin Mary, relieved me. This I say as an encouragement to such as may read my book, to have a perfect confidence in God, and patience in their adversities and tribulations, when he will aid them, as he has done me, many and many times.

On the king's arrival before Acre, the inhabitants of that city came out in grand procession to meet him on the sea-shore, and received him with much joy. Soon after, the king sent for me, and expressly commanded me, as I valued his love, to come and eat with him morning and evening, until he should determine whether to return to France or to remain there.

I was lodged with the rector of Acre, for there the bishop had fixed my residence, and was most grievously ill. Of all my servants, there was but one that was not confined to his bed with sickness like myself; nor had I any to comfort me, by once offering me something to drink. The more to enliven me, I saw daily pass my window twenty corpses for burial; and when I heard the chaunt 'Libera me Domine,' I shed floods of tears, and cried out to God that he would mercifully save me and my household from the pestilence that then raged. And this he did.

Not long after the king's arrival at Acre, he summoned his brothers, and all the other nobles, on a certain Sunday, and, when assembled, he addressed them,—'My lords, I have called you together, to give you some news from France. In truth, my lady-mother, the queen, has sent for me, and it is necessary that I return with the utmost haste, for my kingdom is in great danger, inasmuch as there exists neither peace nor truce with the king of England. The people here wish to detain me, assuring me that if I depart their country will be destroyed, and insist on following me. I beg you will maturely consider what I have said, and give me your opinions within eight days.'

On the Sunday following, we all presented ourselves before the king to give him our opinions, as he had charged us, whether he should depart or stay. Sir Guion de Malvoisin was our spokesman, and said,—'Sire, my lords your brothers, and the other nobles now present, have fully considered your situation, and they are of opinion, that you cannot remain longer in this country with honour to yourself, or profit to your kingdom. For, in the first place, of all the knights whom you led to Cyprus, amounting to two thousand eight hundred, not one hundred remain. Secondly, you have not any habitation in this country, nor have your army any money: for these reasons, which we have maturely weighed, we unanimously advise that you return to France to reinforce yourself with men at arms, and supply yourself

with money, so that you may hastily repair again hither, and take vengeance on the enemies of God, and of his holy religion.'

The king was not pleased with this advice of sir Guy, but demanded from each person his private opinion on the business, beginning with the counts d'Anjou, de Poitiers, and the other nobles near him. All of them replied, they agreed in the advice of sir Guy de Malvoisin. The count de Japhe (xxi) was hard pressed to give his opinion, for he had castles and possessions in those countries; but when the king insisted on having it, he said, that if the king could keep the field, it would redound more to his honour to remain, than thus discomfited to return. I, who was the fourteenth in rank, answered in my turn that I was of the same opinion with the count de Japhe; moreover, giving these additional reasons, that it was reported the king had not as yet expended any of the money from the royal treasury, but had employed that which was in the hands of the clerks of finance; and that the king should send to the Morea, and the adjoining countries, to seek powerful reinforcements of men at arms, who, when they should learn the high pay the king was willing to give, would hasten to join him from all parts, and by this means the king might deliver the multitude of poor prisoners who had been captured in the service of God, which would never be the case unless it were done as now proposed.

You must know, that at this moment none reproved me for my opinion, but many began to weep, for there was scarcely one among us who had not some of his relations in the prisons of the Saracens.

Sir William de Belmont (xxii) spoke next, and said that my advice was very good, and that he agreed in it. When all had delivered their opinions, the king was much confounded at their diversity, and took eight days more to declare which he should follow. When we had left the presence of the king, the great nobles made a violent attack on me, and, through jealousy and envy, said,—'Ha! certainly the king must be mad, if he do not follow your opinion, lord de Joinville, in preference to that of the whole french council.' But to this I made not any reply.

The tables were soon after laid for dinner, and the king, who had usually made me sit down near him when his brothers were absent, and

during the repasts had conversed with me, did not now open his lips, nor even turn his face toward me. I then thought he was displeased with me for having said that he had not employed his own money, when he had expended such very large sums. After he had said grace, and returned thanks to God for his dinner, I retired to a window near the head of the king's bed, and, passing my hand through the grating, remained there musing. I said to myself, that if the king should now return to France, I would go to the prince of Antioch (xxiii), who was a relation of mine.

While I was thus meditating, the king leant on my shoulders, and held my head between his hands. I thought it was sir Philip de Nemours, who had been fretting me all the day for the advice which I had given the king, and said to him, 'Sir Philip, do leave me quiet in my misfortune.' As I turned round, the king covered my face with his hands, and I then knew it was the king from an emerald on his finger. I wished to make some reparation, as one that had improperly spoken; but the king bade me be silent, and continued, 'Now, lord de Joinville, tell me how you, who are so young a man, could have the courage to advise me to remain in these countries contrary to the opinion of all my greatest nobles?' I replied, that if I had advised him well, he should follow it; if the contrary, he ought not to think more on what I had said. 'And will you remain with me, if I should stay?' 'Yes, certainly,' answered I, 'were it at my own or at another's expense.' The king said, that he was pleased with the advice I had given, but ordered me to tell this to no one.

I was so rejoiced that whole week with what he had told me, that I was insensible to my illness, and defended myself boldly against the other lords when they attacked me.

You must know, in these countries the peasant is called Poulain* (xxiv), and I was told by my cousin sir Peter d'Avallon, that I was called Poulain, because I had advised the king to remain with the poulains. This information he gave me that I might defend myself against those who should call me so, and tell them that I would rather be a poulain than such recreant knights as themselves (xxv).

* *Poulain*,—a child born of an european mother by a fyrrian father:—*Gloss. to Louvre Edit.*

On the Sunday we all again assembled in the presence of the king, who began by signing himself with the cross, saying that it was from the instructions of his mother he did so, who had thus ordered him, and likewise to invoke the name of God and the aid of his Holy Spirit, whenever he was about to make a speech. He then continued,—‘ My lords, I feel equally thankful to those who have advised our return to France as to those who have recommended our stay here. But, since I last saw you I have fully considered this matter, and believe, that should we remain here, my kingdom will not the sooner be in great danger from it; for my lady-mother the queen has a sufficiency of men at arms to defend it. I have thought much on what the knights of this country say, that if I depart, the kingdom of Jerusalem will be lost, since no one will remain here after me. Now, my lords, having told my resolution, let such speak out boldly who wish to remain with me; and I promise to give them emoluments that the fault shall not be mine (xxvi) but their own, if they do not remain. Those that may not choose to stay, God be with them.’

When the king had done speaking, several were as if thunderstruck, and began to weep bitterly. After the king had declared his resolution, he gave permission to his brothers to return to France; but I know not if he did this at their requests, or whether it was the will of the king. This passed about St John Baptist’s day.

Shortly after the departure of his brothers for France, the king was impatient to learn what success those who had staid with him had met with in recruiting his men at arms. On the feast-day of St James, whose pilgrim I was, for the manifold kindness he had shewn me, the king, after mass, retired to his chamber, and called to him the chiefs of his council, namely, sir Peter the chamberlain (xxvii), who was the most loyal and upright man I ever saw of the king’s household, that good knight sir Geoffry de Sergines, the discreet sir Giles le Brun, and others, among whom was that prudent man to whom the king, after the death of sir Hymbert de Beaujeu, had given the constable’s sword. He asked them what numbers and sort of men they had collected for the reinforcement of his army, and with warmth continued,—‘ You know that it is about a month since I have declared my

intention to stay here, and I have not as yet had intelligence that you have raised any reinforcements of knights or others.'

To this sir Peter the chamberlain replied, in the name of the council,—
 'Sire, we have not hitherto done any thing, nor do we think we shall ever accomplish it; for every one demands such a price, and so great pay, that we are afraid of promising to give them what they ask.' The king would know to whom they had spoken, and those who had demanded such great pay. They unanimously replied, that it was I, and that I would not be satisfied with a trifle. All this I overheard as I was in the king's apartment; and the council had told the king these things of me, because I had advised him, contrary to their opinion, to remain, and had thus prevented their return to France.

The king sent for me: on my entrance, I cast myself on my knees before him; when, making me rise and seat myself, he said,—'Seneschal, you know full well the confidence I have in you, and how much you are beloved by me. My council, notwithstanding this, assure me, that you are so hard to deal with, that they cannot satisfy you in regard to the pay they are willing to give you. How is this?'

'Sire,' replied I, 'I know not what they may have reported to you: but in regard to myself, if I demand a good salary, I cannot avoid it; for you know, that when I was made prisoner on the Nile, I lost every thing I had, except what was on my body, and I cannot maintain my people on a little.'

The king then asked, how much I would have for the support of my company until next Easter, which was nearly half a year. I answered, two thousand livres. 'Now tell me,' continued the king, 'have you no knights here with you?' 'Yes, sire, I made sir Peter de Pontmolain remain, who is the third under my banner; and he costs me four hundred livres.' The king, then reckoning on his fingers, said, 'Your knights and men at arms then cost you twelve hundred livres' (xxviii). I then said, 'Consider, sire, if I must not require full eight hundred livres to equip myself with horses and armour, and to provide a table for my knights until Easter.' The king then told his council that he could not think my demands extravagant; and said to me, that he retained me in his service.

Not long after this, the emperor of Germany sent an embassy to the king, with credential letters, to say that he had written to the sultan of Babylon, of whose death he was ignorant, to give credit to those he sent to him, and, cost what it would, to deliver the king of France and his army from their captivity. But I well remember, that several said they believed the emperor wished to find them still prisoners; for they suspected, that his motive in sending this embassy was to cause us to be more straightly confined, and more heavily oppressed. When the ambassadors found us at liberty they returned to the emperor.

After this embassy was departed, there arrived at Acre another from the sultan of Damascus (xxix) to the king. The sultan complained, in his letter, of the admirals of Egypt, for having put to death their sultan, who was his cousin. He offered, if the king would assist him against them, to deliver up the kingdom of Jerusalem, which they held. The king replied to these ambassadors, that if they would retire to their lodgings, which had been prepared for them, they should shortly have an answer on the subject on which the sultan of Damascus had written to him. To this they consented; and the king resolved, in council, to send his answer by the ambassadors; but that they should be accompanied by a monk, called father Yves le Breton, who was of the order of preaching friars.

Father Yves was sent for, and dispatched to the ambassadors of the sultan, to say, the king had ordered him to accompany them to Damascus, to inform the sultan what were the king's intentions respecting the Saracens. This father Yves did; but I must relate an incident which I heard from him. On going from the king's residence to the lodgings of the ambassadors, he met a very old woman in the street, having in her right hand a porringer full of fire, and in her left a phial of water. Father Yves asked, 'Woman, what art thou going to do with this fire and water which thou art carrying?' She replied, that with the fire she wished to burn paradise, and with the water to drown hell, so that there should be never more a paradise or hell. The friar asked why she uttered such words. 'Because,' she said, 'I wish not that any one should do good for the reward of paradise, nor avoid evil from fear of hell; but every good ought to be done from the perfect and sincere love we owe to our Creator, God, who is

the supreme Good, and who loved us so much that he suffered death for our redemption ; which death he submitted to for the sin of our first father, Adam, and for our salvation.'

During the king's residence at Acre, there came likewise to him ambassadors from the prince of the Bedouins, called the Old Man of the Mountain. After the king had attended mass in the morning, he would hear what these ambassadors had to say. On their entrance, the king caused them to be seated, to deliver their message ; when one of the chiefs began, by asking the king if he were acquainted with their lord, the prince of the mountain. The king said he was not : he had never seen him, although he had heard much spoken of him. The chief continued ; ' Sire, since you have heard my lord spoken of, I wonder much that you have not sent him such of your people as should have made him your friend, in like manner as the emperor of Germany, the king of Hungary, the sultan of Babylon, and many other princes, have yearly done ; for they know well, that they would not be allowed to exist or reign, but during his good pleasure. For this cause he has dispatched us hither to advertise you, that he wills you should act in the like manner, or at least that you acquit him of the tribute he pays annually to the grand master of the Temple, or of the Hospital, and if you do this, he will consider it as paid to himself. My lord says truly, that should he destroy the master of the Temple, or of the Hospital, there would soon be others as good, and for this reason he is unwilling to risk his peoples' lives where little is to be gained.'

The king replied, that he would consider what they had said, and if they would return in the evening they should have his answer. When they came again before the king it was about vespers, and they found the master of the Temple on one side of him, and the master of the Hospital on the other. The king, on their entrance, ordered them to repeat what they had before said to him, as well as the demand which they had made in the morning. They replied, that they should not think it right to repeat what they had said, except in the presence of such as had heard them in the morning. The masters of the Temple, and of the Hospital, on this ordered them to repeat it. The chief then repeated what he had said before to the king, as has been mentioned.

The masters, on hearing it, bade them come and confer with them in the morning, and they should then know the king's pleasure. On the morrow, when they were before the masters of the Temple and Hospital, they told them, that their lord had very foolishly and impudently sent such a message to the king of France, and had used such harsh expressions, that were it not unbecoming the honour of the king, on the account of their being invested with the character of ambassadors, he would have had them thrown into the filthy sea of Acre, and drowned, in despite of their master. 'And we command you,' continued the masters, 'to return to your lord, and to come back within fifteen days with such letters from your prince, that the king shall be contented with him and with you.'

Before the fifteen days were expired, the same ambassadors returned from the prince of the Mountain, and, addressing the king, said,—'Sire, we are come back from our lord, who informs you, that as the shirt is the part of dress nearest to the body, he sends you this, his shirt, as a gift, or a symbol that you are the king for whom he has the greatest affection, and which he is most desirous to cultivate; and, for a further assurance of it, here is his ring that he sends you, which is of pure gold, and hath his name engraven on it; and with this ring our lord espouses you, and understands that henceforward you be as one of the fingers of his hand.'

Among other presents sent to the king were an elephant of crystal, figures of men of different crystals, the whole set in fine pieces of amber with borders of pure gold. You must know, that when the ambassadors opened the case that contained all these fine things, the whole apartment was instantly embalmed with the sweet odour of their perfumes.

The king, desirous not to be behind hand in making a return for these presents from the old prince of the mountain (xxx), sent to him, by his ambassadors, and by father Yves le Breton, who understood the Saracenic, great quantities of scarlet robes, cups of gold, and other vessels of silver. When father Yves was in the presence of the prince of the Bedouins, he conversed with him on the articles of his faith: but, as he afterward reported to the king, he found he did not believe in Mahomet, but followed the religion of Aly, who was, he said, the uncle of Mahomet. He told him, that it was Aly to whom Mahomet was indebted for all the

honours he enjoyed; and that, when Mahomet had made his great conquests over mankind, he quarrelled with and separated from Aly, who perceiving the pride of Mahomet, and that he wished to trample upon him, began to draw as many as he could to his doctrines, and retired to a part of the deserts and mountains of Egypt, where he gave them a different creed from that of Mahomet. Those who support the religion of Aly call those who follow Mahomet unbelievers, as the Mahometans in like manner style the Bedouins infidels. Each party, in this respect, says the truth, for in fact they are both unbelievers.

One of the points of doctrine of Aly consists in the belief, that when any one is killed by the command or in the service of his superior, the soul of the person so killed (xxx1) goes into another body of higher rank, and enjoys more comforts than before. It is for this reason that the Bedouins of the mountain are ambitious to be killed in the service of their prince, in the expectation of enjoying the above recompence.

Another point is, that no one can die before his predetermined day. This the Bedouins so firmly believe that they never go in armour to battle; for, if they did, they would think they were acting contrary to the dogmas of their faith. When they swear at their children, they usually say, 'Mayest thou be cursed like him who arms himself for fear of death,' which, they think, every one should be ashamed of. This is an absurd error; for it supposes that God, who is all-powerful, cannot abridge or lengthen life at his pleasure. It is also false, for in Him alone resides omnipotency.

While father Yves le Breton was on his embassy to the old man of the mountain, he one day found at the head of the prince's bed a small book (xxx11), in which were written many of the excellent words that our Saviour had said to St Peter during his residence on earth, and prior to his passion. Father Yves, having read them, said, 'Ah, my lord! the frequent reading of this book will do you much good; for, small as it may be, it contains many excellent things.'

The old man of the mountain replied, that he frequently read it, as he had great faith in St Peter. He continued,—'In the beginning of the world, the soul of Abel, after his brother Cain had murdered him, entered the body of Noah; and the soul of Noah, on his decease, went into

the body of Abraham ; and after Abraham it entered the body of St Peter, who is now under the earth.'

Father Yves, hearing him thus talk, argued with him on the absurdity of his belief, and shewed him many fair promises and commandments of God, but he would never have any faith in them. Father Yves reported to the king, that when the prince of the Bedouins took the field, he was preceded by a man carrying his battle-axe, the handle of which was covered with silver ; and this handle served as a case for a number of sharp knives. The bearer cried out with a loud voice in his language, ' Turn back ! fly from before him who carries the deaths of kings in his hands.'

I have delayed informing you of the answer which the king made to the ambassadors from Damascus. It was to this effect: that the king would send to the admirals of Egypt to know if they were willing to re-establish the truce they had promised, but which they had already broken, as has been said, and, should they refuse, the king would very willingly join his forces, and assist him in revenging the murder of his cousin the sultan of Babylon.

After this, the king, during the time he was at Acre, sent sir John de Vallance to the admirals in Egypt, to require them to make such satisfaction to the king for the outrages they had committed, contrary to treaty, that he should be contented with them. This the admirals promised to do, but on condition that he would unite himself with them against the sultan of Damascus before mentioned. To gain the king's heart, after that wise man sir John de Vallance had strongly remonstrated with and severely blamed them for the wrongs they had done contrary to their law, and for breaking the truce they had solemnly sworn to keep, they sent to the king all the knights whom they had detained in their prisons. They likewise sent him the bones of the count Walter de Brienne (xxxiii), that they might be buried in consecrated ground.

Sir John de Vallance brought back with him two hundred knights, without including great numbers of common people who had been confined in the faracien prisons. On his arrival at Acre, madame de Secte (xxxiv), cousin-german to the count de Brienne, received his bones, and had them interred well and honourably in the church of the Knights Hospitallers at

Acre. The funeral service was grand, and attended by every knight, who made his offering of a waxen taper and a silver penny. The king offered a taper, and a golden bezant of the coinage of madame de Seſte (xxxv), which cauſed every one to wonder, for he was never before known to make an offering of any coin but his own. He did this, however, out of compliment to madame de Seſte.

Among the knights whom ſir John de Vallance had brought with him from Egypt, I was acquainted with forty at leaſt, attached to the count of Champagne, who were in a moſt ragged and dirty condition (xxxvi). Theſe forty I had new dreſſed at my own expenſe; and, clothed in coats and furcoats of green, I conducted them to the preſence of the king, and entreated that he would retain them in his ſervice.

The king, having heard my requeſt, made not a word of reply; but one of his council then preſent reproved me, ſaying, that I did very ill to make ſuch requeſts to the king, who had already exceeded the ſtate (xxxvii) of his income by ſeven thouſand livres. I replied, that miſfortunes make people ſpeak; for that among us of Champagne we had loſt in the ſervice of the king at leaſt five and thirty knights bannerets of the count of Champagne, adding, that the king would not act properly if he did not retain them, ſeeing the want he was in of knights. As I ſaid this, I began to weep, when the king appeaſed me, by granting what I had aſked: he retained all the knights, and added them to my battalion.

When the king had given audience to the ambaffadors from the admirals of Egypt who had accompanied ſir John de Vallance, and learnt that they were impatient to return, he told them, that he would not enter into any negotiation with them for a truce until they ſhould have reſtored all the heads of the Chriſtians which were hanging on the walls of Quaffere (xxxviii), from the time the counts of Montfort and of Bar were made priſoners. They were likewiſe to ſend him all children whom they had taken when young, and had forced to deny the Chriſtian religion and believe in their faith; and, beſide theſe two articles, they were to ſend an acquittance for the two hundred thouſand livres which were ſtill owing to them.

The king ordered fir John de Vallance to return with the ambaffadors, on account of his confummate wifdom and valour, to announce this anfwer to the admirals.

About this time the king left Acre, and went to Cæfareia with all his people, and had the walls and fortifications of that place repaired, which the Saracens had broken down and deftroyed. Cæfareia is full twelve leagues from Acre, on the road to Jerufalem. I know not how it happened, except by the will of God, who can do as he lifts, but during the year that the king ftaid at Cæfareia to repair it, no attack was made upon him, nor harm done to him, nor to the few men at arms that were left at Acre.

I have before faid, that ambaffadors had come to the king from the great cham of Tartary (xxxix) during our refidence at Cyprus. They affured the king they were come to affift him in the conquest of Jerufalem from the Saracens. The king fent them back, and with them two notable friars preachers (xl), who carried as a prefent to the cham of Tartary a tent in the form of a chapel, the lining of which was of fcarlet cloth, embroidered over with the hiftory of our religion; the annunciation of the angel Gabriel, the nativity, the baptifm of our Lord, the paffion, the afcenfion, and the defcent of the Holy Ghoft. The king fent alfo chalices, books, ornaments, and every thing neceffary for faying mafs; and, as I have fince heard thefe ambaffadors tell the king, they embarked for the port of Antioch, and in going from thence to the place where the cham of Tartary refided, they were occupied for a whole year travelling ten leagues a day. They found the country through which they paffed fubject to the Tartars, and faw in different towns on their road large mounds of bones.

The ambaffadors inquired how they could have conquered fo large a tract of country, and deftroyed fuch numbers of people, whofe bones they had feen piled up. The Tartars defcribed to them their manners, beginning from their firft origin, faying they were fprung from a great berrie (xli), in a plain where nothing grew. This berrie was placed under a rock, fo very high that no one could pafs it, and it pointed toward the eaft. The Tartars told them, that between this, and other rocks towards the extremity of the earth, were inclofed the people of Gog and Magog (xlii), who were to

attend antichrist when he should come, at the end of the world, to make a general destruction.

From this same berrie came the Tartars that are subject to Prester John (XLIII) on the one side, and to the emperor of Persia on the other, which empire was joined to them also by a narrow tract of land.

There were many infidel nations intermixed with them, to whom they were forced to pay a yearly tribute, for themselves and for the pasturage of their herds, which were their sole nourishment.

The Tartars added, that this Prester John, the emperor of Persia, and the other kings to whom they were tributary, held them in great abhorrence and hatred; for when they carried them their tribute, they would not receive it in their presence, but turned their backs on them. This conduct was the cause that one of their wise men went from berrie to berrie, stating to the inhabitants the wretched condition they were in, and remonstrating on the base slavery they were suffering from various princes, and recommended that they should take council together on the best means of extricating themselves from the debasing condition in which they were now kept. This wise man worked so effectually on their minds that there was a general assembly appointed at the berrie nearest to the lands of Prester John. After many remonstrances, this wise man prevailed on them to act as he should advise: they only requested him to be prudent in adopting the best means to accomplish his purposes.

He told them, they would never be successful until they should have a king to be master and lord over them, and whom they must obey in whatsoever he commanded. The manner in which he proposed they should elect a king was as follows: of the fifty-two tribes of which the Tartars were composed, each tribe should bring him an arrow (XLIV) marked with the name and seal of the tribe. This was agreed to by all the people; and when done, the whole fifty-two arrows were placed before a child of five years old, and from the tribe whose arrow the child should pick the king was to be chosen.

The child having taken an arrow, all the tribes were ordered to retire; and fifty-two men, the most learned and valiant, were selected from the tribe to whom the arrow belonged, among whom was their adviser; and

each of them holding an arrow apart signed with his name, they made a child of five years old take one of these arrows, the owner of which was to be their king or ruler. By accident, the choice of the child fell on the arrow of him who had proposed the measure, to the great joy of the whole nation. Having caused silence to be proclaimed, he said,—‘ Gentlemen, if you wish that I should be your lord, you will swear by Him who made the heavens and earth, that you will obey my commands.’ And they all took the oath.

After this, he gave them many useful instructions, very excellent for keeping a nation in peace at home. One of his regulations was, that no one should seize the goods of another without his will, nor to his loss; and that no one should strike another, under pain of his hand being cut off. Another, that no one should force the wife or daughter of any one, under penalty of death. Many other good laws did he promulgate for the preservation of peace among them.

Having given them these instructions, he remonstrated with them on their ancient enemy Prester John, and how great his hatred was against them; and, in conclusion, said,—‘ Now, as I am determined to attack him, I order you all to be ready to-morrow to follow me. Should it so happen that we be defeated, which God forbid, each of you must do the best he can to save himself. Should the victory be ours, I strictly command that it be rolled up with courage, should the combat last three days and three nights, without any one daring to think of pillage, but all must be solely occupied with destroying and putting to death the enemy; for when the victory shall be completely gained, I will so honourably divide the plunder among you, that every one shall be satisfied.’ He was heard with pleasure, and his orders unanimously obeyed.

On the morrow, according to what had been proposed, so did they act. They made a very severe inroad on their enemies, and, according to the will of God, who is all powerful, they defeated them, and put to death every one that had defensive arms in his hand. But those that wore a religious dress, and the priests, were spared. The rest of the nation, under Prester John, who were not engaged in battle, submitted, and placed themselves under their dominion.

A wonderful thing (XLV) happened after this conquest. A great chief of one of the tribes before spoken of was missing from the Tartars three days, without any thing being known of him. On his return, he told his people that he thought he had been absent but one night, and that he had not suffered hunger or thirst. He related, that he had ascended a marvellous high hill, where he had seen the handsomest race of men, and the finest dressed, that he had ever beheld in his life. In the center of this hill a king was seated on a throne of gold, who was superior in beauty and dress to all the others : on his right and left were six kings richly adorned with jewels, and with crowns on their heads. Near to him, on his right, was a queen on her knees, who begged and entreated him to consider his people. On his left a most beautiful youth knelt, having two wings as brilliant as the sun ; and around the king were great numbers of handsome winged attendants.

The king called him to him, and said, ‘ Thou art come from the host of the Tartars.’ ‘ Sire,’ replied I, ‘ I am.’ ‘ Thou wilt return thither, and tell the cham of Tartary that thou hast seen me, who am the Lord of heaven and earth ; and that I order him to render me thanks and praise for the victory I have granted him over Prester John and his nation ; and thou wilt tell him from me, that I give him power to subdue the whole earth.’ ‘ Sire,’ answered the chief, ‘ how will the cham of Tartary believe me ?’ ‘ Thou wilt tell him, he shall believe in thee from the following circumstance ; that thou shalt go and combat the emperor of Persia with three hundred of thy men, and that, through me, thou shalt vanquish the emperor of Persia, although he will advance to combat thee with three hundred thousand men at arms and upwards. But before thou think of fighting with the emperor of Persia, thou wilt demand of the cham of Tartary, that he give up to thee all priests, the monks, and the commonalty who have remained of those taken in the battle with Prester John ; and thou wilt believe all they shall say and shew to thee, for they are my people and my servants.’ ‘ Sire,’ replied the tartar chief, I shall never find my way, unless you cause me to be conducted.’ The king, on this, turned round, and said, ‘ Come hither, George : go and conduct this man to his quarters, and let him be restored safe ;’ and instantly this chief was transported among the Tartars.

On his return, all the host of the Tartars came to see him, and made him good cheer. He very soon demanded the priests and monks from the cham of Tartary, according to the instructions he had received from the King on the mount, who were granted to him. This prince of the Tartars received very kindly the doctrines they taught, and all his people were baptised. When this ceremony was over, he selected three hundred, made them confess themselves and get ready, and thence marched to attack the emperor of Persia, whom he defeated, and drove out of his kingdom and possessions. He fled as far as Jerusalem; and it was he who vanquished our people, and made the count Gaultier de Brienne prisoner, as you shall hear related. The subjects of this Christian prince increased so much, according to the information I had from those whom the king had sent as ambassadors to Tartary, that they counted in his army eight hundred chapels on wheels.

But let us now return to my principal subject. During the time the king was fortifying Cæsarea, as I have before noticed, there came to him a knight called sir Elenars de Seningaen (XLVI), who said he had set out from the kingdom of Norone (XLVII), where he had embarked, and, coasting Spain, had passed the straits of Morocco; and that he had run great hazards, and suffered much evil before he could come to us. The king retained this knight, with ten others of his companions. I heard him say, that the nights in the land of Norone, during the summer, were so short that you could see in the latest part of them. When this knight became acquainted with the country, he and his people began to hunt the lions (XLVIII), many of whom they took, but not without much bodily danger.

Their manner of hunting was on horseback; and when they found a lion, they shot at him at a proper distance from their bow or cross-bow. On the lion being wounded, he ran at the first he saw, who instantly spurred his horse to a full gallop, dropping as he fled some piece of old cloth or coverlid, which the lion seized and tore to pieces, imagining it was the man he was in pursuit of. As the lion was employed in tearing the cloth, others advanced and shot at him, which made him again pursue them: they kept

dropping old cloths, and shooting at him alternately, until they killed him. Thus did they destroy many lions.

Another most noble knight came to the king when he was at Cæsarea, who said he was of the house of Coucy (XLIX). The king said, he was his cousin by his descent from one of the sisters of king Philip who had been married to the emperor of Constantinople. The king retained this knight, and nine others, for one year; on the expiration of which, he returned to Constantinople, whence he had come. While he was with us, I heard him tell the king, that the emperor of Constantinople had once formed an alliance with the king of the Comnains (L), to have their assistance to conquer the emperor of Greece, whose name was Vataiche (LI); and he added, that the king of the Comnains, to have greater faith in the professions of the emperor of Constantinople, caused him and their people on both sides to be blooded, and made each drink alternately of the other's blood, in sign of brotherhood (LII), saying they were now brothers of the same blood. It was thus we were forced to do with this knight and his companions; and our blood, being mixed with wine, was drank by each party, as constituting us all brothers of the same blood.

They performed another ceremony, by driving a dog (LIII) between them and us, as we were divided into two bodies, and then cutting him to pieces with their swords, saying, 'Let those be thus mangled who shall fail in their engagements to each other.'

Another wonderful story this knight of Coucy told the king. He said, that in the country of the Comnains, when a great and powerful prince died, on his decease an immense grave was made, and the dead person most richly adorned was seated in a magnificent chair within the grave, and the finest horse he had possessed, together with one of his officers, were let down alive into the grave. The officer, before he descended, took leave of the king and the other great personages present, when the king gave to him a large quantity of gold and silver coin, which he placed in a scarf round his neck, the king making him promise that on his arrival in the other world he would restore to him his money, which he faithfully engaged to do. After this, the king gave him a letter addressed to the first of their monarchs, in which he

told him, that the bearer of it had well and faithfully served him, and on that account entreated he would properly reward him. When this was done, the grave was filled up over the corpse, the living officer and the horse, and covered with planks well nailed together. Before night, there was a considerable mound of stones piled over the grave, in memory of those whom they had interred.

When it was near Easter, I left Acre, and went to visit the king at Cæsarea, where he was employed in fortifying and inclosing it. On my arrival, I found him in conversation with the legate, who had never left him during this expedition to the holy land. On seeing me, he quitted the legate, and, coming to me, said, ‘ Lord de Joinville, is it really true, that I have only retained you until this ensuing Easter ? Should it be so, I beg you will tell me how much I shall give you from this Easter to that of this time twelvemonths.’

I replied, that I was not come to him to make such a bargain, and that I would not take more of his money ; but I would offer other terms, which were, that he should promise never to fly into a passion for any thing I should say to him, which was often the case, and I engaged, that I would keep my temper whenever he refused what I should ask.’

When he heard my terms, he burst into laughter, and said that he retained me accordingly : then, taking me by the hand, he led me before the legate to his council, and repeated the convention that had been agreed to between us. Every one was joyous on hearing it, and consequently I remained.

I will now speak of the acts of justice, and the sentences of the king, which I witnessed, during his stay at Cæsarea. The first was on a knight who had been caught in a house of ill fame : he gave him the alternative (LIV), that the prostitute with whom he had been found should lead him in his shirt through the army, with a cord tied to his private parts, one end of which cord the prostitute was to hold ; or, should he not like this, he should forfeit his horse, armour and accoutrements, and be driven from and banished the king’s army. The knight preferred the loss of his horse and arms, and banishment from the army. When I saw the horse was forfeited, I requested to have him for one of my knights who was a poor gentleman ; but the king said my request was unreasonable, for that

the horse was well worth from fourscore to a hundred livres, which was no small sum. I answered, 'Sire, you have broken our convention in thus replying to my request.' The king laughed, and said, 'Lord de Joinville, you may say what you please, but you shall not put me in a passion the sooner.' However, I did not get the horse for my poor gentleman.

The second act of justice I witnessed was on some of my knights who, one day, had gone to hunt the animal called an antelope, which is something like a roe-buck. The knights hospitallers had sallied out to meet my knights, fought with them, and did them much mischief, for which outrage I went to lay my complaints before their commander, taking with me those of my knights who had been wounded. The commander, having heard my accusation, promised to do me justice, according to the rules and customs (LV) of the holy land, which were to make the brethren guilty of this outrage eat on their cloaks, in the presence of those who had been ill used, who should afterward carry away their cloaks.

The commander did indeed make the guilty eat on their cloaks before me, and some of my knights, but when we demanded of the commander that they should rise up, he wanted to refuse, however he was forced to it at last; for we feated ourselves to eat with the brethren, which they would not suffer, and they were obliged to rise with us to eat with the other brethren at table, leaving us their cloaks.

Another act of justice was on a king's serjeant called Goullu, who laid his hands on one of my knights, and rudely pushed him. I went to complain of this to the king, who told me, I might as well be quiet, since the serjeant had only pushed the knight. But I replied, that I would not be quiet, and would quit his service unless justice were done me; for that it was highly indecent for any serjeant to lay his hands on a knight. The king, hearing this, did me the usual justice, which was, that according to the custom of the country, the serjeant should come to my lodgings, bare footed, and in his shirt, with a sword hanging on his wrist, when having knelt before the knight whom he had injured, he was to offer the sword by the hilt, and say to him,—'Sir knight, I crave your mercy for having laid hands on you, and have brought this sword, which I now offer to you, for you to cut off my hand, if it shall so please you.' I then entreated the

knight to pardon him, which he did. Several other judgments I witnessed, that were executed according to the rights and customs of the holy land.

You have before heard how the king had sent to inform the admirals of Egypt, that unless they made him satisfaction for the outrages they had committed, he would not abide by any truce that had been made with them. Ambassadors, in consequence, had arrived from the admirals, with letters, to assure the king that they would do all he had desired.

A day was appointed for the king and these ambassadors to meet at Jaffa, when they were to promise the king, on their oaths, that they would surrender Jerusalem up to him. In return, the king and his nobles were to swear, on their part, to aid and assist the admirals against the sultan of Damascus. It happened, that on the sultan of Damascus hearing that we were become the allies of his enemies in Egypt, and that a day was appointed for the ratification of the treaties at Jaffa, he sent upwards of twenty thousand Turks to guard the passes; but this did not prevent the king from putting himself in motion to march to Jaffa.

When the count of Jaffa learnt that the king was coming, he put his castle into such a good state, that it resembled a well-defended town: at each bulwark of his castle were posted five hundred men, each with a target and penoncel with his arms. It was a beautiful sight to see; for his arms were of fine gold, with a cross-patee gules, richly worked.

We encamped on the plain, near to this castle of Jaffa, which was situated on an island near the sea shore; and the king began to fortify and inclose a village adjacent to the castle, wherever the shore would permit it. The king, by way of encouraging his workmen, said to them, 'I have more than once carried the hod myself to gain a pardon.' The admirals of Egypt were afraid to advance, on account of the passes being so well guarded by the sultan of Damascus: however, they sent to the king all the heads of the Christians that had been exposed on the walls of Cairo, in compliance with the demand which he had made for them. Those heads he caused to be buried in consecrated ground. They likewise sent him all the children they had detained, and whom they had forced to abjure their faith to God, together with an elephant, which last the king had transported to France.

As the king and his whole army were lying before Jaffa, fortifying themselves against those in the castle, news was brought the king that the army of the sultan of Damascus had taken the field, and were in ambush waiting to attack him; and that one of their admirals had advanced to reap and despoil the corn of a Karet (LVI) within three leagues of the army. The king instantly sent thither to reconnoitre, and followed in person; but the admiral no sooner saw us appear than he took to flight, pursued by some of our men full gallop. A young gentleman of our army came up with them, and gallantly unhorsed two Turks with the point of his lance, without breaking it. The admiral perceiving that this gentleman was alone, turned about, but he received such a stroke from him with his spear as wounded him desperately in the body, when the young man returned to the army.

The admirals of Egypt, learning that the king and his army were at Jaffa, sent other ambassadors to him, to appoint a day when they would meet him without fail. The king having fixed on a day, they promised faithfully to be punctual in concluding all the different businesses that were in agitation. While we were waiting for this day of meeting with the admirals from Egypt, the count de Den (LVII) came to the king, bringing with him the good knight, Arnould de Guymenè (LVIII), and his two brothers (LIX), whom, with eight other knights, the king retained in his service, and created the count de Den a knight, who was at that time but a very youth.

At the same time, the prince of Antioch (LX) and his mother waited on the king, to whom he paid much respect, and received them with every honour. The king made the prince of Antioch a knight, though but sixteen years old; but I never saw, at that age, so discreet a youth. When he was knighted, he requested the king to allow him and his mother a private audience, which being granted, he spoke as follows: ‘Sire, it is very true that my mother here present keeps me in ward, and has the power of so doing for four years to come (LXI), by which she has the enjoyment of all things, and I have nothing. I think, however, that she ought not to suffer my lands to be wasted; and this I say because my city of Antioch is falling to ruin in her hands. I therefore supplicate you, sire, to

remonstrate with her on this matter, and to prevail on her to allow me money and men that I may succour my people who are in that city, as she is bounden in justice to do.'

When the king had heard the prince's demand, he remonstrated so effectually with his mother that she complied with his wishes, and the prince returned to Antioch, where he did wonders. From that time, in honour to the king, he quartered his arms (LXII), which are gules (LXIII), with the arms of France.

As it is very praise-worthy and pleasant to relate, in order that they may be known, the deeds and virtues of any excellent prince, we will here speak of the good count of Jaffa (LXIV), sir Gautier de Brienne. He performed in his life-time most gallant deeds of chivalry, and kept possession of his county of Jaffa for many years, although continually attacked by the Egyptians, and without enjoying any revenues but what he gained in his excursions against the Saracens and other enemies of the Christian faith.

He once defeated a large body of infidels, who were transporting many bales of different sorts of silken cloths, which having taken and brought home, he divided the whole among his knights, without keeping any part for himself. His way of life was, after parting with his knights in the evening, to enter his chapel, where he was long employed in prayer and thanksgiving to his God. He afterwards went to bed to his wife, who was a wondrous good lady, and sister to the king of Cyprus.

You have before heard of the tartar prince having, through the aid of God, defeated the emperor of Persia, and his army of three hundred thousand men, with only three hundred, and afterwards driving him out of his kingdom. We now know the road that this emperor of Persia, whose name was Barbaquan (LXV), took. He fled to the kingdom of Jerusalem, and on his arrival did great damage to it; for he took the castle of Tabarie, that belonged to sir Eudes de Montbeliar (LXVI), and put to death as many of our people as he could find in the hospitia without Acre, and without Jaffa. After doing as much mischief as he could, he marched toward Babylon, to receive succours from the sultan of Babylon (LXVII), who was to join his forces and attack us. Upon this, the barons of the country assembled with the patriarchs, and determined

to offer combat to the emperor before he should form his junction with the sultan of Babylon. They sent to the sultan of la Chamelle (LXVIII) for his assistance, who was one of the best and most loyal knights in all pagan land. He came to them, and was most honourably received at Acre, which they left together, and sat down before Jaffa.

When this army arrived at Jaffa, the chiefs entreated the count Gautier to join them, and march against the emperor of Persia. He replied, that he would cheerfully do so if the patriarch would absolve him from an excommunication which he had lately denounced against him, because he would not surrender a tower of his castle of Jaffa called the Tower of the Patriarch, and which the patriarch claimed as belonging to him. The patriarch would not absolve him: nevertheless, the count did not fail to accompany us. The army was divided into three battalions: the first was given to count Gautier, the second to the sultan de la Chamelle, and the third to the patriarch and barons of the country. In the battalion of sir Gautier were the knights hospitallers.

When these three battalions had been properly arrayed, they moved forward, and advanced within sight of the enemy; who, on noticing their approach, formed their army likewise into three divisions. Count Gautier de Brienne, observing this manoeuvre, cried out, ‘My lords, what are we about? We allow our enemies time to draw up their men in array, and increase their courage by seeing us thus remain inactive. I beg of you, in the name of God, instantly to charge them.’ But not one would pay him the least attention, or advance. He then went up to the patriarch, and again demanded absolution, but it was refused him.

With the count was a most learned man, the bishop of Rains (LXIX), who had done many gallant deeds of chivalry in company with the count. The bishop said to him,—‘Do not let your conscience be uneasy at this excommunication of the patriarch, for he is very much in the wrong; and, from the powers I possess, I absolve you from it, in the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost. Amen.’ He then added, ‘Come now, let us charge the enemy.’ Sticking spurs into their horses, they fell on the battalion of the emperor of Persia that formed the rear, but it was too numerous for those who had followed the count. Very many were slain on each

side: notwithstanding this, the count was made prisoner, for his battalion most shamefully fled, and several, from despair, threw themselves into the sea. One cause of this despair was owing to a battalion of the emperor of Persia falling on that of the sultan de la Chamelle, who fought and defended himself with such great valour, although he was much weaker in numbers than the enemy, that out of two thousand men there did not remain more than fourscore, so that he was forced to make his retreat to the castle de la Chamelle.

The emperor of Persia, concluding that his victory was complete, resolved to besiege the sultan in his castle of la Chamelle. But the sultan observing his approach, like a wary soldier, assembled his garrison, and said, ‘Gentlemen, if we allow ourselves to be besieged we are undone: it will be better therefore that we attack them.’ In consequence, he ordered out a party, badly armed, to march in the hollow of a valley, and to fall on the rear of the enemy. This was executed, and a great slaughter made of women and children. The emperor hearing a sudden noise in his rear, as he was advancing near the castle, turned about, with the intent to put a stop to it, but this was no sooner done, than the sultan made a sally with his whole garrison, and fought them so desperately, that the emperor’s army, which at first consisted of twenty-five thousand men, being attacked in front and rear, was defeated, and not one man or woman escaped being put to death.

You must know, that the emperor of Persia, before he marched to lay siege to the castle of la Chamelle, had carried the good count of Jaffa, sir Gautier de Brienne, before the city of Jaffa, and had him hung by the arms to a gallows that was in front of the castle, declaring publicly that he would never take down their count until they should have surrendered to him the castle. As the poor count was thus suspended, he cried with a loud voice to his people, never to surrender the castle for any thing they might see done to him; for should they so do, the emperor would put them all to the sword.

The emperor, perceiving he could not gain any thing more, sent count Gautier to the sultan of Babylon as a present, with the commander of the

knights hospitallers, and many other noble personages whom he had made prisoners. He ordered three hundred of his knights to escort count Gautier and the other prisoners as far as Babylon, which turned out fortunately for them ; since by this they avoided being included in the butchery of the emperor of Persia and his army before the castle of la Chamelle, as has been before told.

When the merchants of Babylon heard that their sultan detained count Gautier in his prisons, they assembled, and made a clamorous petition to the sultan, that he would execute the count of Jaffa, for that he had destroyed several of their companions, and had frequently done them much mischief. In compliance with their request, the sultan ordered the body of count Gautier to be delivered to them, in order that they might take their own revenge on him. These traitorous dogs entered the prison of the count and cut him into pieces, making him thus suffer martyrdom, for which we may imagine he is now glorious in paradise.

But to return to the sultan of Damascus. He withdrew the men he had at Gadres (LXX), and, entering Egypt, made an attack on the admirals. By the fortune of war, one of his battalions defeated one of the admirals, and in another instance the chance was just the reverse. On this account, the sultan of Damascus returned to Gadres, very badly wounded in the head and other places. While he staid there, the admirals sent him ambassadors, who made a peace between them, so that we seemed a subject of mockery to both sides ; for, from that time forward, we enjoyed neither peace nor truce from the sultan, nor from the admirals. You must know, that we could never muster in our army more than about fourteen hundred men at arms fit for service.

As soon as the sultan of Damascus had concluded a peace with the admirals of Egypt, he collected all his men from Gadres, and marched his whole army, amounting to twenty thousand Saracens and ten thousand Bedouins, within sight of us. They passed within two leagues, but never made any attack. The king, the master of his artillery, and the whole army were on the watch for three days, lest they should attempt to fall on us when we were unprepared.

On St John's day, next after Easter, while the king was at sermon, one of the men attached to the master of the artillery, entered the king's chapel armed, and told him that the Saracens had surrounded the master of the cross-bows in the plain. I instantly requested of the king permission to go thither, to which he consented, and gave me five hundred men at arms, whom he named. As soon as we were without the camp, and were perceived by the Saracens who were pressing round the master of the cross bows, they retreated to an admiral that was posted on a small hillock with at least one thousand men. The battle now began between the Saracens and the company of the master of the cross-bows; and as the admiral saw his men fail, he sent thither fresh reinforcements, in like manner did the master of the cross-bows to his men. While they were thus fighting, the legate and the barons of the country told the king, it was great madness to allow me to take the field; and he thereon sent to order me back, together with the master of the cross-bows.

The Turks now retired, and we returned to the army; but many were much surprised that the Turks let us return quietly without an attack, and accounted for it by saying, that their horses were almost starved by having remained a whole year at Gades.

Some other Turks, who had left Jaffa, came to Acre, and sent to inform the lord d'Asur (LXXI), who was constable of Jerusalem, that if he did not send them fifty thousand beffants, they would destroy the gardens round the town. The lord d'Asur made answer, that he would give them nothing. Upon this, they drew up their battalions, and advanced along the sands so near to the town of Acre as to be within cross-bow shot. The lord d'Asur then quitted the town and marched to the mount, where was the church-yard of St Nicholas, to defend the gardens; and when the Turks approached, a body of foot sallied out of Acre, and kept up a brisk discharge of arrows against them; but for fear of the dangers they might incur, the lord d'Asur sent them orders by a young knight from Genoa to retire within the walls.

As the Genoese knight was retiring with his body of infantry, a Saracen, suddenly moved by his courage, came boldly up to him, and said in his Saracenic tongue, that if he pleased, he would tilt with him. The knight answered with pride, that he would receive him; but, when he was on the

point of beginning his course, he perceived on his left hand eight or nine Saracens, who had halted there to see the event of the tournament. The knight therefore, instead of directing his course toward the Saracen who had offered to tilt with him, made for this troop, and, striking one of them with his lance, pierced his body through, and killed him dead on the spot. He retreated to our men pursued by the other Saracens, one of whom gave him a heavy blow on his helmet with a battle-axe. In return, the knight struck the Saracen so severely on the head that he made his turban fly off. You must know, that these turbans save them from many hard blows; and for this reason, they always wear them when they go to battle. Another Saracen thought to have given the knight a mortal blow with his turkish blade, but he twisted (LXXII) his body in suchwise that it missed him; and the knight, by a back hand blow on the Saracen's arm made his sword fall to the ground, and he then made a good retreat with the infantry. These three famous actions did the Genoese knight perform in the presence of the lord d'Afur, and before all the principal persons of the town, who were assembled on the battlements.

The Saracens withdrew from before Acre; and as they had heard the king was strengthening and enclosing Sajeete, and had but few men at arms with him, they marched thither. As soon as the king learnt their intentions, not having a sufficient force to oppose them, he retired with the master of his artillery, and as many as the place would hold, into the castle of Sajeete, which was very strong, and well inclosed: few, however, could be lodged within it from the smallness of its extent. The Saracens arrived soon after, and entered Sajeete without any opposition, for the walls were not then finished, and slaughtered full two thousand of the poorer sort of our army: having done this, and pillaged the town, they marched off toward Damascus.

The king was much grieved on hearing that the Saracens had destroyed all his works at Sajeete, but he could not help it; on the contrary, the barons of the country were rejoiced at it; and the reason was, that the king intended, after he had finished at Sajeete, to inclose a mound, on which formerly had stood a castle in the time of the Macabees, and which was on the road from Jaffa to Jerusalem. The barons opposed its being inclosed,

because it was five leagues from the sea, and they said, and said truly, that it could never be victualled without certain risk of the provision being seized on the road thither by the Saracens, as they were more numerous. The barons remonstrated with the king, that it would be preferable in point of honour, and in all other respects, to repair Sajeete, than to undertake a large and new building so far from the sea. To this the king assented.

During the king's stay at Jaffa, he was told that the sultan of Damascus would allow him to visit Jerusalem in perfect security. The king would most willingly have gone thither, but his great council dissuaded him from it, as it would leave the city in the hands of the enemy. The lords of the country likewise were unwilling to consent to this, and cited to him the example of king Philip, who, when he departed from Acre on his return to France, left the command of his whole army to Hugh duke of Burgundy, grandfather to the duke lately deceased (LXXIII).

In those times, and when duke Hugh of Burgundy and king Richard of England were residing in Acre, they received intelligence that they might take Jerusalem on the morrow, if they pleased; for that a large army of knights from Egypt were gone to the assistance of the sultan of Damascus, in his war at Neffa (LXXIV) against the sultan of that place. The duke of Burgundy and the king were soon prepared to march thither; and when they had divided their army the king of England led the first battalion, followed by the duke of Burgundy, and by such of the king of France's army as had remained after his departure. But when they were near to Jerusalem, and on the point of taking it, intelligence came from the duke of Burgundy's division, that he had turned back merely out of envy, and to prevent its being said, that the English had taken Jerusalem. As this intelligence was discussing, one of the king of England's officers cried out, 'Sire, sire, only come hither, and I will shew you Jerusalem.' But the king, throwing down his arms, said with tears, and with hands uplifted to heaven, 'Ah! Lord God, I pray thee that I may never see thy holy city of Jerusalem, since things thus happen, and since I cannot deliver it from the hands of thine enemies.'

This example was laid before the king, St Louis, because he was the greatest monarch in Christendom (LXXV); and if he should perform a

pilgrimage to Jerufalem, without delivering it from the enemies of God, every other king, who might wish to make a similar pilgrimage, would think he had amply performed it without seeking to do more than the king of France had done.

This Richard, king of England, performed such deeds of prowess, when he was in the holy land, that the Saracens, on seeing their horses frightened at a shadow or bush, cried out to them, ‘What! dost think king Richard is there?’ This they were accustomed to say, from the many and many times he had conquered and vanquished them. In like manner, when the children of the Turks or Saracens cried, their mothers said to them, ‘Hush, hush! or I will bring king Richard of England to you;’ and from the fright these words caused they were instantly quiet.

I must say something more of this Hugh duke of Burgundy. He was personally brave and chivalrous, but never reputed very wise toward God or man, as appears from what has just been told of him; and, in allusion to him, the great king Philip said, when he was told that the count John de Châlons (LXXVI) had a son whom he had christened Hugh, ‘May God, out of his goodness, make him a *preuomme* as well as a *preudomme* (LXXVII)!’ There is much difference between these two characters, for many a knight among the Christians and Saracens is bold enough, but of little discretion, who neither fears nor loves God; and it was said that God had been very gracious to that knight, who, by his actions, shewed he united both these qualities. But the person of whom I am speaking might well be called a *preudomme*, for he was sufficiently bold and personally enterprising, but not mentally so, for he feared not to sin, nor to behave ill toward his God.

Of the immense sums it cost the king to inclose Jaffa, it does not become me to speak, for they were countless. He inclosed the town from one side of the sea to the other; and there were twenty-four towers, including small and great. The ditches were well scoured, and kept clean both within and without. There were three gates, one of which the legate was ordered to build, as well as the wall that connected it with the next gate. To form some estimate of what the king’s expenses might have been, I was once asked by the legate how much I thought the gate and wall he had erected

cost him. When I replied, that I estimated the gate at five hundred livres, and the wall three hundred, he told me I was very far from the amount, and added, that as God might help him, the gate and wall had cost him full thirty thousand livres. We may guess from this sum how great was the expense for the remainder.

When the king had finished the fortifications of Jaffa, he was desirous of doing the same to Sajeſte, and repairing its walls to put it in a similar state to what it had been in before the Saracens destroyed it. In consequence, he gave orders for the march of the army thither on the festival of St Peter and St Paul. While the king and his army were before the castle of Asur, he summoned his council in the evening, and told them he was very anxious to take from the Saracens the city of Naples (LXXVIII), which is called in the holy Scriptures Samaria.

The knights-templars, barons and admirals of the country, advised him to it, as what he was in duty bound to do; but added, that he ought not personally expose himself there, for fear of any unfortunate accident, saying that if he were made prisoner or killed, the whole country would be lost.

The king replied, that he would not allow his army to march thither without his accompanying it, and from this disagreement the enterprise was no more thought of. We continued our march along the sands to Acre, where the king and his whole army were lodged that night.

On the morrow, a great troop of Armenians, who were on their pilgrimage to Jerusalem, came to me, and entreated, through a latin interpreter, that as I was about the king's person, I would shew them the good king Louis. I went to the king, and told him that a large body of people from upper Armenia, going to Jerusalem, were very desirous to see him. He burst into laughter, and bade me bring them to him. I instantly obeyed, and they followed me eagerly. When they had seen him, they recommended him to God, as he did the same to them in return.

The next day the king and his army marched to a place called Passe-poulain, about a league distant from Acre, where are many beautiful springs of water, with which the sugar-canes are irrigated.

When I was lodged, one of my knights said to me, 'Sir, you are now much better quartered than you were before Saint-Sur.' Upon which another

of my knights, who had fixed on my lodgings the preceding day, replied, ' You are too fool-hardy in thus blaming me to my lord;' and, having said this, he sprang on the other knight, and seized him by the hair. Astonished at the presumption of the knight, who had thus in my presence seized his companion, I ran to them, and gave the aggressor a hard blow between the shoulders, which made him quit his hold of the knight's hair. I then ordered him to quit my lodgings instantly, for that never more, as God might help me, should he be of my household.

The knight went away making great moan to sir Gilles le Brun, then constable of France, who shortly after came to me to entreat I would take my knight again, for that he was sorely repentant of his folly. I told him I could not do any thing until the legate had absolved me from my oath. The constable then went to the legate, told him the case, and requested him to give me absolution from the oath I had sworn; but the legate said, he had not the power to absolve me, seeing that I was justified in making such an oath, and that the knight had richly deserved it by his conduct. This story I wished to introduce into my book, as an example to all not to make any oaths without very sufficient grounds for so doing; for the wise man says, that those who swear on every occasion will probably as often forswear.

On the day following, the king marched his army before the city of Sur, which is called Thiry in the Bible. When there, the king was pressed to march and take a city hard by called Belinas: his council advised him to it, but not to go thither in person, to which, with some difficulty he was persuaded. It was determined, that the count d'Anjou should march thither, with sir Philip de Montfort, the lord of Sur (LXXIX), sir Gilles le Brun constable of France, sir Peter the chamberlain, the masters of the Temple and of the Hospital, and their men at arms. During the night we armed ourselves, and a little before day saw the plain in which was situated the city of Belinas (LXXX), called in Scripture Cæsarea Philippi. There is within the city a beautiful fountain named le Jour, and on the plain before the place, another fine spring, called Dain. From these two springs issue rivulets which unite at some distance and form the river Jordan (LXXXI), in which our Lord JESUS CHRIST was baptised.

By the advice of the count d'Anjou, and the masters of the Templars and Hospitallers, it was ordered, that the battalion of the king, in which I then was, with my knights, as were also the forty knights from Champagne, whom the king had put under my command, sir Geoffry de Sergines, and the other brave men that were with us, should march between the castle and town; that the barons and landholders (LXXXII) of the country should enter the town on the left, the Hospitallers on the right, and the master of the Templars, with his division, was to enter the place from the road by which we had come. Each body was now in motion; and as we approached the back parts of the city we found many of our countrymen dead, whom the Saracens had killed and thrown over the walls. You must know the line we were to take was very dangerous; for, in the first place, there were three walls to pass, and a bank so steep and broken, that no one could keep his saddle. On the top of this bank, which we were to ascend, were a large body of Turks on horseback. Perceiving that our people were at one place breaking down the walls, I wished to advance towards them skirmishing. As I was doing this, one of our men attempted to leap the wall, but he fell under his horse, which was also thrown down. When I saw this I dismounted, and, taking my horse by the bridle, ascended boldly towards the Turks, but, as God willed it, they fled and left us the place. On the top there was a road cut in the rock which led to the city; and the Saracens within the place no sooner saw us masters of the rock than they took to flight, and gave up the city without opposition to our army.

While I was on the top of this mount, the master of the Templars, hearing that I was in great danger, hastened to me. I had with me the Germans (LXXXIII), who, when they saw the Turks fly for the castle, which was at some distance from the town, began to pursue them, in spite of me, and although I cried out to them they were doing wrong, for we had accomplished what we had been ordered to perform.

The castle was seated above the town, but without the suburbs, and nearly half a league up mount Libanus. There are very high rocks to pass before you arrive at the castle; and when the Germans found they were very rashly pursuing the Turks, who had gained the castle, well knowing all

the turnings of the rocks, they returned to rejoin us; but the Saracens, observing them retreating, dismounted, and, falling on them as they descended the rocks, gave them many severe blows with their battle-axes, inasmuch that they drove them back in disorder to where I was. My men seeing the mischief the Saracens did to the Germans, whom they closely pursued, began to be frightened, and to take alarm; but I told them that if they quitted their position I would break them, and prevent them ever after from receiving the king's pay. They replied,—‘ Lord de Joinville, we are much worse off than you are; for you are on horseback, and can escape when and where you please; but we who are on foot are in the greatest danger of being killed, should the Saracens come hither.’ Upon this I dismounted among them, to give them more courage, and sent my war-horse to the battalion of the Templars, which was a long cross-bow shot distant.

As the Saracens were thus driving the Germans before them, one of my knights received a bolt from a cross-bow in the throat that laid him dead at my feet, upon which another of my knights, called sir Hugh d’Escoffé, uncle to the dead knight, desired I would assist him to carry his nephew down from the mount, that he might be buried; but I refused, for the knight had joined the Germans in pursuing the Saracens, contrary to my will and orders. If, therefore, he suffered for it I was no way to blame. So soon as sir John de Valenciennes (LXXXIV) heard the danger we were in, and that my division was in disorder, he hastened to sir Olivier de Termes (LXXXV), and the other captains from Languedoc (LXXXVI), and addressed them, ‘ My lords, I beg of you, and indeed command, in the king’s name, that you join me to assist the seneschal of Champagne.’

A knight, whose name was sir William de Beaumont, came to him, and said that I was killed; but, notwithstanding this, the good sir Olivier de Termes did not the more spare himself, for he was determined to know the truth, whether I was alive or dead, that he might give the king certain information of it, and gallantly ascended the mount, when I went to him. Sir Olivier, when on the mount, saw the great danger we were in, and that we could not descend the way we had got up, he therefore gave us good

advice, and made us descend a slope of the hill, as if we were going to Damascus, saying that the Saracens would suppose, by this manœuvre, that we meant to fall on their rear. When we had got into the plain, sir Olivier ordered a large heap of corn, that was stacked on the ground, to be set on fire, and by this means, and our own exertions, through the good counsel of sir Olivier de Termes, we escaped, and arrived on the morrow in safety at Sajeète, where the king was. We found the good and holy man had ordered the bodies of those Christians that were slain to be buried, and that he himself had assisted in carrying their corpses to the grave. Some of the bodies were in such a state of corruption, that divers of the carriers were obliged to stop their nostrils, but the good king never did this. When we came to him, he had caused our lodgings and quarters to be ready prepared for us.

During this time (LXXXVII), being one day in the presence of the king, I asked his leave to make a pilgrimage to our lady of Tortosa (LXXXVIII), which was then very much in request. Great numbers of pilgrims went thither daily, for it was said to have been the first altar erected in honour of the mother of God. Our lady performed there many wonderful miracles; and one in particular on a poor man that was a demoniac, having lost his senses, for he was possessed by a wicked spirit. It happened, that one day he was brought to this altar of our Lady at Tortosa; and as his friends who had brought him were praying to our Lady to cure him, and restore his senses, the devil whom the poor creature had in his body replied,—‘ Our Lady is not here but in Egypt, whither she is gone to aid the king of France and the Christians, who land this day on the holy land, to make war on the pagans, who are on horseback to receive them.’

What the devil had uttered was put down in writing; and when it was brought to the legate, who was with the king of France, he said to me that it was on that very day we had arrived in Egypt; and I am sure the good lady Mary was of the utmost service to us.

The king very readily gave me leave to make this pilgrimage, and at the same time charged me to buy for him a hundred weight of different coloured camlets, which he was desirous to give to the Cordeliers on his return to

France. From this, I guessed that it would not be long before he set out on his return thither.

When I arrived at Triple*, the end of my pilgrimage, I made my offerings to God, and to our Lady of Tortosa, and afterward bought the camlets according to the king's orders. My knights, seeing me thus occupied, asked what I intended doing with so many camlets? I induced them to believe, that I made these purchases to gain a profit from re-selling them.

The prince of that country (LXXXIX), hearing of our arrival, and knowing that I was come from the king's army, gave us a most honourable reception, and offered us magnificent presents. We returned him our most humble thanks, but would accept of nothing but a few relics, which I brought to the king with his camlets.

You must know, that the queen had heard that I had been on a pilgrimage, and had brought back some relics. I sent her by one of my knights four pieces of the camlets which I had purchased; and when the knight entered her apartment, she cast herself on her knees before the camlets, that were wrapped up in a towel, and the knight, seeing the queen do this, flung himself on his knees also. The queen, observing him, said, 'Rise, sir knight, it does not become you to kneel, who are the bearer of such holy relics.' My knight replied, that it was not relics, but camlets, that he had brought as a present from me. When the queen and her ladies heard this, they burst into laughter, and the queen said, 'Sir knight, the deuce take your lord for having made me kneel to a parcel of camlets.' (xc)

Soon after the king's arrival at Sajeete, he received the news of the death of the queen his mother (xci), which caused him such grief that he was two days in his chamber without suffering any one to see him. On the third, he sent one of his valets to seek me; and, on my presenting myself, he extended his arms, and said, 'Ah, seneschal, I have lost my mother!'

'Sir,' replied I, 'I am not surprised at it, for you know there must come a time for her death; but I am indeed greatly so, that you who

* Q. Tripoli.

are considered as so great a prince should so outrageously grieve; for you know,' continued I, 'that the wise man says, whatever grief the valiant man suffers in his mind, he ought not to shew it on his countenance, nor let it be publicly known, for he that does so gives pleasure to his enemies and sorrow to his friends.'

I thus appeased him a little; and he gave orders that most magnificent religious services should be performed in the country in which he then was, for the salvation of the soul of the late queen. He sent likewise to France a load of jewels and precious stones to the national churches, with letters from him to entreat they would pray to God for him, and for the soul of the late queen his mother (xcii).

Not long after this the king attended to his affairs, but was undetermined whether to remain longer where he was, or to return to France. While he was thus hesitating, and during his stay at Sajette, which he had almost inclosed, he called the legate, who had accompanied him, and bade him make many processions, requesting God to enlighten him, and let him know his will, whether he should return to France, or remain in Palestine. Some little time after these processions were over, the principal persons of the country and myself were going to amuse ourselves in a meadow, when the king called me to him. The legate was with him, who said to me, in the presence of the king,—'Seneschal, the king is very much satisfied with the good and agreeable services you have done him, and earnestly wishes for your honour and advancement. He orders me to tell you, as he knows it will give you much pleasure at heart, that his intention is to return to France on this side Easter that is coming.'

I replied, 'May our Lord induce him to act always according to his will.' When I had said this, the legate left the king, and desired I would accompany him to his lodgings, to which I willingly assented. He made me enter his closet, when, bursting into tears, he clasped my hands, and said,—'Seneschal, I am greatly rejoiced, and thank God for that you have thus escaped from the imminent dangers you have been in during your stay in this country; and, on the other hand, I am much concerned and grieved at my heart, that I shall be forced to quit such good and religious companions, to return among such a set of wretches as the court of Rome

confists of (xciii). But I will tell you, that my intention is to remain one year, after your departure, at Acre, to expend all my money in inclosing the fuburbs of that place, which I shall continue to do as long as my means shall laft, to avoid having any reproaches made againft me.'

On my return to the king the next day, he commanded me to arm myfelf and my knights on the morrow. When I was armed, I asked him what was his pleafure for us to do. He then faid, to efkort the queen and his children to Sur, which was full feven leagues diftant. I would not fay any thing againft this, in fpite of the great dangers we fhould run, for at that time we had neither peace nor truce with the Egyptians, nor with thofe of Damafcus. We fet out, and, through the mercy of God, arrived in the evening at Sur without any accident or hindrance.

Soon after the patriarch and barons of the country who had for a length of time attended on the king, feeing that he had inclofed Sajecte with high walls and large towers, and that the ditches were well cleaned within and without, waited on him to render him their moft humble thanks and praife for the great good and the honour he had conferred on Palestine; for he had rebuilt, from the ground, Sajecte, Cæfarea, Jaffa, and had greatly ftrengthened the city of Acre with high walls and towers.

They addreffed him as follows: 'Sire, we perceive very clearly that your ftay with us cannot be much prolonged, with any kind of profit to the kingdom of Jerufalem. We would therefore advife you to go to Acre, where you may make your preparations for departure during this enfuing Lent, fo that you may fecure a fafe paffage to France.'

The king followed their council, and went to Sur, whither we had efkorted the queen and his family, and at the beginning of Lent we all arrived at Acre.

During the whole of Lent, the king was making his fleet ready for his return to France, which confifted of fourteen fhips and gallies. On the vigil of St Mark after Eafter, the king and queen embarked on board their fhip, and put to fea, having a favourable wind for their departure. The king told me, he was born on St Mark's day; and I replied, that he might well fay he had been born again on St Mark's day, in thus efcaping from fuch a peftilent land, where he had remained fo long.

On the Saturday following, we arrived at the island of Cyprus; and there was a mountain hard by the island, called the Mountain of the Cross, which marked at a great distance the situation of the island. On this Saturday, about vespers, there came on such a thick fog from the land that our sailors thought themselves at a greater distance from the shore than they were, for they lost sight of this mountain; and it happened, that as they were eager to reach the shore, they struck on the extremity of a sand bank which was clear of the island: fortunately it was so, for had we not struck on this bank, we should have run against some dangerous half-covered rocks, and should have been in the utmost peril of being all drowned (xciv). We were even now in much danger. All thought themselves lost, and that the vessel must be wrecked; but a sailor, casting the lead, found we were no longer aground, on which every one rejoiced and returned thanks to God.

Many on board were kneeling before the holy sacrament that was on the ship's altar, adoring and begging pardon of God, for each expected nothing but death. When day appeared, we saw the rocks on which we should have struck, had it not been for the good fortune of grounding on the sand bank. In the morning, the king sent for the principal of the ships' captains, who brought with them four divers, fellows who dive naked to the bottom of the sea like fish. The captains ordered the divers to plunge into the sea at this place, who did so, and passed under the king's ship. On their re-appearance, on the opposite side to where they had gone down, we heard each ask the other what he had found. They all reported, that on the part where our vessel had struck on the sand three fathoms of its keel had been beaten off, which account surprised very much the king, and all who heard it. The king asked the mariners for their advice on the occasion, who replied,—‘Sire, if you will believe us, you must remove from this ship to another. We know well, that since the keel has suffered such damage, all the ribs of the vessel will have been started, and we very much fear that she will be unable to bear the sea, should there be any wind, without danger of sinking. When you sailed from France, we saw an accident just similar happen to a vessel which had struck on a bank; and when she was

afterward in a gale of wind she could not withstand it, but opened her sides and was lost : all on board perished but a young woman, with an infant child in her arms, who had accidentally remained on one of the ship's timbers, and was saved.'

The king having listened to what the mariners said, and the example they brought, I testified to the truth of it ; for I had seen the woman and child, who had arrived at the city of Baphe (xcv), in the house of the count de Joigny, who had all care taken of them for the honour of God.

The king summoned his council to deliberate on what was to be done, and they unanimously agreed to what the mariners had proposed ; but the king called the captains again to him, and asked them, on the faith and loyalty which they owed him, whether, if the ship were their own, and full of merchandize, they would quit it. They all said they would not ; for that they would prefer risking their lives to the loss of such a vessel, which would cost them from forty to fifty thousand livres. ' Why then,' said the king, ' do you advise me to quit her ?' They replied,—' Sire, you and we are two different sorts of things ; for there is no sum, however great, that can be had in compensation for the loss of yourself, the queen, and your three children ; and we will never advise that you should put yourself in such risk.'

' Now,' said the king, ' I will tell you what I think of the matter. Suppose I quit this ship, there are five or six hundred persons on board, who will remain in the island of Cyprus for fear of the danger that may happen to them should they stay on board ; and there is not,' added the king, ' one among them who is more attached to his own person than I am myself, and if we land they will lose all hopes of returning to their own country. I therefore declare, I will rather put myself, the queen and my children, in this danger, under the good providence of God, than make such numbers of people suffer, as are now with me.'

The great mischief that would have happened, if the king had landed, was very apparent, from what befel that puissant knight sir Olivier de Termes, who was on board the king's ship. Sir Olivier was one of the bravest knights, and most enterprising men of all I was acquainted with in the holy land : he was, however, afraid of remaining on board, and therefore

went on shore; but, rich and mighty as he was, he met with so many difficulties, that it was upwards of a year and a half before he could again rejoin the king. Now, if so rich a man found so many difficulties, what would the number of inferior personages have done, who could not have money to defray their expenses and support themselves?

After God had saved us from this peril, near the island of Cyprus, another befel us; for there arose so violent a storm, that in spite of all our efforts we were driven back again to the same island, after we had long left it. The sailors cast four anchors in vain, for the vessel could not be stopped until they had thrown out the fifth, which held. All the partitions of the king's cabin were obliged to be destroyed; and so high was the wind, that no one dared stay therein for fear of being blown overboard.

The queen came into the king's chamber, thinking to meet him there, but found only sir Gilles le Brun, constable of France, and myself, who were lying down. On seeing her, I asked what she wished. She said, she wanted the king, to beg he would make some vows to God and his saints, that we might be delivered from this storm, for that the sailors had assured her we were in the greatest danger of being drowned. I replied to her,—
 ‘Madam, vow to make a pilgrimage to my lord saint Nicholas, at Varengeville, and I promise you, that God will restore us in safety to France.’ ‘Ah! senechal,’ answered she, ‘I am afraid the king will not permit me to make this pilgrimage for the accomplishment of my vow.’
 ‘At least, then, madam, promise him, that if God shall restore you in safety to France, you will give him a silver ship of the value of five marks, for the king, yourself, and your children; and if you shall do this, I assure you that, at the entreaties of St Nicholas, God will grant you a successful voyage; and I vow for myself, that, on my return to Joinville, I will make a pilgrimage to his shrine bare-footed.’

Upon this, she made a vow of a silver ship to St Nicholas, and demanded that I would be her pledge for her due performance of it, to which I assented. She shortly after came to us, to say that God, at the intercession of St Nicholas, had delivered us from this peril.

On the queen's return to France, she caused the ship to be made that she had vowed, and had introduced in it the king, herself, her three children,

with the sailors, mast and steerage, all of silver, and the ropes of silver thread. This ship she sent me with orders to convey it to the shrine of my lord Saint Nicholas, which I did. I saw it there a long time afterward, when we conducted the king's sister (xcvi) to the emperor of Germany.

We will return to our principal subject, and continue the account of our voyage home. When the king perceived we had escaped from these two perils, he rose from a bench of the vessel, and said to me,—‘ Now see, seneschal, if God has not clearly manifested his great power, when by a blast of one of these four winds, the king, the queen, our children, and so many other persons, might have been drowned? For our deliverance from this danger, we ought to pay him our sincerest thanks.’

The good king talked incessantly of the eminent danger we had been in, and of the power which God had displayed. He said to me, ‘ Seneschal, when such tribulations befall mankind, or other misfortunes of sickness, the saints say they are threatenings from our Lord. I therefore maintain, that the perils we have been in are the same kind of threatening from our Lord, who might say, ‘ Now consider how very easily I might have suffered you all to be drowned, had I so willed it.’ For this reason,’ continued the holy king, ‘ we should examine ourselves well that there be nothing in our conduct displeasing to God, our Creator; and whenever we may find there is any thing wrong, we ought instantly to make ourselves clear of it. When we thus act, God will love us and preserve us from all perils; but, should we follow a contrary behaviour after having noticed these menaces, he will afflict us with some grievous malady, perhaps death, and permit us to descend to hell, without hope of redemption.’

The good and holy king continued,—‘ Seneschal, that good man Job said to God, ‘ Lord God, wherefore dost thou afflict us? for if thou destroy us, thou wilt not be the poorer; and if thou wert to call us all to thee, thou wouldst not be more powerful nor more rich.’ Whence we may see,’ added he, ‘ that the menaces of God are uttered against us from his great love to us, and for our welfare, not for his own; that we may the more clearly discover our faults and demerits, and purify our consciences from all that may be displeasing to him. Let us therefore act in this manner, and we shall be the wiser and better for it.’

After having taken water on board at the island of Cyprus, and some other necessary articles, we again set sail when the tempest had ceased, and saw another island called Lampedosa (xcvii). We landed on it, and caught a great many rabbits. We found there a hermitage among the rocks, with a handsome garden planted with olives, figs, vines, and other fruit-trees, with a fine spring of water, that ran through it. The king and his company went to the upper part of the garden, where was an oratory, the roof of which was painted white (xcviii) with a red cross in the center. In another chamber, more retired, we found two dead bodies with their hands on their breasts, and only the ribs which held them together. These bodies were laid towards the east, as is the usual custom at interments.

When we had seen and examined every thing, the king and his company returned on ship-board; but one of our sailors was missing, and the captain, after considering awhile, said he guessed who it was, and that it was one who was desirous of living there henceforward as a hermit. The king, hearing this, ordered three sacks of biscuit to be left on the shore of this island, in order that the sailor might find them, and they might serve for his sustenance (xcix).

Shortly after, an accident happened on board the ship of the lord d'Argones, one of the most powerful lords of Provence. He was annoyed one morning in bed by the rays of the sun darting on his eyes through a hole in the vessel, and calling one of his esquires, ordered him to stop the hole. The esquire, finding he could not stop it within side, attempted to do it without, but his foot slipping he fell into the sea. The ship kept on her way, and there was not the smallest boat along side to succour him. We, who were in the king's ship, saw him, but as we were half a league off, we thought it was some piece of furniture that had fallen into the sea, for the esquire did not attempt to save himself, nor to move. When we came nearer, one of the king's boats took him up, and brought him on board our vessel, when he related his accident. We asked him why he did not attempt to save himself by swimming, nor call out to the other ships for help. He said he had no occasion so to do, for, as he fell into the sea, he exclaimed,

‘ Our Lady of Valbert (c) !’ and that she had supported him by his shoulders until the king’s galley came to him. In honour of the blessed Virgin Mary, and to perpetuate this miracle, I had it painted in my chapel of Joinville, and also on the windows of the church of Blecourt.

At the end of ten weeks that we had been at sea, we arrived in the port of Hieres, in front of the castle that belonged to the count de Provence, afterward king of Sicily.

The queen, and the whole of the council, advised the king to disembark there, as it was on his brother’s land; but he declared he would not land before he came to Aigues Mortes (c1), which was his own territory. On this difference, the king detained us there Wednesday and Thursday, without any one being able to prevail on him to land. On the Friday, as he was seated on one of the benches of the ship, he called me to him, and demanded my opinion, whether he ought to land or not. I replied; ‘ Sire, it seems to me that you ought to land; for madame de Bourbon, being once in this very port, and unwilling to land, put again to sea, to disembark at Aigues Mortes, but she was tossed about for upwards of seven weeks before she could make that harbour.’ Upon this, the king consented to follow my advice, and landed at Hieres, to the great joy of the queen and all on board.

The king, the queen, and their children, took up their residence in the castle of Hieres until horses should be provided for the further continuance of their journey. The abbot of Cluny, who was afterward bishop of Olive (c11), sent the king two palfreys; one for himself, and the other for the queen. It was said at the time, that they were each well worth five hundred livres. When the king had accepted of these two fine horses, the abbot requested an audience of him on the morrow, on the subject of his affairs. This was granted, and the next day the abbot conversed a long time with the king, who listened to him very attentively.

When the abbot was gone, I asked the king if he would answer a question I wished to put to him. On his replying in the affirmative, I said, ‘ Sire, is it not true that you have thus long listened to the abbot for the sake of the horses he gave you?’ The king said, it was certainly so. I then

continued, that I had asked the question, that he might forbid, on his return to France, those of his council, on their oaths, to receive the smallest gifts from any who had business to transact in his presence; 'for be assured,' added I, 'that if they take presents, they will listen and attend to the givers, even longer than you have done to the abbot of Cluny.' The king, calling his council, told them the request I had made, and the reason for my making it. His council, however, said, that I had given very excellent advice.

• While we were at Hieres we heard of a very good man, a cordelier friar, who went about the country preaching: his name was father Hugh. The king being desirous of hearing and seeing him, the day he came to Hieres, we went out to meet him, and saw a great company of men and women following him on foot. On his arrival in the town, the king directed him to preach, and his first sermon was against the clergy, whom he blamed for being in such numbers with the king, saying they were not in a situation to save their souls, or that the Scriptures lied. This was true, for the Scriptures do say, that a monk cannot live out of his cloister, without falling into deadly sins, any more than fish can live out of water without dying. The reason is plain; for the religious, who follow the king's court, eat and drink many meats and wines which they would not do were they resident in their cloisters, and this luxurious living induces them more to sin than if they led the austere life of a convent.

He afterwards addressed the king, and pointed out to him, that if he wished to live beloved and in peace with his people, he must be just and upright. He said, he had carefully perused the Bible and other holy books, and had always found, that among princes, whether Christians or infidels, no kingdoms had ever been excited to war against their lords, but through want of proper justice being done to the subject. 'The king, therefore,' added the cordelier, 'must carefully have justice administered equally to every one of his subjects, that he may live among them in peace and tranquillity to his last day, and that God may not deprive him of his kingdom with dishonour and shame.'

The king had him several times entreated to live with him during his stay in Provence; but he replied, that he would not on any account remain

in the company of the king. This cordelier only staid with us one day, and on the morrow departed. I have since heard that his body is buried at Marfeilles, where it performs many fine miracles.

After this, the king fet out from Hieres, and came to the city of Aix in Provence, in honour of the blessed Magdalen, who is interred a short day's journey off. We visited the place of le Baume, which is a deep cave in a rock, wherein, it is said, the holy Magdalen resided for a long time as an hermitage. We passed the Rhône at Beaucaire; and when the king was in his own realm, I took my leave of him, and went to my niece the dauphiness of Viennois (ciii), thence to my uncle's the count de Châlons (civ), and to the count of Burgundy his son, whence I went to Joinville.

Having made a short stay there, I fet out to meet the king, whom I found at Soissons. On my arrival, he received me with such joy as surprised every one. I met there count John of Brittany, and his wife, the daughter of king Thibault. On account of the dispute that was between the king of Navarre and the heirefs of Champagne (cv), for some claims the king of Navarre pretended to have on the country of Champagne, the king ordered them all to Paris, that each side might be heard, and justice properly done between them.

At this parliament, king Thibault of Navarre demanded in marriage Isabella, the king's daughter (cvi); and they had brought me with them that I might in suitable terms make this propofal of marriage, for they had observed the high favour I was in with the king, when at Soissons. I went purposely to speak on this subject to the king, who replied, ' Seneschal, go first and make peace with the count of Brittany; and when that is done, we will settle the marriage.' I answered, ' Sire, you should not neglect this matter on any account.' But he said, he would not marry his daughter without the consent of his barons, nor until peace were concluded with the count of Brittany.

I immediately returned to queen Margaret of Navarre, the king her son, and their council, to tell them the king's answer: which having heard, they fet about concluding a peace with all diligence with the count of Brittany; and when that was done, the king gave his daughter Isabella in marriage to

the king of Navarre. The wedding was celebrated with pomp and magnificence at Melun, whence king Thibault conducted her to Provins, where they were most splendidly received by the barons.

I will now speak of the state and mode of living of the king, after his return from Palestine. In regard to his dress, he would never more wear minever (CVII) or squirrel furs, nor scarlet robes, nor gilt spurs, nor use stirrups. His dress was of camlet or persian, and the fur trimmings of his robes were the skins of garnutes (CVIII) or the legs of hares. He was very sober at his meals, and never ordered any thing particular or delicate to be cooked for him, but took patiently whatever was set before him. He mixed his wine with water according to its strength, and drank but one glass. He had commonly at his meals many poor persons behind his chair, whom he fed, and then ordered money to be given to them. After dinner, he had his chaplains who said grace for him; and when any noble person was at table with him, he was an excellent companion, and very friendly. He was considered as by far the wisest of any in his council; and as a proof of his wisdom, whenever any thing occurred that demanded immediate attention, he never waited for his council, but gave a speedy and decided answer.

Soon after, the good king St Louis negotiated so successfully that he prevailed on the king and queen of England to come to France with their children, to conclude a peace. His council, however, were much against this peace, and said to him, 'Sire, we marvel greatly how you can consent to the king of England keeping so large a tract of your territories, which your predecessors have conquered from him for ill conduct, and which it seems you have not duly considered, nor will he be any way grateful for it.'

To this the king answered, that he was well aware the king of England and his predecessor had most justly forfeited the lands he held, and that he never meant to restore any thing but what he was in justice bounden to do. But he should make this restoration in order to confirm and strengthen that union which ought to exist between them and their children, who were cousins-german. The king added, 'And by thus acting, I think I shall do a very good work; for, in the first place, I shall establish a peace, and

shall then make him my vassal, which he is not yet, as he has never done me homage.'

The king, St Louis, was the man in the world who laboured most to maintain peace and concord among his subjects, more especially between the princes and barons of his realm, in particular between my uncle, the count de Châlons (cix), and his son, the count of Burgundy, who carried on a violent war after our return from Palestine. To make a peace between the father and son, he sent several of his council, at his own costs and charges, into Burgundy, and took such pains, that at length he concluded a peace between them. Through his interference, in like manner, was peace made between the second king Thibault of Navarre, and the counts of Châlons and Burgundy, who carried on a very disastrous war; but he sent part of his council thither, who appeased their differences, and concluded a peace.

After this peace, another serious war broke out between count Thibault de Bar (cx) and the count of Luxembourg, who had married his sister. They fought a duel with each other below Pigny, when the count de Bar made prisoner the count de Luxembourg, and won the castle of Ligny, that belonged to the latter in right of his wife. To put an end to this war, the king, at his own expense, sent thither his chamberlain, the lord Perron, in whom, of all his courtiers, he put the greatest confidence, who, in conjunction with the king, laboured so effectually that peace was restored.

His council sometimes reproved him for the great pains he took to make up the quarrels of foreigners, for that he acted wrong in preventing them from making war on each other, as peace would in consequence be more securely maintained. The king, in answer, told them, they did not advise what was right; 'for,' added he, 'if the princes and great barons, whose territories join mine, perceive that I suffer them to make war on each other with indifference, they may say among themselves, that the king of France allows them thus to act, through malice and ingratitude, and on that account they may unite and make an attack on my kingdom, which may suffer from it; and I shall, besides, incur the anger of God, who expressly says, 'Blessed are the peace-makers, for theirs is the kingdom of heaven.'

The Burgundians and Lorrainers perceiving so much goodness in the king, and the great pains he took to keep them at peace, had such an

affection for him that they were willing to obey his commands, and with much pleasure pleaded their private disputes in his presence. I saw them frequently come on this business to Paris, to Rheims, to Melun and elsewhere, as the king might happen to be.

The good king loved God and the blessed Virgin with such sincerity, that he severely punished every one that was guilty of villanous swearing (cxix), or of having used any indecent or beastly expression. I saw him once at Cæsarea order a silversmith to be pillowed (cxii) in his shirt and breeches, to the disgrace of the criminal; and I heard that, after his return from Palestine, while I was at Joinville, he caused a citizen of Paris to be burnt, and marked with a hot iron on the nose and under lip, for having blasphemed. I heard also, from the king's own mouth, that he would willingly be seared with a red-hot iron, and he was little able to bear such an operation, if he could banish from his kingdom all blasphemies and swearings.

I have been constantly with him for twenty-two years, but never in my life, for all the passions I have seen him in, did I hear him swear or blaspheme God, his holy mother, or any of the saints. When he wished to affirm any thing, he said, 'Truly it is so;' or, 'In truth, it is not so.' It was very clear that on no earthly consideration would he deny his God; for when the sultan and admirals of Egypt wanted to make that the condition, should he break the treaty, he would never consent; and when he was told this was the last proposal of the Turks, he replied, that he would rather die than commit such a crime.

I never heard him name or mention the word devil (cxiii), if it was not in some book that made it necessary; and it is very disgraceful to the princes and kingdom of France to suffer it, and hear the name; for you will see that in any dispute one will not say three words to another in abuse, but he will add, 'Go to the devil,' or other bad words. Now it is very shocking thus to send man or woman to the devil, when they are by baptism become the creatures of God. In my castle of Joinville, whoever makes use of this word is instantly buffeted, and the frequency of bad language is abolished there.

The holy king once asked me if I washed the feet of the poor on Thursday before Easter. I said I did not, for that I did not think it very becoming such a person as I was. The good king instantly replied,—‘ Ah, lord de Joinville, you ought not to disdain nor think unbecoming that which God has done for our example, when he washed the feet of his apostles, he who was their Lord and Master. I believe you would very unwillingly perform what the king of England, now with us, does. On this holy Thursday, he washes the feet of lepers, and then kisses them.’

Before this good king went to bed, he was often accustomed to have his children brought to him, and then related to them the brilliant actions and sayings of kings and other ancient princes, telling them to retain them well in their memory, to serve as examples. In like manner, he told them the deeds of wicked men, who, by their luxury, rapine, avarice and pride, had lost their honours and kingdoms, and that their deaths had been unfortunate. ‘ Such things,’ added the king, ‘ you will cautiously avoid doing like them, that you may not fall under the displeasure of God.’ He likewise taught them their prayers to the blessed Virgin, and heard them daily repeat the prayers for the day, according to the seasons, in order to accustom them to do the same, when they should be more advanced in years, and govern their country.

He was a most liberal almsgiver; for, whenever he travelled through his kingdom, he always visited the churches, the infirmaries and hospitals. He sought out distressed gentlemen, poor widows, and unmarried girls without fortune; and in every place where he found distress or want, he gave large sums of money. To poor beggars he ordered meat and drink, and I have often seen him cut the bread and pour out drink to them himself.

During his reign, he built and endowed several churches (cxiv), monasteries and abbeys; such as Reaumont, the abbey of St Anthony at Paris, the abbey du Lis, the abbey de Malboisson, and many more for the cordeliers and friars-preachers. He also erected the maison Dieu at Pontoise, that of Vernon, the house of the Quinze-vingts at Paris, and the abbey of cordeliers at St Cloud, which the princess Isabella, his sister,

founded at his request. When any benefices became vacant and were in his gift, before he provided for them, he made strict inquiry of proper persons respecting the situation and condition of those who asked for them, and whether they were men of letters and well informed. He would never allow those to whom he gave benefices, to hold more than was becoming their state, and he never gave them without having duly consulted those well qualified to give him good advice.

You will see below how he punished his bailiffs, judges, and other officers, when in fault, and the handsome new establishments he formed for the benefit of his kingdom of France. His ordinance runs thus :

‘ We Louis (cxv), by the grace of God, king of France, order, that all bailiffs, provosts, mayors, judges, receivers, and others in whatever office they may be, do each henceforth make oath, that during the time he shall hold such office, he will do strict justice to every one, without exception of person, as well to the poor as to the rich, to the stranger as well as to the resident, and will follow such laws and customs as have been found good and approved of. Should any one act contrary to his oath, we will, and expressly command, that he be punished in body and estate, according to the exigency of the case. We reserve to ourselves, and to our own discretion, the punishments that may be due to our bailiffs, judges and other officers, and also to those employed under them.

‘ Our treasurers, receivers, provosts, auditors of accounts, and other officers concerned in our finances, will swear that they will well and loyally guard our rents and domains, with all our rights, liberties and privileges, without suffering them in any way to be infringed upon, or abridged.

‘ They will not themselves accept of any gift or present, nor permit their clerks or other persons under them to do the same, nor consent to any presents being made to their wives or children, in order to gain their favour. Should any gift have been made, they will instantly and without delay restore it, or have it sent back. In like manner, they will not make any presents to any persons their superiors, to gain their favour and support. They will also swear that whenever they shall discover any officers, sergeants, or others who are robbers, and abuse their offices, for which they ought to be dismissed from

them, and our service, they will not conceal or disguise their guilt for any gift, favour, promise or otherwise; but that they will punish and correct them, as the case may require, with good faith and equity, and without any malice.

‘ We will, that the aforeaid oaths be taken before us, and that afterward they be proclaimed publicly before clerks, knights, lords, and the commonalty, in order that they may be better observed, and that those who have taken these oaths may be afraid of committing the sin of perjury, not only for the punishment that may ensue at our hands, but for fear of public disgrace, and the judgment of God hereafter.

‘ We likewise forbid and prohibit all our said bailiffs, provosts, mayors, judges, and others, our officers, either to swear by, or blaspheme the name of God, his holy mother, or the blessed saints in paradise, or to game with dice, or frequent taverns, or houses of ill fame, under penalty of deprivation of office, and undergoing such other punishment as their crimes may deserve. We order, likewise, that common prostitutes, and women too free of their favours, be put out of private houses, and separated from others of a different behaviour; and that no person let to hire any house or habitation for them to carry their libidinous trade, and vicious habits of luxury.

‘ We also forbid and prohibit any of our bailiffs, provosts, mayors, or others, our officers, to have the boldness to acquire, or purchase, by themselves, or others, any lands, or other possessions, in the districts over which they have been appointed to administer justice, without our being previously made acquainted therewith, and our leave and licence first had and obtained. Should they act otherwise, we will and declare that such lands and possessions, so acquired, be confiscated to our benefit.

‘ In like manner, we forbid any of our aforeaid superior officers, so long as they shall be in our service, to marry their sons, daughters, or other relations they may have, to any persons within their bailiwicks or district, without our special permission first obtained. We also include, within the above prohibitions of acquisitions of property and marriage, all other inferior judges, or other subalterns of office.

‘ We likewise forbid any bailiff, provost, or other, to have too great a number of sergeants or beaules, so that the people may be aggrieved thereat.

‘ We also forbid any of our subjects to be personally arrested or imprisoned for any debts of theirs, but what may be owed to the crown, and that any fine be levied on any of our subjects for debt.

‘ We likewise ordain that those who may hold our provostships, viscountships, or other offices, do not sell nor transfer them to any other person without our consent. And when several are in one office we order that one of them do its duties for all.

‘ We forbid, likewise, any disseizure of possession without assigning a proper reason for it, or having our special commands to that purpose. We order that there be no additional taxes raised, nor any other imposts or customs whatever.

‘ We will that our bailiffs, provosts, mayors, viscounts, and other our officers, who shall at any time be deprived of their offices, and dismissed our service, do remain after such dismissal forty days (cxvi), within the districts where their appointments lay, either personally, or by sufficient proxy, to answer to those who shall be their successors, to such questions as they shall ask, touching their evil deeds, and the complaints made against them.’

By these regulations, the king greatly improved the state of his kingdom, inasmuch that every one lived in peace and security. You must know that in former times the office of the provostship of Paris was sold to the highest bidder (cxvii), whence it happened that many robberies, and other crimes, were committed, and justice was corrupted at its source, by favour of friends, gifts, or promises. The common people were afraid of dwelling in the open country of France, which, by this means, was almost a desert. Oftentimes there were not ten prisoners when the provost held his assizes, notwithstanding the multitude of crimes that were daily committed. For this he would not that the provostship should be sold, as it was an office he would give to some wise and upright man with a sufficient salary for his expenses, and to support his dignity. He also abolished all the heavy taxes (cxviii) that had before weighed on the common people.

He made inquiry throughout the realm for a learned and honest man, who understood the laws, and would rigorously punish malefactors, without regarding the rich more than the poor. In consequence of this, Stephen Boileau (cxix) was brought to him, to whom he gave the provostship of Paris, and who ever after did wonders in the said office, so that henceforth no robber, murderer or other malefactor could remain in Paris, without his having instant knowledge thereof, and he was sure to be hanged or punished very severely according to the greatness of his guilt. No friends, relations or money, could prevent him from acting on every occasion with the strictest justice. In a short time, population increased so much throughout the realm, from the justice and uprightness that reigned, that the estates, rents and revenues of the kingdom were in one year nearly doubled, and the country was very much improved.

From his earliest youth, he was very compassionate to the poor, and those under misfortune (cxx), which so much increased as he grew up that during his reign he was accustomed to feed daily six score poor people at his table in whatever part of the kingdom he might be. In Lent, the numbers of the poor were greater; and oft-times I have seen him serve them himself, and from his own table. On the vigils of annual festivals (cxxi) before he had eaten or drank, he served the poor, who, when fed, carried away a certain sum of money each. In short, the king St Louis gave away such immense sums in alms that they cannot be told nor counted. Some of his household (cxxii) murmured at these great gifts and alms, saying he was too extravagant in these expenses; but the good king replied, that he had rather spend such large sums in alms, than in follies and vanity. However, for all this expense in alms, he did not keep the less grand household (cxxiii), which was costly and liberal, and such as became so great a prince. He was naturally generous; and during the parliaments and councils that were held for the establishment of his new regulations, he entertained daily at his court all the lords and knights that attended them, with greater magnificence than any of his predecessors had done. He was attached to all who served God, and in consequence founded many monasteries and religious houses in various parts of his realm, and even surrounded Paris with different orders of religion, whose houses he founded and endowed with his own money.

After he had arranged his new establishments, he summoned all the barons of his realm to meet him during the Lent at Paris. He sent for me at Joinville, and I thought to excuse myself from going on account of a quartan ague that I had ; but he sent me word, that he had enough of people who knew how to cure a quartan ague, and that from the love I bore him I must come to Paris. I obeyed, but when I was there I could never find out why he had thus summoned all the great barons of his kingdom. It happened, on the festival of our Lady in March, that I fell asleep during matin service. In my sleep, I thought I saw the king on his knees before an altar, and that he was surrounded by many prelates, who clothed him with a red chafuble, that was of serge of Rheims. When I awakened, I told one of my chaplains, who was a learned man, my dream, who informed me that the king was the next day to put on the cross. I asked him, how he knew this : he replied, by what I had told him of my vision ; and that the red chafuble I had seen him clothed with, signified the Cross of our Lord JESUS CHRIST, which was dyed with the precious blood he had shed for us : and as the chafuble was of serge of Rheims, the crusade would be of a short duration ; and the truth of what he said I should be witness to on the morrow.

Now, on the next day, the king and his three sons did put on the cross (cxxxv) ; and the crusade was a trifling business, as the chaplain had foretold to me the preceding day. This made me consider it as a prophecy. When this was done, the king of France and the king of Navarre pressed me strongly to put on the cross, and undertake a pilgrimage with them : but I replied, that when I was before beyond sea, on the service of God, the officers of the king of France had so grievously oppressed my people that they were in a state of poverty, inasmuch that we should have great difficulty to recover ourselves ; and that I saw clearly, were I to undertake another crusade, it would be the total ruin of my people. I have heard many say since, that those who had advised him to this crusade had been guilty of a great crime, and had sinned deadly. As long as he remained in his kingdom of France, every thing went on well, and all lived peaceably and in security, but the moment he left it, things began to decline. They were criminal in another respect, for the good king was so weakened in his

body that he could not support the weight of his armour, nor remain long on horseback. I remember that I was once forced to carry him in my arms from the house of the count d'Auxerre as far as the convent of the cordeliers, when we landed on our return from Palestine.

Of his expedition to Tunis I will say nothing, for I was not of it, and am resolved not to insert any thing in this book but what I am perfectly certain is true. But I will say, that, during the time the good king Saint Louis was at Tunis, and before the castle of Carthage, he was seized with a dysentery: the lord Philip, his eldest son, was attacked with the same disorder, and a quartan ague. The good king took to his bed, and, well knowing he was about to quit this life for another, called to his children, and, addressing himself to his eldest son, gave them instructions, which he commanded them to consider as his last will, and the objects which they were to attend to when he should be deceased. I have heard that the good king had written out these instructions with his own hand, and that they were as follows (cxxv):

‘ Fair son, the first advice that I shall give thee is, that with all thy heart, and above all other things, thou love God, for without this no man can be saved. Be most careful not to do any thing that may displease Him; that is to say, avoid sin. Thou oughtest to desire to suffer any torments rather than sin mortally. Should God send thee adversity, receive it patiently, give him thanks for it, and believe that thou hast well deserved it, and that it will turn out to thine honour. Should he grant thee prosperity, be humbly grateful for it; but take care thou do not become worse, through pride or presumption, for it behoves us not to make war against God for his gifts. Confess thyself often, and choose such a discreet and wise confessor as may have abilities to point out to thee the things necessary for thy salvation, and what things thou oughtest to shun; and mayest thou be such a character, that thy confessor, relations, and acquaintance, may boldly reprove thee for any wrong thou mayest have done, and instruct thee how thou shouldest act. Attend the service of God, and of our mother church, with heartfelt devotion, more particularly the mass, from the consecration of the holy body of our Lord, without

laughing (cxxxvi) or gossiping (cxxxvii) with any one. Have always a compassionate heart for the poor, and assist and comfort them as much as thou canst.

‘ Keep up and maintain good manners in thy kingdom : abase and punish the bad. Preserve thyself from too great luxury ; and never lay any heavy imposts on thy people, unless through necessity forced to it, or for the defence of thy country. If thy heart feel any discomfort, tell it instantly to thy confessor, or to any sober-minded person, that is not full of wicked words : thou mayest thus more easily bear it, from the consolation he may give thee. Be careful to choose such companions as are honest and loyal, and not full of vices, whether they be churchmen, monks, seculars, or others.

‘ Avoid the society of the wicked ; and force thyself to listen to the word of God, and to retain it in thy heart. Beg continually in thy prayers for pardon, and the remission of thy sins. Love thine honour. Take care not to suffer any one to dare utter words in thy presence that may excite to sin, nor any calumny of another, whether he be present or absent ; nor any thing disrespectful of God, his holy mother, or of the saints.

‘ Offer thanks frequently to God for the prosperity and other good things he gives thee. Be upright, and do justice strictly to all, to the poor and to the rich. Be liberal and good to thy servants, but firm in thy orders, that they may fear and love thee as their master. If any controversy or dispute arise, inquire into it until thou comest to the truth, whether it be in thy favour or against thee. If thou possess any thing that does not belong to thee, or that may have come to thee from thy predecessors, and thou be informed for a truth that it is not thine, cause it instantly to be restored to its proper owner. Be particularly attentive that thy subjects live in peace and security, as well in the towns as in the country. Maintain such liberties and franchises as thy ancestors have done, and preserve them inviolate ; for by the riches and power of thy principal towns thy enemies will be afraid of affronting or attacking thee, more especially thy equals, thy barons, and such like.

‘ Love and honour all churchmen, and be careful not to deprive them of any gifts, revenues, or alms which thy ancestors or predecessors may have

granted to them. It is reported of my grandfather Philip, that when one of his counsellors told him that the churchmen were making him lose his revenues, royalties, and even his rights of justice, and that he was surprised how he suffered it: the king replied, that he believed it was so, but that God had shewn him so much favour, and granted him such prosperity, that he had rather lose all he had, than have any dispute or contention with the servants of his holy church.

‘ Be to thy father and mother dutiful and respectful, and avoid angering them by thy disobedience to their just commands. Give such benefices as may become vacant to discreet persons of a pure conversation, and give them with the advice of well-advised, prudent persons. Avoid going to war with any Christian power, without mature deliberation, and if it can in any wise be prevented. If thou goest to war, respect churchmen and all who have done thee no wrong. Should contentions arise between thy vassals, put an end to them as speedily as possible.

‘ Attend frequently to the conduct of thy bailiffs, provosts, and others thy officers: inquire into their behaviour, in order that if there may be any amendment to be made in their manner of distributing justice, thou mayest make it. Should any disgraceful sin, such as blasphemy or heresy, be prevalent in thy kingdom, have it instantly destroyed, and driven thence. Be careful that thou keep a liberal establishment, but with economy.

‘ I beseech thee, my child, that thou hold me, and my poor soul, in thy remembrance when I am no more, and that thou succour me by masses, prayers, intercessions, alms and benefactions, throughout thy kingdom, and that thou allot for me a part of all the good acts thou shalt perform.

‘ I give thee every blessing that father ever bestowed on son, beseeching the whole Trinity of paradise, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, to preserve and guard thee from all evils, more particularly that thou die not under any deadly sin, and that we may, after this mortal life, appear together before God, to render him praise and thanksgiving, without ceasing, in his kingdom of paradise. Amen.’

When the good king, St Louis, had finished giving the above instructions to the lord Philip, his son, his disorder so greatly increased, that he asked for the sacraments of the holy church, which were duly administered to

him, whilst he enjoyed full life, and perfect memory. This was very apparent when they came to the unction; for when they chaunted the seven penitential psalms, he himself repeated the responses with the assistants, who replied to the priest that was anointing him. I have since heard from my lord the count d'Alençon, his son (cxxxviii), that while the good king was in the agonies of death, he made efforts to call on all the saints in paradise to come and aid him in his distress. He in particular called on my lord St James, in repeating his prayer, which begins 'Esto Domine.' He prayed to my lord St Denis of France, in words that were nearly as follows: 'Lord God give us grace to have the power of despising and forgetting the things of this world, so that we may not fear any evil.' He called, likewise, on St Genevieve. He then ordered his body to be placed on a bed of ashes, and, crossing his hands on his breast, with eyes uplifted to heaven, rendered his soul back to his Creator (cxxxix), at the very same hour that our Lord JESUS CHRIST expired on the cross for the salvation of his people.

The death of this holy prince was a melancholy event (cxxx) and worthy of lamentation; for he had lived like a saint, had well taken care of his kingdom, and done many religious acts towards God. As an author has his book finely illuminated that greater honour and respect may be paid to it, so our late holy king had illuminated his country by his great alms, and by the churches and monasteries that he had erected and founded in his life-time, in which, at this moment, God is praised and adored day and night. The good king departed from this life to another on the morrow after the feast of St Bartholomew, and his corpse was brought to St Denis in France (cxxxix), and was buried in the spot he had some time before fixed on for his sepulture: in which place, God has, through his intercessions, done many and great miracles (cxxxii).

Soon after, by orders from the holy pontiff at Rome, a prelate of France, who was archbishop of Rouen (cxxxiii), in company with another bishop, came to St Denis, where they remained a long time, making inquiries into the life of the good king St Louis. They summoned me before them, and I staid there two days in relating all I knew of his life and manners. When they had made every necessary inquiry respecting this good king, they carried with them their report to Rome; where, having thoroughly canvassed it,

they placed him among the saints in paradise. This was undoubtedly joyful news to France, and ought to be so to the whole kingdom, and a great honour to his descendants, particularly such as may follow his example, but dishonourable to those who shall not; and they will be pointed at by the fingers of the public, who will say, the holy man, had he been alive, would never have done such disgraceful acts.

When intelligence of his canonisation was brought from Rome, the king appointed a day for the raising of his holy body (cxxxiv), which was done by the then archbishop of Rheims, and it was borne by sir Henry de Villiers, archbishop of Lyon, and by several archbishops and bishops, whose names I do not remember. After its translation, friar John de Semours (cxxxv) preached a public sermon. Among the many traits of the life of this holy king which he dwelt upon, was one which I had told him; I mean, his great fidelity to his word; for, as I have before said, whenever he had simply given his word to the Saracens on any subject, there was nothing that could prevent him from most strictly keeping it, whatever might be the consequences; nor, for one hundred thousand livres, would he have broken his word. Friar John, in his sermon, detailed the whole life of this good king, as I have indited it. On the sermon being ended, the king and his brothers carried the corpse of their father (cxxxvi) to the church of St Denis, assisted by others of their relations, to do honour to the corpse of him who had done them great honour, if they did not deprive themselves of it by their own faults, as I have before said.

I must mention something more in honour to the good king St Louis. I was on a certain day in my chapel of Joinville, when I thought I saw him resplendent with glory before me. I was very proud to see him thus in my castle, and said to him, 'Sire, when you shall depart hence I will conduct you to another of my castles that I have at Chevillon, where you shall also be lodged.' Methought he answered me with a smile, 'Lord de Joinville, from my affection to you, I will not, since I am here, depart hence so soon.' When I awakened, I bethought myself, that it was the pleasure of God, and his own, that I should lodge him in my chapel, and instantly afterward I had an altar erected to the honour of God, and of him. I also founded a perpetual mass for every day in honour of God and St Louis. These

things have I told to the king Louis, in order that by my endeavours to please God, and my late lord, I might obtain some part of the relics of the real holy body of St Louis to decorate my chapel of Joinville with, to induce those who shall see his altar to pay greater devotion to the saint.

I now make known to my readers, that all they shall find in this little book, which I have declared to have seen and known, is true, and what they ought most firmly to believe. As for such things as I have mentioned as hearsay, they will understand them just as they shall please. And I beseech God, through the prayers of my lord St Louis, that it may please him to give us such things as he knows to be necessary, as well for the body as the soul. Amen.

END OF THE MEMOIRS.

NOTES.

VOL. I.

KK

NOTES

ON THE

MEMOIRS OF THE LORD DE JOINVILLE,

BY CHARLES DU FRESNE, SIEUR DU CANGE,

&c. &c.

(1) *High Steward.* THE lords of Joinville do not seem to have assumed this addition to their title in any old deeds or charters we have seen, but simply that of *seneschal*, which they have pretended to be hereditary in their family, as we have noticed in their genealogy. They might have been justified in adding it, for in this quality they had the superiority and command over all the other *seneschals* and *bailiffs* in Champagne.

The counts of Provence, of Perche, of Ponthieu, the dukes of Guyenne, and other great lords of the realm, had, in like manner, their *seneschals*, who acted as presidents at the *assizes* of their *bailiffs*, through the extent of their *bailiwicks*.

The ordinance of Edward I. king of England, which is now to be seen in the register of the constablewick of Bourdeaux, page 78. regulates the function of high steward of Guyenne, enjoining him, among other things,

to establish deputy seneschals and bailiffs, to visit the bailiwicks at least once a year, and to preside at the assizes, &c.

(II) *Louis, his eldest son.* He was born in the year 1244, and died when sixteen years old, in 1260.—Nangius in S. Lud. p. 340.

(III) *A Scotfman.* I know not if the lord de Joinville here speaks of the Scots as of a people very distant from France, and who inhabited what was called the Ultima Thule, or whether he wished to mark the character of this nation, which delighted so much in travelling to different countries, that there was scarcely a kingdom wherein great numbers of them were not to be found. This is noticed by Walfridus Strabo in the forty-sixth chapter of the second book of his life of St Gal. Owing to this love of emigrating, we read that in almost every part of France there were hospitals founded for them, of which mention is made in the capitularies of Charles le Chauve, tit. 6. and 23. In Synodo Meld. cap. 14. and in the charter of the foundation of the abbey of Walcourt, in the diocese of Namur, published by Miræus in diplom. Belg. Lib. 2. cap. 22. See also, on this subject, Innocent. Ciron. lib. 1. Observat. Jur. Canon. cap. 13.

(IV) *Sendal, or cendal, which is what we call Taffety.* The Italians call it Zendado and Zendalo. The latin authors of the middle age express this word as differently. Hariulfus in chr. Centul. lib. 3. cap. 3. Melnæ fericæ 3. Ex pisce 1. Ex cendalo 4. Chr. Fontanell, cap. 16. Cafulas 5. Cindadas 12. Coloris diversi. Concil. 1. Salisburg. In pileis suffuraturas non habeant nisi forté de nigro centato, vel parmo. Concil, Senon. an. 1346. cap. 2. prohibens à parte exteriori almutias de cendesco, seu de velveto deferre. Rolandin in Chr. lib. 4. cap. 9. Tunc accessit unus de popularibus Paduæ ad cendatum pendens de sublimi antennâ Carocii, &c. This word is used also by our poets. Philip Mouskes, in his life of Chilperick, says,

‘ Si prisent mult or et argent,
Muls, et palefrois et cevaux,
Et vairs et gris, et bons cendaus.’

In the romance of Garin le Loherans, there is
 ‘ La vieffiés ces haubers endoffer,
 Et ces enseignes de Cendau venteler.’

In the account of Stephen de la Fontaine, who was silversmith to the king, in the year 1351, which is in the chamber of accounts at Paris, there is this article, ‘ For two bundles of scarlet cendal, 120 crowns. For one bundle of yellow cendal, 52 crowns,’ &c.

(v) *Mezeau et ladre*. These two words are synonymous, and signify lepers, of whom, at that period, there were numbers, more especially in the holy land. Nangis, in the life of Dagobert, says, ‘ Leens étoit demouré un Mezel qui s’étoit bouté et mufié en un anglet.’ Philippes de Beaumanoir, chap. 62. says, ‘ When Lepers call to them a holy man, or a holy man calls to a leper, the leper may put himself in a state of defence, because he is out of the protection of the law.’ In an old manuscript law-book of Normandy, it is declared, ‘ That the mezel (leper) cannot be heir to any one, since the disorder is visibly increasing, but that he may possess the inheritance he had before he became a leper.’ In the assizes of Jerusalem, ch. 128. ‘ Whoever pleases may challenge and claim at the assizes any male or female slave he had bought, whether leper or not, or afflicted with any other filthy disorder.’

The Reclus de Moliens has,

‘ Que tes oreilles estoupas
 Au mesel pauvre pèlerin
 Lazaron, fans qui tu foupas.’

The Italians use the word *mifelle*, particularly John Villani, l. 8. ch. 108. The latin authors call them *mifelli*. Matthew Paris says, in the year 1254, ‘ Ecclesiæ S. Juliani ubi mifelli, et ecclesiæ S. Mariæ de Pratis, ubi mifellæ vix habent vitæ necessaria. Mifelli de Meleduno.’ They are mentioned in a title-deed of the year 1165, in the *Melanges Historiques* du Pere Labbe. See the life of S. Cler, abbot of Vienne in Bolandus, ch. 3. n. 6. From all which it should seem, that this expression has been taken from the latin word *mifellus*, miserable.

The hospitals to which lepers retired are called *misellariæ* in old charters. One of the year 1245, in a register of the counts of Toulouse in the chamber of accounts at Paris, fol. 45. has the following: ‘Concessit Galhardæ de Metz et Bertrando de Miravel, leprosis, et omnibus fratribus et fororibus, domus misellariæ portæ Narbonensis,’ &c. See also the memoirs of Languedoc by Catel, p. 262. The leprosy is also called by the same term in the french and latin glossary, ‘lepra, elephantia, mesellerie.’

In the poem of ‘The Pilgrimage of Human Life,’ are these lines:

‘Homs, qui ne fet bien discerner
Entre fanté et maladie,
Entre le grant mesellerie,
Entre le moienne et le menre,’ &c.

(vi) *Mufard*. Idler, one who amuses himself by doing nothing. William Guiart, in the year 1208, says,

‘Sont-il bien tous mufars et nices.’

The Art of a ditty or ballad maker, &c. in MS. by the prior of Saint Genevieve de Marry, in a rondeau, says,

‘Je ne veuil plus à vous, dame, muser,
Vous pouvez bien querir autre mufart,
Tart m’appercoy que on m’ a fait muser;
Je ne veuil plus,’ &c.

Adalberon bishop of Laon, in his poem dedicated to king Robert, says,

‘Si mufas celebres, clament mufarde facerdos.’

(vii) *Gilles de Bruyn*. It should be *le Brun*, which was the surname of Gilles de Trassegnies, constable of France. He was son of Gilles lord of Trassegnies, constable of Flanders, who died on the road as he was accompanying the expedition against Constantinople, as is noticed in the history of Geoffry de Villehardouin, n. 27. & 121. by Alicia de Boulers, daughter to Nicholas de Boulers by the daughter of Eustache lord of Roeux. This Alicia was first married to Philippes de Harne, constable of Flanders; secondly, to Gilles de Trassegnies; and thirdly, to Rasse lord of

Gaure, as I learn from a manuscript genealogy of the family of Traffegnies, to which may be added what Aubertus Miræus has written in notit. eccl. Belg. c. 110. and in Chr. Belg. A. 1235.

With respect to Gilles le Brun, he was raised by St Louis to the dignity of constable after the death of Imbert de Beaujeu. The sieur Heméré, in his history of the town of St Quentin, refers to some title-deeds signed by him of the year 1256, in which he styles himself ‘Ægidius, dictus li Bruns, de Traffegnies, constabularius Franciæ.’ There is another by him of the year 1262, in the fourth book of the antiquities of Paris, by Sauval.

Baudouin d’Avesnes, p. 595. and the author of the history of the descendants of the house of Coucy, give him for daughter Mary, wife to Thomas lord of Mortagne. The history of France, which is in manuscript in the library of monsieur de Meſmes, remarks, that the king St Louis gave him the command of the troops which he sent into Italy to conquer Sicily, and, describing the battle of Beneventum, says, ‘William le Brun, constable of France, who was there as lieutenant for the king St Louis, had likewise the wardship of Robert, son to the earl of Flanders.’

William Guiart, in the year 1264, speaking of the same enterprise, says,

‘ En l’autre est Robers de Bethune,
 Qui fa gent pour les introduire,
 Fait a Gilles le brun conduire.
 Cil iert, lors mareschal * de France,
 Ces deus ont en leur alliance,
 Sans ce qu’ aucuns d’eus les elloigne,
 Flamens, & ceus devers Boloigne.’

This is likewise noticed by Giovan. Villani, b. 7. c. 4. and 8. Claude Ménard and others, by following du Tillet, have been grossly mistaken when they published that Gilles de Traffegnies was of the house of Lusignan, because the surname of le Brun was commonly used by that family. It is probable that this surname was given to distinguish him from his father, who had the same Christian name, or perhaps from the colour of his

* Connétable.

complexion or hair, as a lady is called by Aufonius, for the like reason in Parental. Carm. 5. Maura.

‘ Nomen huic jocularè datum, cute fusca quod olim
Æquales inter maura vocata fuit.’

Thus the emperor John Comnenes, son to Alexis Comnenes, was furnamed Maurus, according to William archbishop of Tyre, book 15. ch. 23. because he was ‘ carne et capillo niger ;’ which is also noticed by Anna Comnena, sister to this emperor, in page 168. of her Alexiade. We frequently find in our history several persons called Albi, on account of the whiteness of their skin.

With regard to our author calling Gilles de Traffegnies his brother, I presume it was in consequence of a firm friendship which they might have formed at the court of the king St Louis, or perhaps because they were brothers in arms.

(VIII) *Master Robert de Sorbon*, founder of the college of the Sorbonne at Paris, called after his name. Father du Breuil, in the second book of his *Antiquities of Paris*, and Etienne Pasquier, in the seventh book of his *Recherches*, chapter 15. have spoken of him at length ; but as the time of his death has not been noticed, I have thought I should oblige the public if I communicated, in this place, the two following pieces which I received, with several others, from M. de Vyon, lord of Herouval, auditor of accounts at Paris. The first is the will of Robert de Sorbonne, dated 1270, about which time he probably died, or at least before 1274, as will be perceived from the piece which follows the undercited.

‘ Universis præsentis litteras inspecturis officialis curiæ parisiensis salutem in Domino. Notum facimus quod in nostra præsentia propter hoc constitutus vir venerabilis magister Robertus de Sorbona canonicus parisiensis, in plena sua sanitate et compos mentis suæ, prout prima facie apparebat, volens sibi præcavere in futurum, de bonis suis immobilibus ordinavit in hunc modum. Primo enim omnia bona sua immobilia quæ tenet in manu mortua, videlicet, vineas, domos, census, cum eorum pertinentiis, quæ acquisivit Paris. seu in confinio ejus, vel acquireret in

manu mortua usque ad diem mortis ejus, dedit donatione inter vivos congregationi pauperum magistrorum Paris. studentium in theologica facultate, quorum diu provisor extitit, et nunc, dominium et proprietatem dictorum bonorum in ipsos pauperes magistros transferendo. Item dilectum suum virum venerabilem magistrum Gaufridum de Barro, canonicum parisiensem post decessum ipsius magistri Roberti suum constituit hæredem, videlicet, aliorum bonorum suorum immobilium, quæ non tænet in manu mortua videlicet vinearum, domorum, censuum, feodi, cum eorum pertinentiis, seu appendiciis, quæ acquisivit Paris. vel in confinio ejus, vel quæ acquireret usque ad diem mortis suæ, excepta duntaxat domo quadam sita in monte S. Genovisæ prope domum magistri Geroldi de Abbatisvilla, de qua aliter ordinavit, ut dicebat; conferens et concedens prædictus tam ipsius magistri Roberti, eidem magistro magister Robertus ex tunc, scilicet post mortem Gaufrido, tanquam hæredi suo, ut dictum est, omnium prædictorum immobilium, quæ non sunt in manu mortua, totum jus quod habebat, vel habere poterat in præmissis omnibus qualicumque ratione, salvo sibi quamdiu vixerit prædictus magister Robertus in omnibus et singulis cum proprietate præmissorum usufructu, volens, si quidem et concedens expresse quod dictus magister Gaufridus hæres institutus, ut dictum est, teneat et possideat post decessum ipsius magistri Roberti omnia supra dicta, tanquam hæres pacifice et quiete absque reclamazione et contradictione qualibet hæredum suorum carnalium, seu etiam aliorum quorumcumque, tali apposita conditione ex parte ipsius Magistri Roberti, quod dictus magister Gaufridus hæres præmissorum institutus, ut dictum est, pro eodem magistro Roberto omnibus creditoribus suis satisfacere teneatur de omnibus debitis, in quibus nunc tenetur, vel ea quæ tenebitur tempore mortis suæ. Voluit et prædictus magister Robertus quod de bonis prædictis provideretur Joanni de Castellario clerico suo in burfa et hospitio, sicut uni de pauperibus magistris provideretur, five audiat logicam, five theologiam, donec domibus sibi providerit de beneficio competenti. De bonis autem suis mobilibus per alios ordinavit, ut dicebat. Hæc itaque omnia voluit prædictus magister Robertus rata esse, et firma, nisi eum in vita sua contingeret de iis aliter ordinare. In cujus rei testimonium præsentis litteras sigillo curiæ parisiensis

una cum sigillo ipsius magistri Roberti fecimus sigillari. Actum ann. Dom. 1270 in die sancti Michælis.'

'Universis præsentibus litteras inspect. magister Gaufridus de Barro decanus parisiensis æternam in Dom. salutem. Noveritis quod nos omnia bona, quorum vir venerabilis bonæ memoriæ magister Robertus de Sorbonio, canonicus parisiensis suum constituit nos hæredem, pietatis intuitu in puram et perpetuam eleemosynam donamus donatione inter vivos congregationi pauperum magistrorum, seu ipsis pauperibus magistris Paris. in theologica facultate studentibus, quorum diu provisor extitit magister ante dictus, ex nunc dominium et proprietatem dictorum bonorum cum eorum pertinentiis, seu appendiciis, cum omni jure quod in præmissis omnibus et singulis qualicunque ratione habemus, seu habere possumus, in ipsos Pauperes magistros transferendo, hac conditione apposita, quod dicti magistri et eorum congregatio et provisor eorum nomine dictæ congregationis, et ipsorum magistrorum, et pro ipsis teneantur satisfacere omnibus creditoribus dicti magistri Roberti, et omnibus debitis, in quibus dictus magister Robertus tenebatur tempore mortis suæ, et ad omnia onera in quibus tenemur vel teneri possumus occasione hæreditatis prædictæ. In cujus rei testimonium sigillum nostrum præsentibus duximus apponendum anno Domini 1274, mense Novembri.'

Robert de Sorbonne was a subscribing witness to the will of Gerard d'Abbeville, doctor of divinity and archdeacon of Ponthieu in the year 1271, as is noticed in the history of the seven ecclesiastical orders of the church of Abbeville, page 206.

(IX) *Et parlions conseil.* 'Parler conseil et conseiller,' in this instance, means to converse secretly, and is a mode of expression made use of by Villehardouin in like manner. A manuscript romance, called 'The Doctrinal,' says,

'Certe j'ay grant merveille d'une caitive gent,
Qui blasment les pseudommes a conseil coient.'

The French express themselves in this manner, similar to some latin authors of the middle age who use the word *consiliari*, which signifies to

practise a secret conspiracy against any one. ‘Lex Saxon. tit. 3. § 1. qui in regnum, vel regem Francorum, vel in filios ejus de morte confiliatus fuerit, capite puniatur. Confiliari contra animam Regis, in leg. Longob. lib. 1. tit. 1. § 1. Annales Franc. et Chron. Reicherfperg. an. 788. Comprobatus est ad avaros se postea transtulisse, et in vitam fidelium regis confiliaffe.’

(x) *Chasteil*, or *Catel*, *Cateux*: ‘*Catallum*,’ in latin authors, signifies chattels. See the glossaries of Spelman, of Watfius, of Vossius, of Ragueau, &c.

(xi) *Thibaud his son*, rather his son-in-law; that is to say, Thibaud II. king of Navarre, who had married Isabella daughter of St Louis.

(xii) *A faithful executor*. The office of executors of wills consists particularly in discharging pious legacies, and in the distribution of the alms of the testators; for which reason they are called *Eleemosynarii* in the capitularies of Charles the bald, tit. 43. § 12. and elsewhere. *Eleemosynatores*, in an ancient charter reported by M. Perard in his memoirs of Burgundy. *Erogatores*, in the laws of the Lombards, l. 2. tit. 20. § 5. and *Eragotorii*, in Synodo Pontigon, cap. 14. Balde ad, l. nulli c. de epis. et cleric. uses this last word for testamentary executors, which seems to have been taken from the lawyers of the middle ages, who mention those that distributed food to the soldiery, whom the Law, 16 cod. de Castrensi pecul. lib. 12. calls ‘*Erogatores militaris annonæ*:’ of whom St Gregory speaks, lib. 7. ind. 2. epist. 77. and 130. Cassiodorus likewise notices them in lib. 12. epist. 11. In the greek and latin glossary, *ἐξοδίζω*, *Erogo*, *expendo*. Elsewhere, *ἐξοδισμός*, *Erogatio*, *distributio*.

Browerus, lib. 2. Antiq. fuld. cap. 10. remarks, that there was in the monasteries an officer called ‘*Testamentarius*, penes quem fuit dispositio piorum legatorum, seu ab exteris ea, seu a domesticis proficiscerentur, velut hac in re fidelium testamenta exequerentur.’ The same person is commonly called *Eleemosynarius*, whose function is described by Lanfrancus in decreto pro ord. S. Benedic. cap. 8. § 3. and Udalricus, lib. 3. consuet. Cluniac. cap. 24.

The lord de Joinville is laughing at those who, having committed atrocious acts of plunder during their lives, imagine they may acquit themselves before God by giving alms to some monasteries or churches. ‘ Non probatur largitas, si quod alteri largitur, alteri extorqueat, si injuste quærat, et iuste dispensandum putet,’ as St Ambrose writes, l. 1. de offic. c. 30. St Peter Chrysologos, in his fifty-fourth sermon, says, ‘ Audeo dicere, qui de fraude Deo offert, cumulat crimina, non emundat: quia Deus in tali munere exuvias fuorum pauperum, non misericordias intuetur. Sine causa Deo plorat, quem iuste causa pauperis ploraverit Deo.’

(XIII) *The earl of Brittany.* John I. of the name, and who is noticed in several parts of this history. He died the 8th of October 1286, and was father to John II. duke of Brittany, deceased in the year 1305. It is apparent from this, that the lord de Joinville wrote his history; or at least augmented or corrected it, at different times; for in this part he says, that John II. was still alive, and elsewhere he speaks of Guy de Dampierre, earl of Flanders, and of his death which happened at Compiègne in this same year 1305.

(XIV) *Bondmen.* There was a noble family in Champagne which bore the surname of Sorbonne, a place of which that family possessed the lordship, and from whence it is maintained that Robert de Sorbonne was descended, because he was surnamed de Sorbonne, according to the custom of those times.

(XV) *Fin camelin* is what we call camlet, a sort of stuff made from the hair of camels. In the accounts of Stephen de la Fontaine, silversmith to the king, in 1351, is this article, ‘ Pour fourrer une cote hardie de camelin de Chasteau-landon.’ The camelet of Amiens is elsewhere mentioned: see les Origènes de la langue Française de M. Menage.

(XVI) *His furcoat.* A sort of dress, or robe, common to men and women. In the accounts quoted in the preceding note is an article, ‘ For three pieces and a half of fine velvet in grain, given to the afore said.

Eustache, to make a furcoat, a drefs mantle, and a hat lined with ermines for the king, against the feast of the star, &c. For the said furcoat, a fur lining of three hundred and forty six ermines, for the sleeves and wristbands sixty; for the frock three hundred and thirty-six,* &c.

Philippe Mouskes, in his life of Charlemagne :

‘ A tousjors en ivier si ot
A mances un nouviel furcot,
Fourré de vair et de goupis *,
Pour garder son cors et son pis †.’

In the romance of the said knight.

‘ Ains qu’on vist laube crever,
A le court vint devant dîner,
Son furcot ala despouiller.’

Isaacus Pontanus, in the description of Denmark, page 801, remarks, that among the Danes the word *ferk* signifies a woman’s drefs. It may be that the French have borrowed this term from the Normans, who frequently ravaged France; but it is more probable that this drefs was so called from being worn over the coat. This name was afterwards given to the robes of the men. However that may be, I believe it was this sort of drefs that Reginon heard spoken of in the year 753. ‘ Et vidi ante altare D. Petrum et magistrum gentium D. Paulum, et tota mente illos recognovi de illorum furcariis.’ This last word I suppose ought to be *furcotiis*.

(xvii). *Garbun*. In Italian *Garbino*. A wind called by sailors south-west.

(xviii). *Sacrament*. Geoffry de Beaulieu, ch. 29. writes that the king, Saint Louis, being obliged to embark to return to France from the holy land: ‘ Ex devotione sua fecit poni in navi corpus Domini J. C. pro communicandis infirmis, ac pro se ipso et suis, quando sibi expediens videretur, et quia alii peregrini quantumcumque magni hoc facere non solebant obtinuit super hoc a Domino legato licentiam specialem. Hunc

* Fox skins.

† Breast.

autem sacrum Theſaurum in loco navis digniſſimo et convenientiſſimo fecit poni, et pretioſum tabernaculum ibi eregi, panisque ſericis, et aureis operiri,' &c.

Our author hereafter notices the ſame thing reſpecting the holy ſacrament, which was diſplayed in the ſhip of St Louis. It is, however, certain, that before this period the pious, when they embarked on the ſeas, were accuſtomed to carry with them the holy eucharift. St Ambroſe in lib. de obitu Satyri fratris, ſays,—‘ Qui priuſquam perfectioribus eſſet initiatus miſterii in naufragio conſtitutus cum ea qua veheretur navis, ſcopuloſo illiſa vado, et urgentibus hinc, atque inde fluctibus ſolveretur, non mortem metuens, ſed ne vacuus miſterii exiret e vita, quos initiatos eſſe cognoverat, ab his divinum illud fidelium ſacramentum popoſcit, non ut curioſis oculos inferret arcanis, ſed ut fide ſuæ conſequeretur auxilio.’ Saint Gregory teſtifies the ſame thing, l. 3. dial. c. 36. And Matthew Paris, in the year 1247, writes, that a cardinal-legate of the pope in England, ‘ Cum navem aſſenſurus eſſet, juſſit cuidam fratri de ordine prædicatorum in ipſa miſſam celebrare, quod et factum eſt, non ſine multorum, qui hoc non præviderant, admiratione.’

(xix) *William*, who has left behind him ſeveral works, and under whom the queſtion of plurality of benefices was agitated.

(xx) *The holy king related to me*. Giovanni Villani, l. 6. ch. 7. attributes this hiſtory to St Louis himſelf, and not to the count de Montfort.

(xxi) *With a ſharp-edged ſword*. It was the maxim of thoſe days that heretics ſhould be exterminated by fire and ſword. We frequently read of heretics being burnt alive, eſpecially in the reign of St Louis, who carried on an inceſſant war againſt the Albigeois. See what two learned Greeks of that age have written on the ſubject, Nicolaus Almannus in not. ad Procopii Hiſt. Arcanam. pp. 55, 56. 1. edit. et Leo Allatius, lib. 2. de Concord. Utriuſque Eccl. cap. 13. n. 2. But Agathius, in lib. 1. of his Hiſtory, holds errors in religious matters pardonable; ‘ forasmuch,’ ſays

he, ‘ as those who embrace these erroneous and heretical opinions commonly do so from the firm belief which they have of their truth.’ Theodore Balsamon, on the Nomocanon of Photius, tit. 9. ch. 25. says, that he cannot conceive how the council held at Constantinople, under the patriarchate of Michael Oxistus, could have condemned to the flames the Bogomiles, who were heretics of those times, since at that period there did not exist any canon of the church which decreed the punishment of death against heretics. Several learned persons have therefore endeavoured to prove, by solid reasoning, that heretics ought to be reclaimed by gentle means instead of rigorous ones.

See the preface of Thuanus to his history, and the treatise printed at Magdebourg in the year 1554, entitled, ‘ De hæreticis, et an sint persequendi, et quomodo cum eis agendum sit, doctorum virorum sententiæ.’

(xxii) *The lord of Neelles.* Simon son of Raoul de Clermont, lord of Ailly and of Gertrude, lady and heiress of Neelle. He was regent of the kingdom of France during the second expedition of Saint Louis to the holy land. See the history of the house of Bethune, p. 274. Du Tillet, la Morliere, &c.

(xxiii) *The good lord of Soissons.* John, the second of the name, furnished le Begue, son to Raoul de Neelle, count of Soissons, by Jolande de Joinville, his second wife and consequently cousin-german to our lord de Joinville, as he thus styles him some pages hence.

(xxv) *Peter de Fontaines.* He is named in several judgments and assemblies given and held during the reign of St Louis, among the judges of parliament, in the memoirs of du Tillet and de Miraumont. He was the author of the book intitled, ‘ Li Livres de la Reigne,’ which treats of the forms of law, and is often cited by Fauchet, Pithou, Chopin, la Croix du Maine and others. The manuscript that is preserved in the hôtel de ville d’Amiens has for title, ‘ Le Conseil que Pierres de Fontaines donna à son Ami.’

(xxvi) *Geffroy de Vilette*. This lord was bailiff of Tours in the year 1261, as we learn from a list of the bailiffs of France at Candlemas in that year, and which is in the *chambre des comptes* at Paris, wherein he is thus styled, ‘Gaufridus de Villetta, castellanus Turonensis, custos balliviæ Turonensis.’ He again appears with the same title the following year, in an account made up to Ascension-day. In another of the year 1268, he is mentioned as having been sent ambassador to the republic of Venice: *Compotus dominorum Gaufridi de Villeta, et Joannis de Soisaco militum pro via Venitiæ.* Gautier de Vilette, knight, styles himself Bailiff of Tours in the year 1271.

(xxvii) *All the prelates of France*. This assembly of the prelates of France was induced, according to the lord de Joinville, to remonstrate with the king on the contempt in which the heretics, that is to say, the Albigeois, held the excommunications of the bishops, and to request that they should be compelled to undergo absolution and return by this means to an union with the church under the penalty of seizure and confiscation of their goods, imploring to effectuate this, the aid and support of the royal authority.

This assembly must have been held between the year 1247, when Guy de Mello, bishop of Auxerre, the president of the meeting, took possession of the episcopal throne, and the year 1270, which was the year of his death. Thus we cannot refer to this assembly the ordinance of St Louis, which he issued on the same subject in the year 1228, and which is to be found in the register of the *Trésor des Chartes*, Nos. 10. 26 & 27 from which I should be inclined to believe, that the bishops only required in this assembly that this ordinance should be put into execution.

‘Ludovicus, Dei gratia francorum rex, universis civibus Narbonensibus et aliis fidelibus suis per Narbonensem diocesim constitutis; salutem et dilectionem. Cupientes inprimis ætatis, et regni nostri primordiis illi servire a quo regnum recognoscimus, et id quod sumus, desideramus, ad honorem ipsius, qui nobis culmen dedit honoris, quod ecclesiæ Dei, quæ in partibus vestris longo tempore fuit afflictæ, et tribulationibus innumeris concussata, in nostro Dominio honoretur, et feliciter gubernetur. Unde de magnorum et

prudendum consilio statuimus, quod ecclesiæ et viri ecclesiastici in terris constituti prædictus, libertatibus, et immunitatibus utantur, quibus utitur ecclesia Gallicana, et eis plene gaudeant, secundum consuetudinem ecclesiæ memoratæ. Et quia hæretici longo tempore virus suum in vestris partibus effuderunt, ecclesiam matrem nostram multipliciter maculantes, ad ipsorum extirpationem statuimus quod hæretici, qui a fide catholica deviant, quocumque nomine censeantur postquam fuerint de hæresi per episcopum loci, vel per aliam ecclesiasticum personam, quæ potestatem habeat, condemnati, indilate animadversione debita puniantur. Ordinantes etiam, et firmiter decernentes, ne quis hæreticos receptare, vel defensare quomodolibet, aut ipsis favere, aut credere quoquomodo præsumat. Et si aliquis contra prædicta facere præsumperit, nec ad testimonium, nec ad honorem aliquem, de cætero admittatur, nec possit facere testamentum, nec successionem alicujus hæreditatis habere, omnia bona ipsius, mobilia et immobilia, quod sint ipso facto publicata decernimus, ad ipsum, vel ad posteritatem ipsius, ulterius nullatenus reversura. Statuimus etiam, et mandamus, ut barones terræ, et baillivi nostri, et alii subditi nostri præsentis et futuri, solliciti sint et intenti, terram purgare hæreticis, et hæretica fœditate. Et præcipientes quod prædicti diligenter ipsos investigare studeant, et fideliter invenire: et cum eos invenerint, præsentent sine moræ dispendio personis ecclesiasticis supra memoratis, ut eis præsentibus de errore et hæresi condemnatis, omni odio, prece, pretio, timore, gratia, et amore postpositis, de ipsis festinate faciant quod debebunt. Verum quia honorandi sunt, et muneribus provocandi, qui ad inveniendum et capiendum hæreticos sollicitè diligentiam suam exercent: statuimus, volumus, et mandamus, ut baillivi nostri, in quorum bailliviis capti fuerint hæretici, pro quolibet hæretico, postquam fuerit de hæresi condemnatus, usque ad biennium solvant duas Marchas argenti integre capienti, post biennium autem unam. Hanc quia ruptari solent devastare ac demoliri terram prædictam; et quietem ecclesiæ et ecclesiasticorum virorum turbare, statuimus ut omnino ruptariis ipsis expulsis, pax perpetuo servetur in terra, ad quam servandam dent omnes operam efficacem. Ad hæc quia claves ecclesiæ consueverant in terra illa contemni, statuimus ut excommunicati vitentur secundum

canonicas sanctiones. Et si aliqui per annum contumaces extiterint, ex tunc temporaliter compellantur redire ad ecclesiasticam unitatem, ut quos a malo non retrahit timor Dei, saltem poena temporalis compellat. Unde præcipimus quod baillivi nostri omnia bona talium excommunicatorum mobilia et immobilia post annum capiant, nec eis aliquo modo ea restituant, donec prædicti absoluti fuerint, et ecclesiæ satisfecerint, nec tunc etiam, nisi de nostro speciali mandato. Decimæ sane quibus fuit ecclesia longo tempore per malitiam inhabitantium defraudata, statuimus et ordinamus quod restituantur ecclesiis, et amplius laici decimas non detineant, sed eas ecclesiis libere habere permittant. Hæc statuta inviolabiliter observari jubemus, mandantes quod barones, et vassali, et bonæ villæ jurent ista servare, baillis nostris ad hoc executoribus deputatis, qui infra mensem, postquam fuerint in baillis constituti, publice, et in loco publico, et die solemni, jurent quod hæc servabunt, et facient ab omnibus bona fide servari: quod si non fecerint, poenam bonorum omnium et corporis, poterunt formidare. Noveritis etiam quod ista statuta sic volumus observari, quod etiam quando frater noster terram ipsam tenebit, jurabit se hæc observare, et quod faciet a suis fidelibus observari. Ut autem hæc statuta firma et inconcussa permaneant, ea sigilli nostri munimine fecimus communiri. Actum Parisiis anno gratiæ mcccxxviii. mense Aprili.

In other manuscripts, the date is of the following year.

The king St Louis published another edict in explanation of the preceding one, dated au bois de Vincennes, in the month of April 1259. Upon some difficulties which the inquisitors had met with in the seneschalships of Carcassonne and Beaucaire, king Philip the hardy, in like manner, issued another in explanation of these two edicts dated Paris, Wednesday the eve of the feast of St Andrew the apostle.

The chronicle of the abbots of Castres, which has lately been given to the public by the reverend father Dom Luc d'Achery, reports in the 7th volume of his Specilegium some verses which show that the bishops and other ecclesiastics forced by imprisonment such as were excommunicated to resort to absolution; but as temporal punishments concerned the secular arm, the royal judges always opposed this mode of punishment, and maintained that it belonged to their sole jurisdiction. The verses alluded

to are in the eulogium of Godfrey de Muret, abbot of Castres, who lived about the year 1110, page 342.

‘ Adstricti Satanæ qui sunt anathematæ diro,
Noluntque absolvi, restituique Deo :
Post annum hos Præful voluit compellere duro
Carcere, sic artans corpus, et una animam.
Vincula ferre duo populo renuente, querela
Nascitur hinc ingens inter utrumque forum.’

(xxviii) *Guy d'Aufreure*. This Guy bishop of Auxerre, brother to Dreux de Melo, lord of Loches and of Châtillon-sur-Indre, was probably chosen by the clergy as their spokesman on account of his eloquence and his being well versed in public business. This is the eulogium given to him by pope Clement IV. in his 99th epistle. ‘ Dedit tibi Dominus spiritum sapientiæ, et linguam contulit eruditam, et sensum tuum infuper multi jam temporis experientia solidavit, ita ut nihil tibi desit in ulla gratia.’

(xxix) *The peace which he concluded with the king of England*. The preliminaries of this peace were settled at London on the Monday after St. Valentine's day in the year 1258, between Guy dean of St Martin's church in Tours, Odo treasurer of the church of Bayeux, and sir Richard de Menou the king of France's knight, as commissioners from the said king on the one part, and Humphrey de Bohun, earl of Hereford and Essex, constable of England, and William de Fortibus, earl of Albemarle, commissioners from the king of England on the other part. This preliminary treaty is now to be seen in the Trésor des Chartes du Roi, with the seals of these two earls attached to it. It is similar to the one which Claude Menard has given in his Observations, both in terms and substance, excepting that it is drawn up as a plan on which the definitive treaty of peace was afterward formed.

The arms of William de Fortibus, earl of Albemarle, (whose family was originally from Normandy, where the lordship of Fors is situated) represented on his seal, have a cross pattée of Vair, which proves an error made by Ralph

Brook, and Vincent, Rouge Croix, his corrector, in the Collections which they have made of the arms of the english dukes and earls, wherein they have given this earl 'un écu d'argent au chef de gueules.'

They have been again mistaken, in giving to the two Stephens earls of Albemarle, of the house of Blois or of Champagne, the cross pattée de Vair, which are the arms of de Fortibus. The arms of Stephen, first of the name, being an escutcheon plain, with a bordure componée, as Andrew du Chefne has noticed in respect to the seal of this earl, in his genealogical history of the house of Bethune, page 152.

(xxx) *Reginuld de Troie*. Should be *de Trie*. The countess of Boulogne, of whom our author is speaking, was Matilda, only daughter and heiress of Reginald count de Dammartin by Ide countess of Boulogne. She was twice married; first to Philip of France, surnamed Hurepel, son to Philip Augustus by Agnes de Meranie. From this union was born Jane, an only daughter, who was married to Gaucher de Châtillon, lord de Saint Agnan, and died childless. The countess Matilda married, secondly, Alfonso, afterward king of Portugal, who in like manner died without posterity in the year 1258, and not in 1260, as M. Justel has advanced. After his decease, there were many disputes relative to the succession, which are fully discussed in the history of the house of Châtillon, book 3. ch. 8.

The county of Dammartin fell to the family of Trie, as being the nearest heirs on the side from whence that estate came; for Alberic II. count de Dammartin, left, among other children, Reginald count de Dammartin and de Boulogne, father to the countess Matilda, and another daughter called Alicia, who married John lord of Trie and of de Moucy, from which union sprung Matthew, Reginald, Enguerrand and Bertrand de Trie. Matthew, according to Andrew du Chefne, in his history of the house of Dreux, l. 1. ch. 4. succeeded his cousin Maude, daughter of Reginald, in the county of Dammartin. But the lord de Joinville says expressly in this part, that he who immediately succeeded Maude in this county was Reginald de Trie.

This also is conformable to what I have read in an account of the bailiffs of France and of Normandy made up to Candlemas in the year 1268, wherein Girard de Cheurefais, bailiff of Senlis, renders an account to the

exchequer of the counts of Paris, at the chapter of Clermont, ‘de rachato Escaetæ comitissæ Boloniæ redditæ de novo per dom. regem comiti de Domnomartino.’ So that the escheat of the succession of Maude not having been restored by the king before the years 1266 or 1267, it follows that Maude, who died before that period without leaving posterity, did not enjoy it, but her brother Reginald, who thenceforward stiled himself count de Dammartin, as may be seen in the justificatory proofs of the history of the house of Châtillon, page 84.

(xxx1) *Under the king's seal.* It is not easy to guess why the family of Trie should have obtained letters patent from St Louis for the security of the succession of Maude, since they were her legitimate heirs. The county of Dammartin, with other lordships belonging to Reginald, father to Maude, were confiscated on account of rebellion, but they were all restored to his daughter, in consideration of her marriage with Philip of France, who acknowledges by letters, dated from Melun in the month of February 1223, (which are inserted in the 31st register of the *Treſor des Chartes*, fol. 75.) that the king, Louis VIII, his brother, had given him in exchange for the lands of Constantin, the county of Clermont, and ‘quarterium Domni-Martini, in feodis, boscis, et planis,’ which the king, Philip, his father, ‘a rectis eorum hæredibus comparaverit.’ By other letters, of the month of January 1233, Matilda, countess of Boulogne, declares she does homage to the king for the county of Boulogne, which had devolved to her as heiress to her mother; and then she adds, ‘Item feci eidem Domino meo regi homagium ligium contra omnes homines et feminas qui possunt vivere et mori, de hæreditati quam pater meus Renaldus quondam comes Bolonicæ habuit apud Domnum-Martinum, tanquam de hæreditate ex parte patris mei.’ Whence it results that the county of Dammartin had been restored to the heirs of Reginald, without any charge or condition; and the difficulty still remains why the lands of Maude were seized by the king, and for what purpose these letters were obtained. This happened before the death of Maude, since the lord de Joinville declares that the seal on these letters was that St Louis made use of before his expedition to the holy land, that is to say in the year 1248, and the countess did not die before 1258.

(xxxii) *Le chantel or château*, was that side of the seal on which the footstool of the king was. Philippes Mouskes, in the life of Robert, king of France, says,

‘ La lance et l’escu en cantiel ;’

That is to say on the side shields and bucklers were commonly worn, namely on the left side. The romance of Guarin uses other terms :

‘ Au col ly pendant un escu de cartier.’

And elsewhere,

‘ Quant cop ly donne fur l’escu de cartier.’

(xxxiii) *John Sarazin*. This John Sarrazin is styled chamberlain to the king in a title of the year 1266, in the proofs to the history of the house of Guines, page 379, and in another of the year 1269, in the proofs to the history of the house of Vergy, p. 172, and likewise in another of the year 1270, in the trefor des chartes du roi, Laitte obligations, iii. tit. 5.

It was in this quality that the king, St Louis, sent for him, to compare the seal, that had been affixed to the letters of Reginald de Trie, with that of other letters which he had sealed, because the great chamberlain, or, in his absence, the first chamberlain, had the care of the king’s privy seal, and sealed with it the letters of his sovereign, as I have shewn in my observations on the history of Villehardouin. This persuades me that these letters were not letters patent, which are usually sealed with the great seal, the keeping of which belonged to the chancellor.

John Sarrazin was dead in the year 1275, as I learn from another title in the trefor des chartes, in which his widow is called Agnes, Laitte, Pierre la Brosse, tit. 159. I believe that the family of Saracino, in the kingdom of Naples, owes its extraction and origin to France, whence it passed to that kingdom with king Charles I. Ammirato mentions it in the genealogies of the Caraffa, the Campanile and the Tufo families.

OBSERVATIONS
ON
THE SECOND PART
OF THE
MEMOIRS OF THE LORD DE JOINVILLE.

(1) *Was born.* ST Louis came into this world on the festival of Saint Mark, the 25th of April, in the year 1215, at Poissy, where is still to be seen, in the chapel called by the name of St Louis, in the cathedral church, a large vase of free stone, elevated on a high pedestal, which is said to be the font wherein St Louis was baptised.

(11) *The black crosses.* Durantus, in *rationali divinor. offic. lib. 6. cap. 102.* remarks, that this procession, which is annually made on the feast of St Mark, and which the whole church acknowledges, under the name of Litania major, was instituted by pope Gregory the great, for reasons mentioned in his life, written by Johannes Diaconus, and the authors who have treated of the divine offices, is now known under the name of the Black Crosses, from the altars and crosses being that day covered with black, in remembrance of the great mortality which happened at Rome in consequence of the plague, and which caused this great pope to institute public prayers. ‘Litania hæc dicitur Gregoriana, vel Romana. Vocatur etiam cruces nigræ, quoniam in signum mœroris ex tanta hominum strage, et in

fignum pœnitentiæ, homines nigris vestibus induebantur, et cruces et altaria nigris velabantur.'

This agrees with what St Gregory himself writes, in his epistle to the bishop of Ravenna, when he calls this procession, 'Tempus cineris et cilicii;' and with the remark which the author of the *Micrologue*, ch. 57. makes on this subject, saying, that the holy fathers had ordered that for this reason the procession should be made 'non equitando, non vestibus pretiosis utendo, sed in cinere et cilicio.'

With regard to what the lord de Joinville says, that in certain places this procession was called the Black Crosses, it is only the mode of expression of those times, when all sorts of processions were called Crosses. Thus in Wolfard, in the 3d book of his history of the miracles of St Wauburge, ch 2. n. 11. rogation-week is called 'Hebdomada crucium,' and further on, 'Accidit ut eo tempore quo per universum mundum cruces in rogationibus solemniter fieri solent,' &c.

John Robert, in his commentaries on the life of St Hubert, observes, chap. 4. that at the present day, in the Luxembourg, all processions are called Crosses, and those which are confined to the boundaries of different parishes 'Croix banales.'

(III) *He was crowned*,—on the first day of December 1226, by the hands of the bishop of Soissons, the archbishoprick of Rheims being then vacant. William Guiart sings,

'Receut Saint Loys la couronne
Des mains de l'evêque de Sessons,
Car se le voir n'entrelessons,
Parquoy soions empoeschîé,
De Rains vacoit l'archeveschié.'

Philippe Mouskes says, that he was crowned by the archbishop of Sens, and describes at great length the whole of the ceremony, naming all those who assisted at it. See Nangis, Albericus, &c.

I found in an old roll in the chamber of accounts at Paris a state of the expenses of this coronation, entitled, 'Expensæ pro Coronatione Regum,'

in these terms: 'Expenses incurred for the coronation of the king saint Louis, in the month of November 1226.'

Bread,	-	-	-	896	livres.
Bread for the king, pies, and making,	38				
Wine,	-	-	-	991	
Kitchen expenses,	-	-	-	1356	4 fols
Wax and fruit,	-	-	-	138	
The king's chamber,	-	-	-	914	10
The queen's expenses,	-	-	-	320	.
Wages and deliveries for the king's household, and for the king when beyond sea,	-	-	-	400	
Sum total,				5053	14

(1v) *The count of Brittany, Pierre de Dreux, surnamed Mauclerc, who had withdrawn himself from the king's homage, as is apparent from the following deed:*

'Universis presentes litteras inspecturis. P. Dux Britanniae Comes Richmond Sal. Noveritis quod nos mittimus regi Franciae per T. templarium latorem praesentium has praesentes litteras. Rex adjornaverat comitem Britanniae ad dominicam post natale apud Meledunum, cui diei ipse dominus rex noluit interesse. Comes illuc misit, et regi mandavit, quod terminus quem ei posuerat, non erat competens, quia non erat de quadraginta diebus, et propter hoc requisivit alium terminum competentem ab illis qui erant loco regis ibidem ad faciendum quod debent, et propter hoc comes fecit scribi omnes queremonias suas et injurias, quas rex et mater sua et sui ei fecerant, et scriptum illud super queremoniis traditum fuit illis qui erant loco regis. Quod scriptum sicut factum fuit intelligi comiti, noluit regina quod ostenderetur baronibus et probis hominibus Franciae, imo aliter eis fecit intelligi voluntatem suam; comes nunquam potuit habere emendationem de injuriis, et malis sibi factis per regem et suos. Nisi hoc quod ipse rex fecit deserviri eundem comitem de eo quod ab ipso tenebat in

Andegavia, unde erat homo suus, et castrum suum de Belismo, quod similiter ab ipso tenebatur, obsedit, et terram suam fecit destrui, et homines suos fecit interfici.

‘ Hæc mala cum aliis malis fecit ei rex sine defectu juris quem comes fecisset, et sine eo quod nunquam fuisset adjornatus per regem, nec ante, nec post, nisi ad dictum diem propter has injurias, et propter alias de quibus comes non potuit habere emendationem, mandat ipse comes regi quod se non tenet plus pro homine suo, imo ab homagio suo recedit, et in hoc recessu intelligit comes diffidationem. Actum anno gratiæ, 1229, die Dominica in Octavis B. Hilarii.’

See d’Argentré, Fauchet, l. 2. des Poetes François, ch. 13. &c.

(v) *Here comes king Richard.* Raoul de Coggeshall, whose manuscript is in the library of St Victor at Paris, Matthew Paris, John Brompton and other english historians of the year 1172; Jacques de Vitry, l. 1. ch. 99. Sanudo, l. 3. part 11. ch. 1. le Moine de Saint Marian d’Auxerre, and others, speak most amply of the great actions and deeds of arms of king Richard I. in the holy land: but they have all omitted this circumstance mentioned by the lord de Joinville, who has taken it, as he says himself, from the history of the holy wars written in the vulgar tongue, which I have read in manuscript, and which relates the same thing in these terms: ‘ From whence it happened, &c. king Richard was so feared in the country that whenever a saracen mother perceived her children crying, she said to them, ‘ Do not make a noise, for here is king Richard!’ and he was so dreaded that the children gave over crying instantly.’

Matthew of Westminster relates that in the year 1240, when Richard earl of Cornwall arrived in the holy land, the Saracens, ‘ Cæperunt nimis prudentiam et potentiam comitis formidare, tum quia hoc nomen Richardus, adhuc Saracenis inimicum ipsum intitulavit, tum quia auro et argento abundavit,’ &c.

We may refer the following verses, which were made on king Richard, to the great opinion the Saracens had of his valour:

‘ Si recolis pro rege, facit joppe tua, quam tot
Millibus oppositus solus defendit, et Acon,

Quam virtute tua tibi reddidit, et crucis hostes,
 Quos vivus omnes sic terruit, ut timeatur
 Mortuus, ipse fuit sub quo tua tuta fuerunt.'

(vi) *Gave him to wife.* See Jacques de Vitry, Matthew Paris, &c.

(vii) *Married fir Ayrart de Brienne.* Henry II. count of Champagne, left by Isabella queen of Jerusalem, at that time widow of Conrad de Montferrat, two daughters; Alicia, married to Hugh I. king of Cyprus, and Philippa, who espoused, in the year 1204, Airard de Brienne, lord of Rameru, who for some time contested the county of Champagne against Thibault V. brother to Henry. The history of this dispute is related at length by Du Tillet, Vignier in his history of the house of Luxembourg, Messieurs de Sainte Marthe, Odoricus Raynald in his ecclesiastical annals, and by others.

(viii) *From whom descended a numerous progeny.* See the list of nobles who went on the expedition to the holy land, ch. 1. Vignier; du Chesne, in the histories of the families of Châtillon and of Bethune.

(ix) *The queen of Cyprus.* Alicia, eldest daughter of Henry count of Champagne by the queen of Jerusalem.

(x) *The daughter of Pcter count of Brittany.* Joland, who was afterward married to Hugh XI. count de la Marche et d'Angoulême.

(xi) *Geoffry de la Chapelle.* He is stiled Panetier de France, in a title of the year 1240, among the proofs to the history of the house of Dreux, p. 258; and at the oath of allegiance of the burgeses of Paris, which they gave in the year 1251, on the Monday preceding the feast of the nativity of Saint John, to queen Blanche, who was attended on this occasion by Philip, archbishop of Bourges, John bishop of Evreux, Stephen count of Sancerre, Geoffry lord of Meudon, doctor William of Sens, and by the dean of Saint Agnan d'Orleans. The following year he was present when the

counsellors of the parliament of Paris gave judgment in favour of the priory of St Martin des Champs.

See the history of this priory, l. 3. pp. 206, 208.

(xii) *The duke of Lorraine.* Matthew II. of the name. See Albericus in the years 1229, 1230, and 1234, where this war with the count de Champagne is amply detailed.

(xiii) *Peace was made between them.* This peace was concluded in the year 1234, of which the following are the terms :

‘Excellentissimo et carissimo domino suo Ludovico, Dei gratia Francorum regi A. eadem gratia R. Cypri salutem, et dilectionem sibi sinceram. Excellentie vestre supplicamus, et vos requirimus, quatenus subscriptis litteris vestrum apponi faciatis sigillum. Ludovicus, Dei gratia Francorum rex: noverint universi presentem paginam inspecturi, quod nobilis mulier Elipdis regina Cypri, in presentia nostra constituta, quittavit carissimo consanguineo et fidei nostro Theobaldo Campanie et Briie comiti Palatino, omne jus quod habebat, vel dicebat se habere in comitatibus Campanie et Briie et pertinentiis eorundem, et de eodem jure se deestivit in manu nostra. Et nos ad petitionem dictae reginae investivimus de eodem jure dilectum et fidelem nostrum Archembaldum de Borbonio nomine dicti comitis, salvo hoc, quod si dictus comes decederet sine hærede ab ipso linea matrimoniali descendente, supra dicta non obessent dictae reginae, quia posset petere dictos comitatus, sicut poterat ante, nec propter superscripta jus suum minueretur, vel augmentaretur. Promisimus etiam quod quando assisia duarum millium librarum terrae erunt factae dictae reginae, nos omnia sicut continentur in charta dictae reginae tradita, dicto comiti faciemus scribi, et figillari, et tradi dicto comiti et iis omnibus supra dictis et figillatis, et dicto comiti traditis praesentes litterae nobis reddentur. Actum anno gratiae mcccxxiv, mense Septembri.’

Henry king of Cyprus, son to the queen Alicia, afterward surrendered all his rights to these counties of Champagne and Brie to John de Brienne, son of Walter de Brienne, by Mary of Cyprus, his sister, by deeds dated Nicosia, in the year 1247.

(xiv) *Sold to the king.* The following is a copy of the deed of sale :
 ‘ Ego Theobaldus, Campaniæ et Briæ comes Palatinus notum facio, &c. Quod ego carissimo domino meo Ludovico regi Francorum illustri vendidi pro xl. mill. librar. Turon. de quibus idem dominus rex mihi plene satisfecit, feoda mea comitatus Carnotensis cum pertinentiis suis, comitatus Blesensis cum pertinentiis suis, comitatus Sacrocæsaris cum pertinentiis suis, et vice comitatus Castridunensis cum pertinentiis suis, et omnia jura quæ in prædictis habebam, tam in feodis, quam in domaniis ratione prædictorum feodorum eidem domino regi et hæredibus suis habenda in perpetuum et tenenda, retento mihi eo quod habeo in comitatu Particensi in feodis et domaniis quod movet de feodo Carnotensi, et quod comes Carnotensis debet de domino rege tenere. In cujus rei testimonium præsentis litteras sigilli mei munimine roboravi. Actum anno incarnat. Dom. 1234, mense Septembri.’

This sale was confirmed by Alicia queen of Cyprus.

‘ Universis præsentis litteras inspecturis, A. Dei. gratia regina Cypri, salutem in Domino. Notum facimus quod venditionem illam quam dilectus consanguineus noster Theobaldus comes Campaniæ fecit illustrissimo domino Ludovico R. Francorum, de feodo Blesensi, Carnotensi, Castriduni, Sacricæsaris et eorum pertinentiis pro xl. millibus librarum Turonensium, quas idem dominus rex nobis solvit pro comite supra dicto, et de quibus nos tenemus pro pagatis, volumus; et concedimus, gratam gerimus, et acceptum, et pro nobis et hæredibus nostris, quittamus eidem domino regi, et ejus hæredibus in perpetuum si quid juris in dictis feodis, vel eorum pertinentiis habebamus, vel ullo unquam tempore habere debebamus. Et licet in compositione facta inter nos et supradictum comitem sit contentum, et inter nos conventum, quod si idem comes sine hærede ab ipso matrimoniali linea descendente decederet, jus nostrum si aliquod habebamus in comitatibus Campaniæ atque Briæ nobis salvum sit, vel ita quod propter illam compositionem nihil nobis diminutum sit, vel adauctum, non obstante hoc dicta feoda cum eorum pertinentiis eidem domino rege, et ejus hæredibus concedimus habenda in perpetuum et tenenda, &c. Quod ut firmum, &c. Actum anno Dom. MCCXXXIV. mense Novembri.’

Thus it is evident that these fiefs were not bought with a power of redemption, as was supposed at the time, and as Albericus has stated in the year 1236, but were completely sold and alienated.

(xv) *The count de Brienne.* Walter IV. son of Hugh count de Brienne, and grandson to count Walter III. who had married Mary daughter to Hugh de Lusignan, king of Cyprus, by Alicia, daughter to Henry count of Champagne by Isabella queen of Cyprus. See le Lignage d'Outremer, chap. 2.

(xvi) *For he was liberal and bountiful.* We may refer, for confirmation, to the handsome eulogium Albericus gives of this prince in the year 1163.

‘ Florebat in Francia palatinus Campaniæ comes Henricus, quin potius Francia per illum, vir de quo dubium genere nobilior esset, an animo: cui Franciæ regina soror et filia regis uxor, et in quo constabat sibi regnum constituisset virtutes, et regiam plusquam regalis munificentiae largitatem. Novum et jocundum in eo spectaculum genus exhibebat invidiæ, pia contentio, laudis certamen inter famam et meritum ejus, quod scilicet peregrando circum niterentur invicem prævenire: fama tamen et merito vincebatur. Nam quod præcedente merito premebatur a comite præcisis gestorum titulis, et sparsis longe lateque beneficiorum radiis enitebatur.’

It was not, therefore, without reason, that he was styled the Liberal. The old french word *large* is the derivative of *largesse*, which expresses liberality. In the manuscript of the Doctrinal,

‘ Se vos estes cortois, et larges et metans.’

The Latins use the word *largus* in the same sense. ‘ Jo. de Janua; largus a largior, abundans, affluens, et qui libentur dat, seu largitur.’ Saint Gregory PP. I. 7. ind. 1. ep. 33. ‘ Ne avaritiæ te graviter culpa redarguat, quem largum erga monasteria sacerdotalis magis debuerat munificentia demonstrare.’

And Julius Firmicus, ‘ de errore profan. relig. illum quem despicias pauperem, largus et dives est:’ which the learned Woweren renders improperly *lautus*.

(xvii) *The church of St Stephen in Troyes.* Camusat, in his antiquities of Troyes, speaks fully of the foundation of this church, and inserts the epitaphs of this count, and of some of his successors, who were buried there. Albericus, as quoted before, mentions it in these terms: ‘ Inter insignia suorum operum illud jubare splendore refulsit, quod ecclesiam palatio suo contiguam in honore gloriosi protomartyris Stephani (prout instruxit eum, quem erga Deum habebat, amor) extruxit, ditavit, prædiis ornavit, holosericis thesauris, clero laudes exultatione divinas spiritali decantante celebriter, honoravit. Fateor me non vidisse, legisse nec meminisse tantæ liberalitatis extitisse principem.’

(xviii) *Arthault de Nogent.* This Artaud, or Hertaud, lord of Nogent, and his wife Hodierne, are mentioned in a title of the year 1182, in the cartulary of St Germain des Près, and in another of the year 1206, this Hodierne is styled Lady of Nogent. Their son William appears also with his wife Matilda in others of the years 1212 and 1265, in the last of which he takes the surname of Acy: ‘ Gulielmus de Aciaco, miles, dominus de Nogento Ertaudi.’ He is found also among those who did homage to Thibaud king of Navarre, and count of Champagne, in the year 1256, in a register in the chamber of accounts at Paris.

There is mention made of another ‘ Gulielmus de Nogento Artaudi Armiger Sueffionensis diæcesis, filius et hæres Gulielmi filii Hodiernæ de Nogento,’ in a title of the year 1261, in the same cartulary of St Germain des Près.

(xix) *Held their counties from their elder brother.* This passage will furnish the subject of my third dissertation on our author, in which I shall explain the use and origin of ‘ Frerage et Parage.’

(xx) *A great court at Saumur.* In the year 1241. See Nangis, Guil. Guyart, &c. and in my fourth dissertation, and the succeeding ones, wherein I shall treat of the magnificence of our kings in these great courts or assemblies.

(xxi) *The count de Poitiers.* Alphonso, brother to St Louis, who had been created a knight by the king on the feast of the nativity of St John the Baptist, in the year 1241, at which time he likewise gave him the county of Poitou. See M. Paris, p. 383.

(xxii) *John count de Dreux,* son of Robert III. count de Dreux, by d'Aënor de St Valery, the first who bore the name of John. He died at Cyprus.

(xxiii) *The count de la Marche.* Hugh X. surnamed le Brun, count de la Marche and d'Angoulême.

(xxiv) *Clasp or fermail,* was a sort of medal, or ornament, like the diamond ornaments now in fashion, which was fastened not only to the shoulder where the folds of the mantle met, in like manner to the *latus clavus* of Romans, but also on the front of the cap, as diamonds are now worn. In war it was fastened to the hood, on the coat of arms, or in some other conspicuous place. Women wore them on their breast. Froissart, in the 154th chapter of the 2d volume, says, 'He received, as the prize, a clasp of precious stones, which the duchess of Burgundy detached from her breast.'

It is for this reason, that the latin and french MS. glossary translates the word *monile* clasp or fermail. Elsewhere *redimiculum* a female ornament, as a clasp, chaplet or girdle. Johannes de Janua calls it 'Fibularium, quod apponitur mantello, vel per quod immittuntur fibulæ, ne dissipetur mantellum.' But I suspect he intended to have called it *fibulatorium*, which the greek and latin glossary defines to be the diminutive of *fibula*. Πορπη, *fibula*, πορπη, υποκοριστικως, *fibulatorium*. This word is met with in Trebellius Pollio, in the life of Regillianus, and in the librarian Anastasius's history of the popes, pp. 72, and 197. edit regia.

Constantine Porphyrogenetes, de administr. Imp. cap. 53. uses the word Φιλατερα. See Chifflet, in Anastasi Childerici Regis, cap. 16. wherein he treats amply 'de fibulis aureis et gemmatis veterum;' and also Saumaïse in not. ad Tertul. de Pallio, pp. 62, 63.

(xxv) *The count d'Artois.* Robert, brother to the king.

(xxvi) *Imbert, or Humbert, de Beaujeu,* lord de Montpensier and d'Aigueperse, son of Guichard de Beaujeu, lord of Montpensier, by Catherine of Clermont or of Auvergne.

(xxvii) *Honourat de Coucy.* It should be Enjorrans or Enguerrand, which was the name of this lord de Coucy, who in some latin deeds calls himself Injorrannus. See du Chesne's history of the house of Coucy, book 6. chap. 6. and likewise in the proofs. In Sanudo, l. 3. part 11. c. 1. Enguerrand de Boues is misnamed Emorans instead of Enjorrans.

(xxviii) *Archibald de Bourbon,* the ninth of the name, son of Archibald the eighth, lord of Bourbon, of the house of Dampierre. He died in Cyprus. See to. 7. Spicileg. p. 223.

(xxix) *The count de la Marche.* See William Guiart and Matthew of Westminster, among others, respecting the treaty, and this new war of the count de la Marche.

(xxx) *Had large tracts of lands,* which are specified and named in the treaty of peace then concluded between the king and the count de la Marche, and which I shall copy at length below from the 31st register of the Trésor des Chartes.

‘ Hugo de Lefignam comes Marchiæ et Angolismæ, et Yfabellis D. G. regina Angliæ dictorum comitissa locorum, universis præsentis litteras inspecturis, salutem. Noveritis quod cum guerra esset inter nos ex una parte, et carissimos dominos nostros Ludovicum regem Francorum illustrem, et comitem Piétaviensem fratrem ipsius domini regis ex altera, tandem post plures conquestas, quas idem dominus fecit super nos, nos et filii nostri, videlicet Hugo Bruni, Guido, et Gaufridus de Lefignam Milites ad ipsum dominum regem venientes, nos et terram nostram alte et basse ipsius domini regis supposuimus voluntati, et antequam dominus rex in sua voluntate nos reciperet, dixit nobis quod conquestas, quas jam conquisierat

per se et gentes suas super nos, videlicet Xantonas cum Castellania cum pertinentiis, Forestam, domum de la Vergna, et totum jus quod habebamus in Ponte Labai, Monasterolum cum appenditiis, suis Fronteneium cum appenditiis, Langeftum, S. Gelasium cum appenditiis, Præc cum appenditiis, Taunaium super Votonam cum appenditiis, Clausam, Bauceium feoda, quæ tenebat a nobis comite Marchiæ Comes Augi; feodum Renaudi de Pontibus, feodum Gaufridi de Ranconio, et feoda quæ tenebat Gaufridus de Lefignam a nobis comite Marchiæ, et grande feodum de Alniaco, et omnes alias conquestas, quas idem dominus rex fecit super nos, usque ad hodiernum diem per ipsum, et gentes suas, ipse domino regi, fratri suo prædicto comiti Pictaviensi, et eorum hæredibus in perpetuum retinebit: quæ nos coram pluribus de episcopis et baronibus, et hominibus domini regis concessimus. Volumus insuper et concessimus, quod idem dominus rex esset quitus et immunis de V. millibus librar. Turon. quas dabat nobis quolibet anno, et quod similiter esset quitus de conventionibus, quas nobiscum habebat, quod sine nobis cum rege Angliæ pacem, et treugam facere non posset. Concessimus insuper quod omnes aliæ conventiones, quæ usque ad hodiernum diem fuerunt inter claræ memoriæ regem Ludovicum genitorem prædicti domini regis, ipsum dominum regem, et dominum comitem Pictaviensem fratrem suum, et literæ super dictis conventionibus factæ irritæ sint et nullæ, et quod ad eas observandas prædicti dominus rex, et dominus Comes Pictaviæ frater suus nullo modo de cætero teneantur. Et cum, ut supra dictum est, nos et filii nostri prædicti, nos et terram nostram supposuimus voluntati domini regis, voluntas ipsius domini regis talis fuit, quod ipse nos Hugonem comitem Marchiæ recepit in hominem ligium de comitatu Angolismæ, et Castris, et Castellania de Cogniaco, et Jarniaco, de Merpino, et de Alba terra, de Villa Boen et pertinentiis prædictorum, quæ nobis et hæredibus nostris remanebunt, falvis prædictis, quæ idem dominus rex et gentes suæ conquiverunt super nos, quæ eidem domino regi, et dicto fratri suo domino comiti Pictaviensi, ut supra dictum est, in perpetuum remanebunt.

‘ Et nos comes Marchiæ de prædictus, scilicet de comitatu Angolismæ, castris et castillaniis de Cogniaco, de Jarniaco, de Merpino, de Alba-terra, de Villa-Boen, et pertinentiis prædictorum, falvis prædictis conquestis quæ

domino regi, et dicto domino comiti Piētaviensi fratri suo, ut supradictum est, remanebunt, fecimus eidem domino regi homagium ligium contra omnes homines et foeminas, qui possunt vivere et mori, salva fide prædicti comitis Piētaviensis fratris sui.

‘ Similiter fecimus homagium ligium contra omnes homines et foeminas qui possunt vivere et mori, prædicto domino comiti Piētaviensi fratri regis, et de Lefignam et comitatu Marchiæ et pertinentiis eorundum, falvis prædictis conquestis, quæ domino regi et domino comiti Piētaviensi fratri suo, ut supra dictum est, remanebunt. Concessit dominus rex nobis et hæredibus nostris quod nos in dominio regis Angliæ, seu comitis fratris sui, vel hæredum fuorum non ponet sine libera voluntate.

‘ Prædicta autem, prout superius sunt expressa, voluimus et concessimus, et præstito juramento corporali promissimus nos tenere, observare, et nullo modo per nos, vel per alium contravenire, nec aliquid attentare : quod ut firmum sit et stabile, præsentibus litteris sigilla nostra fecimus apponi. Actum in Castris Geria prope villam Pontium, anno Domini MCCCLII, mense Augusto.’

(xxx1) *Had not put on a coat of mail.* This justifies what I have advanced in the genealogy of the house of Joinville, that John lord of Joinville was not a knight in the year 1243, and consequently had not attained the age of twenty-one, which was the age to receive the order of knighthood, and put on the hauberk, which was a species of armour peculiar to knights. Hence it comes that those who possessed fiefs of hauberk in Normandy, ‘ qui per loricas terras suas serviebat,’ to use the terms of the laws of William I. king of England, were obliged to have horse and arms, and from the time they were twenty-one years of age to be created knights, in order that they might join the armies of their prince or other superior lord, on the first summons, as is noticed in the ancient MS. Coutumier of Normandy, 1. P. sect. 3. chap. 8.

When the term *loricati* is met with in ancient latin authors, it must be understood to mean such knights as were alone entitled to wear the hauberk, for before they wore but the arms of squires. I shall, however, defer to another opportunity speaking further of hauberks, and of hauberk fiefs.

(xxxii) *Attacked by a grievous malady.* The lord de Joinville says, this happened at Paris; but Nangis and the author of the Chronicle of Saint Denis say that it was at Pontoise. William Guiart particularly mentions the king being ill at the monastery of Maubouillon, and marks the year 1243 for the period, while the others place it in the following year.

(xxxiii) *Seeing him wear the cross.* Richer, monk of Sens, says, in his chronicle, ch. 10. that the king put on the cross in consequence of a vision that he had during this illness, and which he thus relates :

‘ Rex Francorum gravi detentus infirmitate usque ad mortem ægrotavit, cui talis apparuit visio. Videbat se in transmarinis partibus esse constitutum : ibi enim nostri Christiani et saraceni ad pugnam parati erant, et congregantes acius inter se pugnabant : et postquam diu pugnatum est, Saraceni nostros vicerunt, et omnes aut interficiebant aut captivos ad terram suam deducebant, ita quod de tanta multitudine nostrorum vix quindecim milites de bello fugientes remansisse dicerentur. Quod cum rex Franciæ videret, valde indoluit : cui fertur dictum fuisse, rex Franciæ hoc irrecuperabile damnum vindica. Rex autem ab hac visione reversus, vovit se ad terram sanctam post duos annos properaturum, et statim sibi crucem dari præcipiens, invita matre domina Blanchia, cruce signatus est. Pugna quippe ab ipso rege intuita accidit in festo St Andreæ, et sicut viderat verum fuit.’

Sanudo, book 3. part 12. ch. 1. relates at length how the king took the cross from the hands of the bishop of Paris during this illness, which happened about the feast of St Andrew.

Matthew Paris and Matthew of Westminster, pp. 318 and 319, mention likewise several circumstances of this illness.

(xxxiv) *Hugh duke of Burgundy.* IV. of the name.

(xxxv) *William earl of Flanders.* Of the house of Dampierre.

(xxxvi) *Hugh count of St Pol.* Lord of Châtillon, youngest son to Gaucher III. lord of Châtillon by Elizabeth countess of St Pol. He died in Cyprus. See du Chefne, Ferry de Locres, &c.

(xxxvii) *His nephew Walter.* Others call him *Gaucher*: he was the son of Guy de Châtillon, eldest brother of count Hugh by Agnes de Donzy.

(xxxviii) *Hugh le Brun and his son.* The particle *and* is useless, for it should be *Hugh le Brun his son.* He is speaking of the son of the count de la Marche, who bore the same name as his father. See the additions to Matthew Paris, p. 109.

(xxxix) *Gaubert de Premot.* He means, by this name Gosbert, lord of Aspremont. This lord was the son of Gosbert, and grandson to Geoffry lords of Aspremont: his mother was Juliana, second daughter to Roger, lord of Rosoy, by Alicia d'Avesnes. Her name appears in various deeds of the years 1235 and 1251, in the cartulary of Champagne, wherein she is styled lady of Aspremont, and mother to Gosbert, lord of Aspremont, and to Guy d'Aspremont.

The history of the expedition of Frederic I. to the holy land, to. 5. antiq. lect. Canisii, informs us that Gosbert, husband to Juliana, followed the emperor in this expedition in the year 1188. From their marriage proceeded Geoffry, lord of Aspremont, who married the countess of Sarebruche, and died without issue. Gosbert, who succeeded to his brother, is the person whom the lord de Joinville here speaks of. John d'Aspremont, who had embraced an ecclesiastical life, and sir Guy d'Aspremont, died at Tunis at the same time as St Louis. He had likewise two daughters, the one a nun, and the other married in Germany.

With regard to Gosbert, lord of Aspremont, whom we are speaking of, he married Agnes, daughter of Thomas de Coucy, by whom he had two sons and as many daughters, namely, Geoffry and Thomas, who espoused two sisters, daughters of Nicholas, lord of Kieurain. The eldest daughter, Jane, married the count de Sarebruche. All this is taken from the Genealogies of Badouin d'Avesnes; and for further particulars respecting this family, the reader must refer to Albericus in the year 1239. L'Alloüette, in his History of Coucy, l. 4. chap. 8. Du Chefne, in the Proofs of the History of the House of Bar, pp. 24. 33. Louvet in his Genealogies of the Nobility of Beauvoisis, &c.

(XL) *The rich men.* Our author makes use of this mode of expression in several parts of his history, to point out the barons and great lords of a country, in imitation of the Spaniards, who divide their nobility into three orders, *Ricos ombres*, *Cavalleros*, and *Infanços*. These are called in France barons, knights and squires. The term baron is generally understood to mean all those who have a right to bear a banner in the wars, and are commonly called bannerets, but to whom the Spaniards give a more specific name, *ricos hombres de fenera*. Hieronimus Blanca in Comment. Rer. Arragon. often speaks of these rich men, or rather of these Spanish Ricombres, who are usually styled *rici homines* in latin deeds. M. d'Oyenart has likewise mentioned something of them in his notice of Gascony, book 2. chap. 4. André Bosch also in book 3. *dels tetols de honor de Carthalyunya*, p. 320, informs us, that in Catalogne and in Arragon there are two sorts of rich men, namely, *les richs homens de natura*, and *les rich homens mefnaders*.

The first are called *Ricos ombres naturales del regno*, in book the first des Fors de Navarre, ch. 1. Many have thought that the *Ricombres* were thus named in Spain from the syllable *ric*, which is found to terminate the names of the greater part of the gothic kings; but I believe it more probably originates from another word which was common to the northern nations. *Ric*, which is the termination of most of the names of their chieftains, signifies rich, whence the Germans have formed the word *rück*, the French *riche*; and the Spaniards *rico*, to mark a person of opulency; and because great lords are commonly rich and powerful in land, they have been thus styled, besides, that all who abounded in landed property did not come under the title of *Ricos ombres*, for birth, fiefs, and distinguished lordships, alone gave this qualification.

This has made Bosch say, that *los rich homens* (of Arragon, who in Castille are styled Magnates) *erans aixi anomenats no per ser richs, o tenir molt bens, sino per esser de clart lignatge y poderosos, qui eran aquelles que tenien senyoria en los feus ques anomenavan honors, &c.*

With regard to this mode of speech observed in France, we have an example of it in a french deed inserted in the history of Mat. Paris in the year 1247, page 83; and in an ordinance of Philip le hardy, of the month of December in the year 1275, which is in the register of the treasure

of Chartres, fol. 49 & 58, 'et se l'en trouvoit aulcun riche home coustumier de faire encontre les ordonnances, nous voulons,' &c.

William Guiart, in the year 1302 :

'Males et tentes la estoient,
Où li riche home la nuit gisent.'

And further on,

'Es rens dehors font li riché home,
Très bien armés jusques ès plantes.'

And elsewhere, according to Gasse,

'Moult i out riches homs, gran fu la baronie.'

In the MS. Affizes of Jerusalem, ch. 202, 'et se il avient que le chef seignor se doute d'aulcuns de ses riches homes, que il ait chastiau, ou cité, ou ville, et que il ait peuple d'armes,' &c.

In latin deeds, they are called *divites homines*. A roll in the chamber of accounts at Paris, entitled, 'Pro robis datis militibus D. Philippi (filii S. Ludovici) et gentibus Cameræ suæ. Comes Drocensis, dom. de Borbonio, G. filius comitis Flandr. pro robis famiti, &c. pro co-opertoriis, &c. pro tribus dextrariis, et tribus palefridis dictorum divitum hominum 300 libr.' Wherein may be seen that the title of *riches hommes* is given to the king's children, and to the great lords. On the contrary, the common people are distinguished by William Guiart, under the terms of *pauvres hommes*, in the life of Philip Auguste :

'En cela part que j'ay descrite,
Que li rois Joüan leur ot dite,
Ou li povre homme de l'ost ierent.'

(XLI) *If there were none other.* Those who had put on the cross, and were preparing for these long and troublesome expeditions to the holy land, were accustomed, before their departure, to settle their affairs, to make their wills, and to fix portions for their children. And as their return was very uncertain, both from the difficulties of the journey, and the hazards and perils of war, the events of which are always doubtful, they commonly performed all such acts as those who are on the point of death usually observe; such as making restitution of whatever they may have seized or

usurped from the church or from private persons, for the discharge of their consciences. Title-deeds abound with these restitutions made to the church by knights before their departure for the holy land.

The lord de Joinville, although he did not feel himself guilty of any such usurpations, yet to satisfy the duty of his conscience, made preparations, before he set out on this expedition, to repair whatever wrongs he might have done to his neighbours, should there be any of them that made complaint against him.

Thus Hugh IX. count de la Marche, ‘in procinctu itineris transmarini constitutus,’ made his will in the year 1248, which is in the *Treſor des Chartes du Roi*, and contains, among other expressions, the following :

‘Deinde statuo quod si hæreditatem alicujus detinerem minus juste, nec inde satisfecerim, circa articulum mortis meæ solvo restituo, et penitus quito: dum modo coram executoribus testamenti mei probare potuerint cognita veritate.’

Many persons therefore imagine that the greater part of the monasteries built towards the end of the eleventh century, and in the following ones, were solely founded from the restitutions which the great lords had made prior to their undertaking expeditions to such a great distance. See M. Perard in his *Memoirs of Burgundy*, p. 202.

(XLII) *I mortgaged.* The devotion of our first croifaders in the holy land, added to their courage and desire of acquiring glory and reputation in the wars, were so extraordinary, that they not only made no difficulty in abandoning their families and country, but even alienated or mortgaged the fairest parts of their possessions. Odericus Vitalis, in book the ninth, speaking of the first enterprises of the croifaders, says, ‘Mariti dilectas conjuges domi relinquere disponebant. Illæ vero gementes, relicta prole cum omnibus divitiis suis in peregrinatione viros suos sequi cupiebant. Prædia vero hætenus chara, vili pretio nunc vendebantur, et arma emebantur, quibus ultio divina super allophylos exerceretur.’

Henry of Huntingdon, in his history of England, book the seventh, says, ‘Hoc est miraculum Domini temporibus nostris factum, sæculis omnibus inauditum, ut tam diversæ gentes, tot fortissimi proceres, relictis

possessionibus splendidis, uxoribus et filiis, omnes una mente loca ignotissima, morte spreta, petierint.’

And Anna Comnena, in the 10th book of her *Alexiade*, writing on this subject, speaks of our Paladins, *και χηματιζόμενοι κατά των Τούρκων απέρχονται εις εκδίκησιν του άγιου ταφου τας ιδίας σπιτωρασκον χωρας.*

The history of these wars informs us, that Godfrey de Bouillon, Raymond count de St Gilles, William duke of Normandy, Boëmond duke de la Puglia, Harpin count de Bourges, and other great lords, sold or mortgaged their duchies or counties, to supply the means for the expense of so great an enterprise. Such was the height of their fervour; and in imitation of them, and following the example of his ancestors, the lord de Joinville did not fail to mortgage the better part of his estates, although they were then but small, on account of his mother’s enjoying the larger share for her dower.

The facility with which the croisaders sold or mortgaged their lands, to afford them the means of undertaking these expeditions, gave rise to the spirited reply which king Philip Augustus made to John king of England, who having put on the cross, and afterwards sending his ambassadors to Philip, to demand ‘ut aliquam partem terræ suæ, quam bello acquisierat, ei pro certa pecuniæ quantitate reddere dignaretur,’ the king gave them this witty answer: ‘Mirabile et inauditum esse, ut cruce signatus vellet emere, qui potius distrahere deberet, si suæ peregrinationi insisteret, sicut deberet.’

These are the words of Albericus in the year 1215. See also Guibert, lib. 2. Hist. Hieros. cap. 6. and Matt. Paris in the years 1240 and 1250, pp. 355. 517.

(XLIII) *Made them pay homage.* The king, Louis VIII. father to saint Louis, when taken ill of a grievous disorder at Montpensier, of which he died, exacted a similar oath from those barons who were then at court, as the letters of this king inform us, which remain in the cartulary of Champagne, in the chamber of accounts at Paris, entitled, ‘Liber principum: Ludovicus D. G. rex Francorum, universis amicis et fidelibus suis, ad quos litteræ præsentis pervenerint, salutem et dilectionem. Noverit universitas vestra quod dum nos apud Montpencier gravi valetudine corporis

laborare contigisset, timentes de periculo regni post decessum nostrum, provida deliberatione et præhabito salubri consilio, mandavimus dilectos et fideles nostros prælatos et barones, Bituricensē et Senonensē archiepiscopos, Belvacensē, Noviomensē, et Carnotensē episcopos, comitem Boloniæ, comitem Montisfortis, comitem de Sacrocæfare, et Joannem de Nigella, eosque rogavimus adjurantes, ut jurarent coram nobis, se quam citius posset, si de nobis humanitus contingeret, Ludovico majori filio nostro fidelitatem et homagium tanquam domino et regi bona fide facturos, et quod procurarent quod ipse, quam citius fieri posset, coronaretur in regem, &c. Actum apud Montpencier, anno 1226, mense Novembris.'

There are similar letters from these same barons in the cartulary of Champagne, in the king's library, fol. 132. and which are likewise in the *Trefor des Chartes du Roi*, Layette Melanges, the inventory of which is inserted in the first volume of the *Ceremonial de France*, p. 142.

King Charles VI. provided in the same manner for the security of the royal succession by his letters patent read publicly and aloud in the great chamber of the parliament, the king sitting on his bed of justice (these are the words of these letters), the morrow of the feast of Christmas, 26th Dec. 1407, in the presence of the king of Sicily, the dukes of Guyenne, Berry, Bourbon and Bavaria, the counts of Mortain, Nevers, Alençon, Clermont, Vendôme, St Pol, Tancarville, &c. of the constable of France, the archbishops of Sens and Bezançon, the bishops of Auxerre, Angers, Evreux, Poitiers and Gap; of the grand master of the household, and of all the officers of the superior courts of justice.

By these letters, the king declares and wills, 'that his eldest son, and the eldest sons of his successors however young they may be then, or at the time of his decease, or at that of his successors, should, instantly after such decease, be called to the crown and styled and reputed kings of France and successors to that throne; and should, as soon as may be after such decease, be crowned and consecrated king, without any one pretending, however nearly related he may be, to the regency or government of the kingdom. Should it, however, happen, that his aforesaid son be under age, in order that the realm may be wisely and properly governed, he wills that the queen mothers, should they be living, and the nearest relatives to the crown and to the then

blood-royal be a council of regency, aided by the advice of the constable and chancellor of France, and the most distinguished of the present council of state.'

These letters are in a register of the chamber of accounts at Paris marked H, containing charters and letters of Louis duke of Guyenne, dauphin of Viennois, and in the treatise on the majority of the kings of France by M. du Puy.

The king St Louis, before his departure, appointed his mother, the queen Blanche of Castille, regent of the kingdom. The letters of appointment are to be found in the proofs of the '*Libertés de l'Eglise gallicane*,' ch. 16. n. 12.: add to this the 15th chap. notes 27, 28.

There is a title-deed of the month of February 1249, in the cartulary of the priory of Lihons en Sangters of the order of Cluny, ch. 12. which proves, that in this quality she took her seat in the parliament among the barons of France: '*Coram nobis cognoverunt quod judicatum fuit per veram sententiam in curia domini regis, per Blancham reginam Franciæ, et alios barones, qui debent et possunt de jure in Curia domini regis judicare, quod,*' &c.

(XLIV) *Not being his subject.* Pierre de St Julien, in his antiquities of Châlons, p. 140, and after him M. Chiflet, in *Vindiciis Hispan.* have made use of this passage to justify, or rather to draw, this conclusion, that since the lord de Joinville did not acknowledge himself a subject of the king, it follows that the count de Champagne, under whom he held his fiefs, did not hold his county from the crown of France. As this is very important to history, I think it will afford room for one or more dissertations or digressions. By the first, I shall shew, that this passage can in no way lead to the consequence that has been drawn from it; and, in the second, I undertake to overturn the opinion which Chiflet has advanced, and completely to prove this dependance of the counts of Champagne on the kingdom of France, and that the counts of this province have been counts palatine of the empire.

See the 13th and 14th dissertations.

(XLV) *The abbot of Cheminon.* Cheminon was an abbey in the diocese of Châlons, of the order of Cistercians, of which Albericus, in the year 1110, and Cæfarius Heisterbac. lib. ii. Mirac. chap. 61. likewise make mention.

I have shewn, in my observations on Villehardouin, that the lords and gentlemen received the crosses from the hands of prelates, bishops and abbots, and have quoted this passage as my justification.

(XLVI) *My companion.* This word is commonly employed in the same sense as the Romans used 'commilito,' that is to say, companion in arms. The romance of Garin le Loherans,

' D'armes foyons moy et toy compaignon,
Tien toy lés moy, gentil fuis à baron.'

And elsewhere,

' Compaignons d'armes avons esté sept ans.'

And as it signifies equality of condition, it is also often employed to mark an independence of superiority. Whence it happened that gentlemen, who bore arms under the same chief, for example, two knights-bachelors under a banneret called themselves, and were stiled companions. In the ancient chronicle of Flanders, ch. 78. M. de Ray is stiled 'compain du compte de Montbeliard.' In the history of Charles VII. written by the herald Berry, p. 143. is 'Floquet, compaignon dudit de Brezé en armes.'

Sometimes the word brother is added to that of companion, 'Frere et compaignon d'armes,' by some of our historians. But it is probable that the word brother, in this junction, meant something more than companion; but this I shall reserve for further discussion in the twenty-first dissertation.

(XLVII) *Le fire du Chateau.* William de Puylaurens, ch. 48. Nangis, the Chronicle of St Denis, and William Guyart, all relate this circumstance.

(XLVIII) *In the month of August.* Towards the end of that month; for the king had set out on the morrow of the feast of Saint Bartholomew, the

25th of August, some days before the lord de Joinville, who besides mentions that St Louis was in the island of Cyprus when he landed there.

(XLIX) *At the rock of Maffeilles.* He thus calls the promontory which incloses the port of Marfeilles, where the fort of Nôtre Dame de la Garde is placed. The writers of the middle ages often use the word rock to signify a fort or castle. ‘Chronicon Ceccanenſe, feu Foſſœnovæ, an. 1185, adepti ſunt Saloniciam cum multis civitatibus et caſtellis et roccis Romanicæ.’ It is likewiſe to be noticed, that our author calls this town Maffeilles, and not Marfeilles, from the latin name Maffilia.

(L) *The port hole of the veſſel.* I quoted this expreſſion in my obſervations on the hiſtory of Geoffry de Villehardouin, n. 14. to prove that veſſels having doors and openings were from thence called *huiſſieres*, *uſariæ*, *uſeriæ*, and *wiſſeriæ*, in ſome latin authors; which words have exerciſed the ingenuity of the learned, and particularly Freher, who had perſuaded himſelf they were a corruption of the word *luſoriæ*, which is the name given to certain veſſels on the Danube. Philippes de Mezieres, in his life of St Peter Thomas, patriarch of Conſtantinople, ch. 15. n. 87. calls them elegantly ‘Huiſſeria: videlicet 60 navigia inter galeas, et alia navigia militum armatorum:’ and in n. 91. ‘inter galeas, huiſſeria, ligna, naves, et alia navigia.’

Theſe veſſels are called *uſſerii* in the treaty between the Venetians and the Chriſtian princes againſt the Turks, ‘apud Raynald. in annal. eccl. an. 1334. n. 8.’—*Viſers*, in Roger de Hoveden and Brompton, in the year 1190.—*Uſcieri*, in John Villani, chap. 49. l. 8. ch. 92. l. 9. ch. 107. l. 10.—*Uſiheri*, in Juſtinian’s hiſtory of Genoa in the year 1293. William archbiſhop of Tyre, book 28. ch. 14. ſpeaks of theſe *huis*, and theſe doors of the Palandries, or veſſels to tranſport horſes, in the following terms, which greatly ſtrengthens what I have advanced as the origin of the word, ‘Erant ſane in præfato exercitu naves longæ roſtratae geminis remorum inſtructæ ordinibus, bellicis uſibus habiliores, quæ vulgo Galeæ dicuntur, 150. In his majores ad deportandos equos deputatæ, oſta habentes in puppibus ad inducendos, educendos que eos patientia, pontibus etiam, quibus ad ingreſſum et exitum tam hominum quam equorum procurabatur commoditas,

communitæ 60.' Which Hugh Plagon, the ancient interpreter of this author has thus translated, 'other vessels called Huiffiers, used to transport horses.'

Not only was the name of *huiffieres* given to such sort of vessels, but likewise to the false doors of halls or chambers, made to slide backward and forward. In the account of Stephen de la Fontaine, silversmith to the king in the year 1350, is a charge, 'pour 10 fergettes vermeilles, pour mettre aux huiffieres et fenestres de la chambre du roi.'

(LI) *In Cyprus.* Sanuto, l. 2. part 2. ch. 3. disapproves of the route St Louis took in stopping at Cyprus in his way to Egypt for two reasons. The first, because Egypt was a more wholesome climate, more abundant in water, fish and provision, and every other thing than Cyprus: it was therefore useless to stop there under pretext of refreshing the troops, and giving them time to recover the voyage. In the second place, it would have been more advantageous to have instantly attacked the enemy in Egypt before he had time to collect forces, which was the case during the stay at Cyprus, in which time considerable progress might have been made against the Saracens.

(LII) *Store of provision.* Matt. Paris writes, that when the king's army was in want of provision, the Venetians and the inhabitants of some other towns which he does not name brought succour. The emperor Frederick sent him also assistance, for which the king felt himself so much obliged that he wrote in his favour to the pope to obtain his absolution. Queen Blanche likewise thanked him by her letters, and sent him various presents, as an acknowledgement from France to him on this occasion, assuring him that the whole french army was indebted to him for its preservation.

The history of the archbishops of Bremen notices, in the year 1249, the succour our troops received from Frederick: 'Rex Franciæ cum pluribus fui regni militibus terram sanctum adiens, circa octavam Pentecostes obtinuit Damiatam, quem Fredericus imperator multis dicitur obsequiis adjuvisse.'

There are two letters from this emperor in the Trésor des Chartes, that shew the esteem he had for St Louis: he chose him for his arbitrator in his

difference with the pope, and left the matter to be finally determined by him and the peers of his realm. These letters mention the succour of provision sent to the holy land, and they are too honourable to our kings and to France not to be inserted in this place.

‘ Fredericus, D. G. Romanorum imperator semper Augustus, Jerusalem et Siciliae rex, universis praesentes litteras inspecturis per regnum Franciae constitutis dilectis sibi, salutem et omne bonum. Cum per aliquos retroactos Romanae sedis antistites, et praesentem, nos et alios reges, principes orbis, et nobiles, regna, principatus, honores quoslibet et jurisdictiones habentes, gravatos merito censeamus, ex eo quod ipsi contra Deum et justitiam posse, sibi jurisdictionem et auctoritatem usurpant instituendi et destituendi, seu removendi ab imperio, regnis, principatibus et honoribus suis, imperatores, reges et principes, seu quoscumque Magnates, temporalem auctoritatem in eos exercendo; absolvendo etiam a sacramentis, quibus dominis suis vassalli tenentur, contra dominos excommunicationis tantummodo sententia permulgata. Quodque quaestione, sive dissensione inter dominos et vassalos, seu inter duos nobiles et vicinos invicem contententes, prout affolet, emergente, praedicti summi pontifices ad petitionem unius partis tantummodo partes suas interponunt, volendo ipsos invitos in se compromittere, vel aliter ad concordiam coercere, et alligando se fidelibus contra dominos, aut uni de partibus supra dictis, quod non prius pacem cum aliis faciant, quam alligatos sibi ponant in pace: recipiendo similiter promissionem de non faciendo pacem cum dominis a vassalis. Item ex eo quod praedicti summi pontifices in praedictum jurisdictionis et honoris regnum et principum praedictorum, ad petitionem clericorum, seu laicorum, cognitiones causarum de rebus temporalibus, possessionibus feodalibus seu Burgesaticis, in ecclesiastico foro tractandas recipiunt et committunt. Ecce quod nos ad praedictam injuriam documentis evidentibus ostendendam, et ipsam a nobis, et eis, rationabiliter removendam, magistrum Petrum de Vineam magnae curiae nostrae Judicem, et G. de Odra clericum, dilectos et fideles nostros ad Ludovicum illustrem regem Francorum Karissimum amicum nostrum providimus destinandos: affectuose rogantes, ac ob tuitionem et conservationem jurium nostrorum et imperii, regum aliorum et principum, seu quorumcumque nobilium efficaciter requirentes eundem, ut congregatis:

coram se laicis paribus regni sui, aliisque nobilibus tanto negotio opportunis, per se cum eis super omnibus prædictis et singulis audiat jura nostra. Cæterum si ipsa prædicta non duxerit assumenda, cum nos qui auctore domino Romani imperii regnorem Jerusalem et Siciliæ moderamur habenas, tam enormem injuriam, et tam informem usurpationem diebus nostris tolerare nolumus, regem eundem iusta precum intercessione rogamus, quatenus nobis causam nostram, suam, et aliorum principum viriliter prosequentibus, se contrarium non opponat: nec de suo regno aliquos laicos, seu clericos temporaliter nobis opponi permittat; nullumque præsentis summo pontifici, seu successoribus suis contra nos, discrimine præsentis durante, in regno, vel de regno suo præsidium, seu receptaculum tribuat, aut tribui patiatur. Porro si forsitan rex prædictus cum paribus, et nobilibus regni sui, prout tantum regem, et regnum condecet, partes suas interponendas viderit in prædictis, summumque pontificem, sive per justitiæ debitum, vel modo quolibet ad istud induxerit, ut velit prædicta gravamina nobis et aliis Christianis primatibus inrogata, et id specialiter, quod contra nos nuper in Lugdunensi concilio statuit, quatenus de facto processit, cum prorsus de jure non valeat, revocare.

‘ Nos ob honorem et reverentiam Dei et Redemptoris nostri, nec non ob amorem quem ad regem et regnum Franciæ præ cæteris singularem habemus, causam quæ inter nos, et summum pontificem vertitur supradictum, quatenus contingit eundem, in manibus ponimus reus ejusdem, perati omnia quæcumque per nos idem rex de consilio parium, nobiliumque suorum, visis et diligenter auditis nostris juribus, ecclesiæ viderit emendanda corrigere et in statum debitum integre reformare. Ac deinde pace per hoc inter nos et ecclesiam procedente, et reliquiis Longobardorum prout tenentur et debent, vel ad mandatum nostrum, et imperii redeuntibus, vel prorsus ab ecclesiæ defensione seclusis, promptos nos offerimus et paratos, vel prædicto rege ad defensionem Christianitatis, et statum pacificum conservandum in cismarinis partibus remanente, vel una cum eo, si hoc melius viderit elegendum, ad transmarinas partes per nos, aut Conradum carissimum filium nostrum Romanorum in regem electum, et regni Jerosolymitani hæredem omne prospero transfretare.

‘ Ad hos nos obligantes specialiter et expressim, quod vel cum rege Franciæ, -five sine eo terram totam Jerosolymitanam, et quidquid unquam a diebus antiquis regno Jerosolymitano pertinuit, ad proprietatem et ditionem regni ipsius, et Christianitatis cultum, nostris imperii, et regnorum nostrorum viribus, laboribus, et sumptibus, curabimus revocare. Nihilominus tamen, si forte, quod absit, discrimen præsentis discordiæ inter nos, ecclesiam et Lombardos durare contigerit, prædicto regi, ac omnibus signatis cruce cum eo, quatenus præsentium negotiorum et temporum qualitas patitur et tempestas, præsidia nostra terra marique tam in navibus, quam victualibus, promptis affectibus offerimus per præsentem. Superque omnibus et singulis supradictis quæ præsentium series continet litterarum, auctoritatem et mandatum plenum prædictis magistro Petro de Vineia, et G. de Oca duximus conferendum: ratum habentes et firmum quidquid per eosdem in iis pro parte nostri Culminis extiterit ordinatum.

‘ Datum Cremonæ xxii Septembri quartæ indictionis (1246).’

This letter was sealed with a golden seal hanging to a silken chain of purple colour having on one side the impression of the emperor seated with a patriarchal staff in one hand, and in the other a globe crossed, with the usual inscription,

‘ Frideric. Gra. Romanoru. impator. et Sep. August. Rex Siciliæ.’

On the reverse was the city of Rome and the ordinary inscription,

‘ Roma caput mundi regit orbis frena rotundi.’

‘ Fredericus D. G. Romanorum imperator semper August. Hierusalem et Siciliæ rex, iusticiariis, magistris camerariis, magistris procuratoribus, et universis per regnum Siciliæ constitutis fidelibus suis, gratiam et bonam voluntatem. Cum Ludovicus illustris rex Francorum dilectus amicus noster, quem sinceri amoris integritate complectimur ad illius honorem qui regibus dat salutem, pro terræ sanctæ subsidio, signo mirificæ crucis assumpto, disponat ad partes ultramarinas in festo B. Joannis proxime futuræ VI. interdictionis laudabiliter transfretare: volentes eidem felicem utinam transitum et suorum regni nostri fertilitate fulciri fidelitate vestræ præcipiendo mandamus, quatenus cum in eo rem nostram et Conradi Romanorum in regem electi, et regni Hierosolymitani hæredis, carissimi

filii nostri, quasi agere videamus, equos, arma, victualia et necessaria quælibet, tam pro rege prædicto, quam pro iis qui de suo sunt hospitio, vel familia, per regnum nostrum emi sine molestia ad commune pretium, quod ipsi emptionis tempore generaliter distrahetur in regno, et a kalendis proximo futuri mensis Martij prædictæ vi. indiçtionis inantea usque per totum tempus quo prædictus rex in ultra marinis partibus pro Christi servitio moram trahet, emi et extrahi de regno libere ac illac deferri, tam per terram, quam aquam per eodem negotio sine et empimento quolibet permittatis. Dat. Luteciæ anno Dominicæ Incarn. MCCXLVI. mense Novembri v. indic.'

Sealed on a chain of scarlet silk, with a small golden seal of the emperor Frederick, having on one side his figure, seated with the usual inscription,

'Frideric Di. Gra. Romanor. Imperator sep. august. rex Siciliæ et Ierlem.'

On the reverse, the topography of Naples and Sicily, with this inscription:

'Regnum Sicil. Ducat. Apulie 7. Principat Capue v.'

See Matt. of Westminster, pp. 341, 342.

(LIII) *During the time of the king's residence.* William Guiart, Matt. Paris, Nangis, and Vincent de Beauvais, l. 32. ch. 89. The bishop of Tusculum, in his letter to pope Innocent VI. to. 7. Spicileg. pp. 214. 224. all remark, that many great barons died at Cyprus during the time the king remained there.

(LIV) *The great king of Tartary.* This king was not the great chan of Tartary, but a king or prince over his subjects, whose name was Ercatay, as we learn from G. de Nangis, and from the letter of this same prince which is inserted by Vincent de Beauvais, l. 32. ch. 90, 91, and 93. and in the additions to Matt. Paris, p. 146. He is called Erchalchai in the letter of the bishop of Tusculum, to. 7. Spicileg. p. 216.

(LV) *And sent his people.* See likewise the same Vincent de Beauvais, l. 32. ch. 94.

(LVI) *The sultan of Conie.* This sultan of Iconium, a town in Cilicia, or Caramania, which the Turks at this day call Coni, according to Leunclavius in Pand. Turc. n. 12. 77. 180. had the name of Azatines, and was a Christian, as Nicephorus Gregoras. l. 4. and Phranzes, l. 1. ch. 24. assure us.

There is a letter from him to pope Gregory IX. who wanted to persuade him to embrace the Christian religion, in the ecclesiastical annals of Odoricus Raynaldus in the year 1235, n. 37. in which he is called Alatinus. He therein assumes the following titles: ‘Magnus soldanus Iconii, et Potestas omnium terrarum per orientem et septentrionalem plagam existentium, et magnæ Cappadociæ.’

Vincent de Beauvais, l. 31. ch. 143 and 144. relates at length the power of this prince, and the riches of his treasury. With regard to the term Sultan, which is often used in this history, there is matter sufficient to compose a whole dissertation, and which shall form the sixteenth.

(LVII) *Had melted a part of his gold.* Vincent de Beauvais says, in l. 31. ch. 144. ‘Est autem in ejus regno fortissimum castrum, quod candelaria dicitur, ubi est Thesaurus ipsius, et dicitur quod ibi sunt 16. pithariæ plenæ auro depurato, in ipsis liquato, exceptis lapidibus pretiosis, et pecunia multa nimis.’

(LVIII) *This king of Armenia.* Vincent de Beauvais, l. 31. ch. 43. and 44. and Sanuto, l. 3. part. 13. ch. 6. relate likewise that Haiton, king of Armenia fought an alliance with the Tartars, to shelter himself from the continual inroads of the Turks.

(LIX) *The sultan of Babylon.* According to the Arabian Chronicle given to the public by Abraham Echellenfis, his name was Saleh Nagem-addim Aiiub, and he was son to the king Alcamel Mahomet, whom Vincent de Beauvais, in l. 32. ch. 100 & 101. calls Soldanus Kiemel, and whom I believe to be the Chemel that William of Tyre mentions in l. 9. ch. 21. and the Melec Equemel of Sanuto, l. 3. ch. 12. p. 11. in an epistle which this sultan wrote to pope Innocent IV. which is preserved by Odoricus

Raynaldus in his annals of the year 1246. n. 52. He styles himself Saleh Belfet, Aiob Soldani Regis Hadel Robere filii Aiob. His name and titles are likewise to be seen in Matt. Paris, p. 477.

(LX) *The fultan of Hamault.* It should be of *Haman*. This fultan was lord of Aleppo, as we learn from the monk Aython, ch. 38 & 39. and from Vincent de Beauvais, l. 32. ch. 89 & 95. wherein he relates also the difference between the two fultans. The legate does the same in his epistle to Innocent IV. to. 7. Spicileg. p. 223. He possessed, among other towns, Aleppo, called by the ancients Chalybon (for thus it must be read in Foucher de Chartres, l. 3. ch. 31. and not Calypton, as it is there printed), Camela and Haman. Thence it happens that he is indiscriminately titled by the lord de Joinville, and other writers, fultan of Halape and of la Chamelle.

According to Aython, ch. 29. his name was Melec Nazer. With regard to the town of Haman, there is frequent mention made of it by the writers of the history of the holy wars:

Gautier. de bellis Antioch. p. 444.

William of Tyre, l. 5. ch. 1. l. 7. ch. 12. l. 21. ch. 6. 8.

Jacques de Vitry, l. 1. ch. 92.

Vincent de Beauvais, l. 31. ch. 144.

Sanuto, l. 3. part 6. ch. 22. part 9. ch. 3. part 11. ch. 15. part 13. ch. 7 & 8.

Aython, ch. 15. 36 & 59.

I have said something of la Chamelle in my historical treatise on the head of St John the Baptist.

(LXI) *Chefs.* This game has been always very much in vogue among the Turks and Saracens, as we learn from Elemacin, l. 2. ch. 7. from Aython, ch. 53. and from Ducas, in his history, ch. 16. The game has even taken its name from a turkish or arabic word Scach, which signifies king, because the principal piece of chefs is the king, as is noticed in the Pandect of Leunclavius, n. 1. 102. 179.

The Greeks of the middle ages, and those of the present day, call it *Zατάριον*, as Saumaïse, in his observations on Pliny, and Meursius in his glossary, have observed. Anna Comnena, in the 22d book of her *Alexiade* makes use of this word, and remarks, that it was invented by the Assyrians. See the chronicle of Hainault by Jacques de Guyse, vol. 1. pp. 53 & 54. and M. Menage in his glossary of the french language.

Lucanus in paneg. ad Pisonem has elegantly described the game of chefs, and after him Hieronymus Vidas.

(LXII) *The point of Lymeßon.* This promontory is so called from the town of Lymeßon, which is situated in that part of the island. It is also called *Lemise*, *Limone* or *Nemofie*, and by the ancients Neapolis.

See Stephen de Lefignan's history of Cyprus, ch. 7. pp. 19, 20.

(LXIII) *The prince of the Morea.* William de Villehardouin, prince of Achaia and of the Morea, seneschal of Romania.

William de Guiart sings,

‘ Lors vint pour ce que eus passast,
O mainte armeure dorée,
Cil qui prince iert de la Morée.’

See Nangis' life of St. Louis, p. 353. Vincent de Beauvais, l. 32. ch. 97. Acropolita, ch. 48. and what I have said of this prince in the genealogy of that family, and in the history of the empire of Constantinople under the french emperors.

(LXIV) *The duke of Burgundy.* The duke of Burgundy had passed the winter in the Morea, according to Vincent de Beauvais, l. 32. ch. 97. and, as I presume, then returned to Constantinople, which he undertook in consequence of a promise he had made the emperor Baldwin so long ago as the year 1238, to succour him in case of need, as we read in Albericus.

(LXV) *Naccaires.* The Italians call them *naccara* and *gnacara*. Philippo Venuto says, that it is a ‘Stromento musico, col quale i fanciulli cantano il san Martino.’ Pietro de la Valle, in his travels, ep. 6. says, that a sort of

drum is called by this name which is used by the german cavalry, and which we commonly call *tymbals*. Jean d'Oronville, in his history of Louis duke of Bourbon, chap. 76. attributes in like manner the naccaires to the Saracens of Africa. 'The king of Tunis, the king of Tremecen, and the king of Bugia, came before the town of Africa with their array, and, according to custom, attended by their naccaires, drums, cymbals, flutes and shoutings.'

The author of the life of Louis VII. ch. 8. gives the invention of them to the Turks, 'Tympanis et nacariis et aliis similibus instrumentis refonabant;' by an error of the press it is, in the printed copy, *macariis*. The edition of Poitiers has likewise the word *macaires*, p. 31. Our Frenchmen afterwards borrowed this instrument from the infidels, and made use of it in their wars. In the rhyming chronicle of Bertrand de Guesclin is,

'Naquaires et buifines y pouvoit on oir.'

Sanuto, l. 2. part. 4. ch. 20, 21. 'Sint quatuor tubatores, tibicines, tibiatores, et qui sciunt pulsare nacharas, tympana seu tamburla.'

A roll in the chamber of accounts at Paris, entitled, 'A list of the household of monsieur de Poitiers. The minstrels of my lord of Poitiers. Raoulin de St Verin, menestrel du Cor Sarazinois. Andrieu et Bernart Trompeurs, Paris et de Nacaires, Bernart de la Tempeste.'

William Guiart calls these instruments *anacaires* in the year 1214.

'Tabours, trompes, et anacaires,
En tant de lieu ça et là sonnent,
Que toute le contrée estonnent.'

And further on,

'Lors oiffiés tentir buifines,
A grant paine et a labours,
Cors, anacaires et tabours.'

The modern Greeks use the word *ανακαραι*, from which they have formed *ανακαρισαι*, players on the nacaire, which Nicetas, in his life of Manuel, l. 5. in that of Isaac. l. 1. and Codin, make use of.

In the MS. romance of Belifarius, written in the vulgar Greek, *παιζουμ τρουμπετες, οργανα, τουπακια ανακαραδες*. The old latin and french dictionary, published by father Labe, translates the word *inctitare* to play on the

nacaires, whereas *tingitare* is to tingle. Besides, *tarantarizare*, *tromper* and *nagaïrer*, is to play on the nacaires.

(LXVI) *John of Belmont*. This lord is styled chamberlain to the king in a deed of the year 1235, and is the same whom the king, St Louis, sent in 1239 against the Albigenes, according to G. Nangis. The edition of Poitiers misnames him *de Briemont*.

(LXVII) *Airart de Brienne*. This Airard was the son of Airard de Brienne, lord of Rameru, by Philippa of Champagne, of whom mention has already been made. See the 'Lignage d'Outremer,' and the genealogy of this family in the general history of France by Messieurs de Sainte Marthe, I. 10. ch. 16. of the third edition.

(LXVIII) *Madame de Baruth*. Eschive de Montbeliard, daughter of Walter de Montbeliard and de Bourgogne de Cypre. See Sanuto, I. 3. part. 11. ch. 16. and the 'Lignage d'Outremer,' until I shall more amply speak of them in my history of the families of the east.

(LXIX) *And was drowned*. After these words the Poitiers edition adds, * And I must relate a marvellous event which happened in my little boat. I had taken with me two valiant knights-bachelor, whose names were Villains de Vergy and William de Dammartin. They bore so great a hatred to each other, that it could not be exceeded, inasmuch that they had several times fought, and there was no way of appeasing their rage. But when my boat was on the point of leaving the ship for land, on a sudden these two bachelors, without saying one word, ran and embraced each other, weeping through affection, and mutually asking pardon for their offences. I mention this to shew, that the danger of death extinguishes all hatred and rancour.'

(LXX) *The standard of St Denis*. That is to say, the vessel which bore the standard of St Denis, for, further on, 'the galley arrived with the standard of St Denis;' and directly afterward, 'when the good king Saint

Louis knew that the standard of St Denis was landed.' Vincent de Beauvais, l. 32. ch. 97. 'Præcedente quoque in aliis vafellis juxta ipfos B. Dionysii martyris vexillo.' This standard of St Denis was no other than the oriflamme, which will furnish the subject of the eighteenth dissertation.

(LXXI) *The count de Japhe.* This count was the person who had succeeded count Walter de Brienne, made prisoner by the sultan of Persia, about the year 1244. His name was John d'Ibelin, and he was lord of Baruth, by descent from his father, Balian d'Ibelin. His mother was Eschive de Montbeliard, by reason of which alliance John d'Ibelin was a cousin, once removed, from Germain de Richard, count de Montbeliard, son of Peter. I believe we must thus understand the lord de Joinville, when he says the count de Japhe was cousin-german to the count de Montbeliard.

Sanuto, l. 3. part 11. ch. 5 & 8, gives him the title of count de Japhe in the year 1266. The book of the Assizes of the kingdom of Jerusalem says, that it was he who reduced to writing the laws and statutes of that kingdom. The 'Lignage d'Outremer,' gives him also the title of lord of Baruth.

With regard to what the lord de Joinville says of the count de Japhe being of the lineage of Joinville, it must be understood to be so through the female line; for the arms he gives him shew clearly that he was not of the house of Joinville.

(LXXII) *Drums.* The faracenic horn is mentioned in the extract I have made from the roll in the chamber of accounts at Paris. The manuscript chronicle of Bertrand du Guesclin mentions it likewise:

'Trompes et chalemelles et cors farazinois.'

I have already amply spoken of nacaires: it remains only that I say a few words respecting drums, the use of which we have also borrowed from the Saracens. The lord de Joinville shews us, that in his time they were called Tabours, which is confirmed by the romance of Garin:

'Les tabours sonnent por les chevaux lefdir.'

And by William Guiart in the year 1202:

'Ne mena trompes ne tabours.'

Jacques Millet, in his destruction of Troy,
 ‘ Faites ces trompettes sonner,
 Tabours, menestriers, et clarons.’

Sanuto, l. 2. part 4. ch. 21. uses the word *tamburtum*. The Spaniards call them *altambors*. Bonaventura Pistofilo, 1. part. della Oplomachia supposes these words to have been formed from the Greek *ταμβος*, these instruments having been invented to astonish and strike dismay: but it is certain that the word, as well as the use of drums, have originated with the Saracens and Arabians.

Lucas Tudenfis, speaking of the death of Almanzor, chief of the Saracens in Spain, ‘ die qua in Canatanazor succubuit, quidam quasi piscator, quasi plangens, modo Chaldaico fermone, modo Hispanico, clamabat, dicens, en Canatanazor perdio Almanzor el tambor, id est, in Canatanazor perdidit Almanzor tympanum, five fistrum, hoc est lætitiā suam.’

Roderick archbishop of Toledo, in his history of the Arabians, ch. 37. likewise attributes to the Saracens the invention of drums: ‘ et continuo atamoribus (lege Altamoribus) propulsatis, civium multitudinem convocavit.’

Joannes Cameniata also, in his description of the taking the town of Thessalonica by the Saracens of Africa in the year 904. οἱ δὲ το ταχος λεχεισι τοποῖς ταις ναυσι διαπαρεντες, βοη τε χρησαμδυοι βαρβαεικη και τραχεια ἐωρμισαν τῷ τειχει, ταις κωπαις ἐλαυνοντες, και τοις εκ των δερρεων κατασκευασμενοις τυμπανοις; when these ‘ tympana ex coria facta,’ are nothing else than the drums which the emperor Leon in his Tactics, ch. 18. paragraph 113 & 114, attributes in like manner to the Turks.

To this may be added the description of this instrument by S. Isidore, lib. 2. Orig. C. 21. ‘ Tympanum est pellis, vel corium ligno ex una parte extensum.’ This may also refer to Tymbals, which are semi-circular copper vessels covered at the top by stretched leather. Our drums are formed of a deep hollow circle of wood closed at each end by stretched parchment or vellum.

(LXXIII) *The legate.* Odo, bishop of Tusculum, who has written an account of part of this expedition in the seventh volume of the Spicileg. of

the reverend father D. Luc d'Achery, p. 213. See Vincent de Beauvais, l. 32. ch. 79. 91. and Oderic. Raynald. anno 1248. n. 29.

(LXXIV) *His lance on his wrist.* Froissart, vol. 1. ch. 12. and the chronicle of Flanders, pp. 55, 99, &c. mention this usage.

(LXXV) *Their sultan was dead.* The oriental chronicle says, that the sultan of Babylon was not deceased when St Louis took Damietta, but that he died the day the king left it, to encamp before Maffoura, which was the 25th of November. This agrees with what the king wrote himself in his letter of the capture of this town: 'Intelleximus autem in ipso itinere soldanum Babylonie de novo vitam miseram finivisse,' &c. Vincent de Beauvais says the same thing in l. 32. ch. 98.

(LXXVI) *The Soule.* According to the lord de Joinville, the Soule was a row of tradesmen's shops; but it is an error, and *la Soule* must be changed for *la Fonde*, as it is printed in the edition of Bordeaux.

In the treaty concluded by the patriarch Guermond, and the barons of Jerusalem, with Dominico Michiel, doge of Venice; relative to the undertaking the siege of the city of Tyre in the year 1123, as reported by William, archbishop of Tyre, in his history, l. 12. ch. 25. 'Ipse rex Hierusalem et nos omnes Duci venetorum de funda Tyri ex parte regis festo apostolorum Petri et Pauli trecentos in unoquoque anno Byzantios Saracenatos ex debiti conditione persolvere debemus.' Now the words *funda Tyri* mean nothing else than the revenue afforded by commerce, and taken from the common purse of the merchants, for *funda* signifies a purse, in Macrobius, l. 2. Saturnal. c. 4.. In St Bonaventura, in his life of Saint François, ch. 7. and in some greek authors, quoted by Meursius in his glossary, v. *φουδα*. This may be the cause that, in some of the towns of Germany, the low countries, and in England, the public places for the meetings of merchants have retained the name of Bourse, or purse, on account of its being the common purse of the companies of merchants. This is the etymology which John Baptist Grammay gives, after some others, of these places, in his description of Antwerp, chap. 12.

(LXXVII) *Delivered to us Damietta.* The Oriental Chronicle says, it was after two days siege. Vincent de Beauvais, l. 32. ch. 99. adds, that it surrendered on the feast of Trinity Sunday. William of Tyre, l. 20. ch. 16. has thus described the city of Damietta.

‘Est autem Damietta inter Egypti metropoles, antiqua et nobilis plurimum, secus ripam Nili sita, ubi secundo ostio prædictus fluvius mare ingreditur, inter fluminis alveum et mare, situ valde commodo posita, a mari tamen quasi milliario distans.’—Cinnamus, p. 304, calls it *Ταμιαδι*.

(LXXVIII) *King John.* Jacques de Vitry, in l. 3. p. 1140, has amply treated of this first capture of Damietta by John de Brienne, king of Jerusalem, in the month of November 1219, and in the letter he wrote on this subject, p. 1146. In Gest. Dei per Francos. Oliverius Scholaasticus in the same volume. The Oriental Chronicle, p. 102. Vincent de Beauvais, l. 31. ch. 87, 88. Sanuto, l. 2. part. 2. ch. 9. l. 3. part. 11. ch. 7, 8. and in other historians.

(LXXIX) *A patriarch then present.* It was the patriarch of Jerusalem, of whom mention is made hereafter, and who, according to the account of the lord de Joinville, was eighty years old at the time of this expedition. His name was Guy, and he was a native of la Puglia. Pope Gregory IX. promoted him to the bishoprick of Nantes in Brittany after the death of the patriarch Girold. Albericus in the year 1236. ‘Guido Apuliæ unus episcopus ab imperatore quondam pulsus, factus est a papa Nannetensis episcopus.’ And in the year 1241, ‘Guido Nannetensis in Britannia fuit patriarcha Hierosolymitanus.’ The MS. has a false reading of Constantinopolitanus.

The epistle of pope Gregory, mentioning his promotion to this dignity, may be found in the annals of Odoricus Raynaldus, anno 1240. n. 47.

(LXXX) *John de Valery.* John lord of Valery in Champagne, son to Huon lord of Valery and of Ode, appears in the cartulary of Champagne in the chamber of accounts in Paris, in a deed of the year 1218. In another of the year 1230, he is styled brother to Hugh de Valery knight. He is also spoken of in the years 1240 and 1261, in the history of the house of

Châtillon, l. 3. ch. 6. l. 11. ch. 8. l. 12. ch. 17. and likewise in a deed of the year 1266, in the same cartulary.

He married Clementia, lady of Fonvens, at the time widow of William de Vergy, lord of Mirebeau, according to Andrew du Chêne, in his history of the house of Vergy, l. 4. ch. 1.

A deed of the year 1264, in the cartulary of Cluny, in the library of M. de Thou, makes him father to Erard de Valery, chamberlain of France and constable of Champagne, who on his arrival in the kingdom of Naples on his return from the holy land, united his forces with those of Charles duke of Anjou. William de Nangis, in his life of St Louis, pp. 379, 382. relates, that he there behaved with the utmost valour. William Guiart mentions him advantageously, and Brunetto Latini, in the 13th book of his Tesoro, speaks of his excellent qualities in these terms: ‘He had at that time near his person two knights, who were thought to be the best in the world, the lord Erard de Valery and the lord John Bridaut,’ &c.

The lord de Joinville makes mention of this Erard.

(LXXXI) *Bordeaux*. The word *Bordel*, which signifies a place of infamy, *lupanar*, takes its origin from loose women and fuchlike characters inhabiting small houses, which in the old french language were called *bordels*, from the diminutive of *borde* a house, and is probably borrowed from *bord* of the english saxons, with whom this word has the same meaning.

A title-deed of Edgar king of England, in the Monast. Anglie. to l. p. 37. ‘videlicet 5 manfas, cum 15 carucis terræ, cum 18 fervis, et 16 villanis, et 10 bordis, cum 60 acris prati,’ &c.

A deed of Pons de Montlor of the year 1219, in the register of Carcassonne in the chamber of accounts in Paris, f. 39. ‘Et ibidem icilicet in strata fiet borda communis ad levandum pedagium.’

In the romance of Garin,

‘N’i a meson, ne borde, ne mesnil.’

See likewise Spelman’s glossary. From the word *borde* comes *bordel*, to mark a small house. In the above romance,

‘N’i ot bordel, qui tant parfu petis,

Mien escient chevalier n’i gesit.’

And in the chronicle of Bertrand du Guesclin,
 ‘ Et bonne ville auffi garnie bien et bel,
 C’on nommoit S. Maiffens, dehors ot maint bordel.’

William de Jumieges, l. 7. ch. 14. ‘ Domunculam circumdedit cum familia: Sorengus vero expergefactus de bordello exiit, et fugiens in vinarium exire voluit.’

And again in the *Monasticum Anglic.* to. 2. p. 206. ‘ et ortum ante portam atrii cum bordello.’

See also the ‘ *Coutume de Sole,*’ tit. 12. art. 2. There are some who conceive that the word *bort*, which the Gascons formerly used to signify bastard, took its rise from the term Bordel, as born ‘ *incerto patre,*’ and in places of public resort.

Underneath is an extract from a deed communicated to me by M. d’Herouval, which justifies the use of this word in the signification alluded to. ‘ De par le roi. Nôtre chancelier, nos gens de nos comptes, et nôtre audiençier. Nous avons quité de grace espediale au Bort de Rabastens tout nôtre droit tant de finances, que de chancellerie, et du feel de deux cartes en cire verte, l’une de legitimation et l’autre de nobilitation, &c. Donné à l’Opital de Corbeil le 20. jour de Fevrier l’an 1351.’

(LXXXII) *Séans sur formes*,—That is to say, mounted on their war horses.

(LXXXIII) *Geoffry de Sargines*. He is called Gaufridus de Sarcinis, in an epistle of pope Urban IV. in the fifth vol. of the historians of France, p. 870. This letter informs us that he remained in the holy land after the departure of St Louis, which is confirmed by the author of the assizes of Jerusalem, part. 2. ch. 20. A deed, in the *Trefor des Chartes*, executed at Acre in the year 1277, and another in the cartulary of Champagne, in the king’s library, fol. 78. qualify him as sénéchal of that kingdom; and as this last contains some curious observations relative to our history, I do not think the inserting it in this place will be found improper.

‘ To the most high and potent, and well beloved lord, Thibaut, by the grace of God, the very noble king of Navarre, count palatine of

Champagne and Brie, William, by the same grace, patriarch of Jerusalem, and apostolic legate, Thomas Berart, master of the poor knights templars, brother Hugh Revel, guardian of the poor of Christ, brother Ann, master of the hospital of the Germans, Jeoffroy de Sergines, seneschal of the kingdom of Jerusalem, send health, increase of love in this age, and everlasting life to come.

‘ Sire, it is unnecessary for us to lay before you the poor and miserable state of Christianity in the kingdom of Jerusalem ; nor that the sultan, and other enemies of the Christian faith, take the utmost pains, day and night, to abase our religion ; nor that, in this month of May, they have destroyed the inhabitants, and laid waste the gardens and manors all over the plain of Acre, and that they have afterward retreated to the country of the Saphet, because we are assured that your highness has been well informed of these things by several others, and which, if you please, you may have confirmed, and hear the whole truth from the bearers of this letter, as they are personally well acquainted with every thing that has happened.

‘ You must know, sire, that the noble lord, sir Hugh count de Brienne, your man and vassal, as soon as he heard of the decease of his elder brother, John de Brienne, whose soul may God receive ! would have waited upon you, to perform all his duties, and had made preparations accordingly, if he had not been prevented by various hindrances, more especially by sickness, which has grievously tormented him, as it has been the will of the Lord. Afterward, by the death of his aunt, he was forced to a quarrel with his cousin, sir Hugh de Lusignan, bailiff of Jerusalem and Cyprus, on account of the administration of her fortune, which he had reason to expect. Afterwards, from the need there was of his service, he passed three years in Jerusalem, where, on every occasion, he exerted himself to the utmost of his powers for the honour and profit of Christendom. Know also, sire, that last April he went to Cyprus, but every thing turned out contrary to his continuing his journey to you ; for he there learnt that the sultan of Syria intended an invasion, and he is not one of those who fear shedding their blood for the defence of that land whereon the son of God condescended to shed his for the redemption of sinners from the pains of hell. These things detained him from pursuing his journey to you, or returning to Acre, and

he remained there until the fultan had retreated to the country of the Saphet.

‘ By our advice and permission, in which we are joined by all the discreet men of the country, he now sets out to wait on you, and because he is fearful that your highness may take it ill that he has not sooner waited on you to receive the investiture of his inheritance, to whom, as to his lord, he owes it, we most humbly entreat you, through your love to God, and to us, that your highness would favourably incline to his pretensions, and that you would expedite his business, in order that he may return to the service of our lord, which he is very desirous to do, and which all we that are in the holy land are most anxious he should do, as his presence will be of the greatest advantage to the country, which will be comforted and assisted by it. Written at Acre the 27th day of May.’

This lord is miscalled Galfridus de Seignes, in the seventh volume of the *Spicileg.* p. 223. In an account of the bailiffs of France, to Ascension-day in the year 1289, there is mention made of Pierre de Sargines, sent that year as ambassador from the king of France to the king of Castille, the same who was judge of the ‘ Plaits de la Porte’ in the year 1285, and is named among the king’s knights, that is to say, those of his household, in an account roll of the household in the year 1287.

He died in the year 1297, leaving issue, as may be collected ‘ d’un compte du trésor du roi,’ wherein Heluis is mentioned as daughter and heiress to Geoffry de Sargines knight, in the year 1298. In the ‘ trésor des chartes du roi,’ Laiette, *Comptes de Champagne*, 1. tit. 63. mention is also made of Isabeau de Broyes, lady of Sargines, wife of Geoffry de Sargines knight, parents to John and Geoffry de Sargines. I have seen the original of another deed of Gilles de Sargines knight, chamberlain to the king of the year 1314, who bore for arms on his seal ‘ une fasce, avec une autre vivrée en chef.’

This lord was created a knight at the feast which the king held at Paris at Whitfuntide in the year 1313, as I learn from an account in the *Trésor des Chartes*. Among the gens d’armes that were mustered under John lord de Trainel, in the bailiwick of Sens in the year 1348, there appear Geoffry

de Sargines knight, and Droin de Sargines esquire. See Fauchet on the ancient french poets, l. 2. ch. 83.

(LXXXIV) *Mahom de Marby*. The edition of Poitiers has the same reading, but we must restore it to Mahieu de Marly, who was a nobleman descended from a branch of the Montmorenci family.

See the history of this house by Andrew du Chefne, l. 11. ch. 5. p. 672.

(LXXXV) *Philippe de Nantuel*. This may be the person who was of the expedition and at the conquest of Naples. William Guiart,

‘ Avec lui a celle venuë,
Furent de Bauçoy Guy et Huë,
Nanteuil, de Montaigu Guillaume.’

(LXXXVI) *The master of the cross-bows*. Thiebaud de Montleart had this appointment under St Louis, by whom he is named among the great lords of the realm in an arrêt of the year 1270, in du Tillet.

(LXXXVII) *Gautier d'Entrache*. Gautier d'Autréche, son of Guy de Nanteuil, lord of Autréche and châtelain de Bar. See the history of the family of Châtillon, l. 3. ch. 10. The edition of Poitiers reads *Antrache*.

(LXXXVIII) *His coverlid of minever*. In those days, the coverlids of beds usually consisted of skins of value; whence ancient writers have included them among the richest furniture. In the romance of Garin,

‘ Les palefrois, les muls et le roncins,
Coutes de foie, et couverts hermins,
Tot departi as chevaliers de pris,
Qu'il n'en retint vaillant un parisis.’

In the last will of Jane, queen of France and Navarre, in the year 1304, sheets, coverlids and counterpanes, are named among the furniture of value; but our old writers particularly speak of those rich coverlids of exquisite skins when on the subject of the ceremonies used in times of peace on the creation

of knights: for after they had been bathed, they were laid in a rich state-bed under the finest coverlids, and were there visited by their friends.

The author of the ‘*Ordene de Chevalerie*,’ after telling us how Saladin was put into the bath by Huës de Tabarie, before he gave him the order of knighthood, adds, ‘that he led him to his new bed, and, having lain him therein, said to him, ‘Sire, this bed gives you to the great city of Paradise, which you must conquer by your chivalry;’ and when he had reposed himself, he made him rise, and clothed him with a white robe of fine linen or silk.’ The same romance is in verse :

‘Après si l’a du baing osté,
Si le coucha en un bel lit,
Qui étoit fait par grant delit,
Sire, fait il, che segnesie,
L’on doit par sa chevalerie
Conquerre lit en paradis
Ke Diex otroie à ses amis :
Car chou est li lis de repos
Qui la ne fera, moût i ert fos.’

The same ceremonies are observed in creating Knights of the Bath, according to the customs of England, related by Edward Bisse, in his notes on Nicholas Upton, page 21. ‘This done, the squires-directors take the novice out of the bath, and put him to bed, until he be dry; and this bed must be plain, and without curtains.’

During this ceremony, those who were to be created knights made their appearance first as esquires, then as knights, after having received the order. In the first part of the ceremony, the coverlids were not so rich nor of such fine skins, as in the second, for knights alone were permitted to use coverlids of vair or ermine.

This is apparent from an account of Stephen de la Fontaine, silversmith to the king in the year 1351. ‘For four hundred ells of fine black cloth in several pieces, to make coverlids for each of the new knights half lined with the backs of squirrel skins of Calabria to cover their beds during their state

of esquireship, eighty-three crowns. For two full-length pieces of vermilion-marbled cloth of Brussels, to make each of the said knights coverlids half-furred with minever, which they require for the state of knighthood.'

Even among the liveries which our kings gave to the princes of the blood, and to the officers of their household, were these rich coverlids. A roll in the chamber of accounts in Paris entitled, 'Pro robis datis militibus D. Philippi et gentibus cameræ suæ, pro robis dominorum Joann. et Petri et Roberti, filiorum regis pro scallatis radiat. et tiretan: Persia et viridi pro coopertorio, 88 lib. pro foraturis dictarum robarum, &c. et pro duabus culcitris punctis pro dictis Petro et Joanne, &c. D. Robertus Atrebat. pro roba de Samito, roba de panno aureo foratis de erminis, et 4. pannis ad aur. ad unum coopertorium foratum de erminis, quod factum fuit pro D. Hemondo, et una culcitra puncta cum fundo panni aurei, quæ fuit facta pro filio regis Arragoniæ.'

Among the Romans, bed coverlids were also of the richest stuffs, as father Sirmond has noticed in his observations on Sidonius, l. 1. Epist. 2.

(LXXXIX) *The sultan paid for each head.* The Turks to this day follow the same custom as our countrymen witnessed when they signalized their valour in the last wars between the emperor of Germany and the grand signor. See Gaufrid. Malaterra, l. 2. ch. 46.

(xc) *The watch, or centinel.* In the chronicle of Bertrand du Guesclin,
 'Y avoit une gaite toute jour à journée,
 Qui sonnoit un bacin, quant la pierre est levée.'

These verses inform us, that he who acted as centinel on the watch-towers, and rang the alarm bell in cases of dangers, was thence called Bachinator, in some of the ordinances of king Edward, relative to the office of seneschal of Gascony. 'In reg. constabul. Burdegal. fol. 80. Item ordinatum est quod sit unus Bachinator ad supervidenda omnia castra, et fortalitia regis in toto ducatu.' Au compte de l'hostel du roi, de l'an. 1311. 'Guata Luperæ, Gueta Casteletti, Guetta parvi Pontis.'

(xcī) *Corcenay*. The edition of Poitiers reads *Courcenay*, a well known noble family in Champagne.

(xcii) *The count de Poitiers*. Vincent de Beauvais says, in book 32. and chapters 89 & 98, that Alphonso, count of Poitiers, remained in France to assist queen Blanche, mother to the king, in the government of the kingdom during his absence; and that about St John's day in the year 1249 he set off with a numerous army, and, embarking at Aigues Mortes, on the morrow of the feast of St Bartholomew, he arrived at Damietta the Sunday preceding the feast of St Simeon and St Jude. Nangis says the same thing.

(xciii) *In the mosque*. In like manner, at the first capture of Damietta, this temple had been changed by the legate into a church, under the invocation of our Lady, as we learn from Jacques de Vitry, in the third book of his history, where he gives the dimensions of it as follows :

‘ Mahomeria Damiatæ per invocationem S. Trinitatis immutata est in ecclesiam. B. Virginis, in quadrum posita, tanta fere ejus latitudo quanta longitudo ejus consideratur : columnis sustentatur marmoreis 150. minus una, 7. porticus habens, et in medio habens aperturam longam et latam, in qua pyramis alta sursum ascendit,’ &c. p. 1143.

William Guiart, in 1248, relates how St Louis, or rather the legate, again dedicated it under the name of our Lady. See Vincent de Beauvais, l. 32. ch. 98, and the additions to Matt. Paris, p. 109, &c.

(xciv) *At the beginning of Advent*. Vincent de Beauvais, l. 32. ch. 9, and William de Nangis, say it was the 20th of November.

(xcv) *Here it will be proper to speak of the river*. Many writers, as well ancient as modern, beside geographers, have amply spoken of the Nile, its sources, its mouths, and the virtue of its waters: among them, the author of a greek treatise, entitled *περι της Νειλου αναπληρωσεως διαφοροι δοξαι*, printed with some treatises of Aristotle and Theophrastus by Henry Stephens;

Theophylactes Simocatta in the history of the empire; Maurice, l. 7. ch. 17. William of Tyre, l. 19. ch. 22; Sanuto, l. 3. part. 14. ch. 12; Aithon, ch. 17. Murtadi, the son of Gaphiphe in his wonders of Egypt; John Leon, book 9; Scaliger, ad l. 3. Manil. Quaresmius in elucidat. terræ sanctæ, l. 8. peregr. 1. c. 9. M. de la Chambre and Isaac Vossius, who have lately written particular treatises on this subject; and in short the other writers who are quoted by Davity in his history of Africa. The lord William de Lannoy, lord of Villerval, and knight of the golden fleece, has likewise touched a little on this matter in the MS. account of his travels.

(xcvi) *The river Reri.* All the historians who relate this passage call the river Thanis, which is the name of one of the branches of the Nile that flows by a place of the same name, and is called at this day *Tanes* or *Tenez*. It will therefore be necessary to correct our author, and make it Tanis instead of Tunis. The oriental chronicle calls the river, which the French then crossed, *Afmuni*. William of Tyre, l. 22. c. 15. mentions the water of a river which he calls *Rafel rasit*. The Arabians and Turks at present call the town of Rosetta *Rafchit* or *Rasit*, whence this branch of the Nile takes its name. It is maintained, that this river of Rasit is that mouth of the Nile called by the ancients Canopus, and that of Tenez or Thanis was the Pelusiac mouth. See, in addition to the geographers, Quaresmius, l. 8. elucidat. terræ sanctæ Peregr. 6. cap. 2.

(xcvii) *Had made two beffrais.* The beffroy was a warlike machine in the form of a tower, made of wood, having different stories, which was drawn near to the walls of a town, and the stories filled with a proper number of soldiers, who shot from their bows and cross-bows over the walls, against the defenders of the place. These machines were usually moved on four wheels, and to prevent the greek fire from hurting them, they were covered with boiled horse or bullock skins. Froissart, in his first volume, chap. 108. thus describes the beffrois: ‘The English had constructed two large towers, of great beams of wood, three stories high: each tower was placed on wheels, and covered over with prepared leather, to shelter those

within from fire, and from the arrows: in each story were one hundred archers.'

The romance of Garin,

' La veiffiés ces perrieres venir,
Ces mangoniæ et geter, et flatir,
Et les berfrois as Chaftiax affaillir,
Et ces archers durement aatir.'

In the chronicle of Bertrand du Guefclin,

' Un grant beffroy de bois orent fait charpenter,
Et le firent adonques à Arques apporter,
Jufques près dès foſſés ils le firent traifner,
Grande plenté de gent y pouvoit bien entrer.'

William le Breton, in the fecond book of his Philippiade, names this fort of machine *Belfragium*, and thus describes it:

' Cratibus et lignis rudibus Belfragia furgunt,
Turribus alta magis et mænibus, unde valerent
Agmina miſſilibus, telifque quibuſlibet uti,
Devexoſque hoſtes facili proſternere jactu.'

And again, in the 7th book,

' Parte alia turres, quibus eſt Belfragia nomen,
Roboribus crudis compactæ, atque arbora multa
Intactis dolabra ruditer, quibus aſcia ſolos
Abſciderat ramos, ſic educantur, ut uſque
Aëra ſub medium longo volumine tendant
Ut doleat murus illis depreſſior eſſe.'

William of Malmesbury, in the 4th book of his hiſtory of England, calls this machine *Berfroy*: ' Alterum (machinamentum) fuit pro lignorum penuria turris non magna, in modum ædificiorum facta (Berfreid appellant) quod faſtigium murorum æquaret.' Simeon of Durham alſo, in the year 1123, ſays, ' Videns autem rex ſe non, ac diſpoſuerat, proficere, ligneam turrim, quam Berfreit vocant erexit.'

Odoricus Vitalis, l. 8. calls it *Berfredus*: ' Ingentem machinam, quam Berfredum vocitant, contra munitionem erexit.' And in the 12th book, ' Carpenterios Berfredum facientes docebat.'

Rolandin in his chronicle, l. 1. ch. 8. l. 4. ch. 2. l. 6. ch. 6. l. 12. ch. 6. calls it *bilfredus*; and the emperor Frederick I. in an epistle that is in William Heda in the year 1190, *verfredus*.

This sort of machine is often described by the writers of the middle ages, who, however, have suppressed the name, as in

Tubedod, l. 5. p. 805.

Albert d'Aix, l. 6. ch. 11. l. 7. ch. 3.

Guibert, in his hist. of Jerusalem, l. 6. ch. 18. l. 7. ch. 6.

William of Tyre, l. 8. ch. 12, 15, 18. l. 20. ch. 16.

Suger, in his life of Louis VII. ch. 10.

Robert. Monach. l. 7.

Radevicus, l. 2. De Gestis Frederici, c. 62.

Anna Comnena, p. 384.

Acropolita, p. 190.

Vegetius, l. 4. ch. 17, 18.

Gilles monk of Orval, in his life of Alberon II. bishop of Liege, ch. 35.

And lastly, Sanuto, l. 2. part 4. ch. 22. points out the mode of making them. The romance of Garin likewise describes this machine, without naming it :

‘ Un engin fet, de tel parler n’oi,
Qui ot de haut cent piés tos enterins,
Près de la porte fist venir tels engins,
A fet estages tot droit de fust chefnin,
Arbalestriers a mis jusqu’ a vint,
Bien fit cloés, couvert de cuir boli.’

This word *beffroy* (belfry) has since been applied to the highest towers of frontier towns, wherein a centinel is placed to watch for their security, and with a bell for him to strike on to alarm the inhabitants and guards at the gates. This bell has afterwards been employed to mark the hour for the retreat of the inhabitants to their houses, and the garrisons to their quarters, and other public uses, whence it is called ‘ Campana bannalis,’ by Hoefemius, in his life of Hugh bishop of Liege, ch. 23.

‘ Statuta Gildæ Scot. c. 28. Nullus regratarius emat pisces, fœnum, avenas, ante pulsationem campanæ in berefrido.’ The chronicle of Flanders

frequently mentions the beffrois of towns. Hence it happens, that those towers, and the bells hung in them, make part of the privileges of the commonalty, as we learn from an ordinance of Charles the fair in the year 1322, by which he deprives the inhabitants of Laon for certain misdeeds of the right of common, of shreivalty, of mayoralty, of their feal, and of their bell, belfry and jurisdiction.

(xcviii) *Chas Chateilr.* The cat was properly a machine made in the form of a covered gallery, (whence Anna Comnena, in her *Alexiade*, page 383, gives it the name of *σαα*) which was fastened to the walls to afford shelter to the fappers. William le Breton, in the seventh book of his *Philippiade*,

‘ Huc faciunt reptare catum, tectique sub illo
Suffodiunt murum.’

The Monk de Vaux de Sarnay, ch. 48. ‘ Die quodam comes noster machinam quamdam parvam quæ lingua vulgari catus dicitur, faciebat duci ad fodiendum castri murum.’ See also the chapters 52 & 63. The same William le Breton thus describes this machine in his second book:

————— ‘ Testudo texitur, ut sub
Illis tuto latens muri queat ima subire
Fossor, et erectis ipsum fuccidere parmis.’

Ravedicus, in the second book of the history of Frederic I. c. 63. describing the siege of Crema, says that the inhabitants, to defend themselves against those who scaled the walls, or who descended on their walls from beffrois and towers of wood, made use of cats to enable them to attack the enemy within their machines. ‘ Magnaque audacia super muros, et in suis machinis, quas cattas appellant, operiuntur, et cum admoverentur pontes: (the bridges of the beffrois) ipsi eos vel occuparent, vel dejicerent, murumque scalis ascendere nitentes vario modo deterrent.’

Rolandinus, l. 8. c. 13.

Chron. Antonii Godi Vicentini, p. 20, &c.

Matt. Paris in the year 1236.

Io. de Beka in Arnolfo 49 Episc. Traiect. Suffrid..

Petri in Joan. Heinsberg. Episc. Leod. c. 17.

The monk of Padua, l. 2. chr. c. 8.

William de Puylaurens, c. 30.

The duke of Cleves in his treatise on war, p. 57, and other authors have spoken of this machine, of which Vegetius has given a description in l. 4. c. 15, and likewise Aimoin in the third book of his history of France, chap. 71.

William Guiart, speaking of the siege of Bovines by Philip Augustus :

‘ Devant Boves fit l’ost de France,
Qui contre les Flamans contance,
Li mineur pas ne s’oumeillent,
Un chat bon et fort appareillent,
Tant euvrent deffous, et tant cavent,
Qu’une grant part du mur destravent.’

And in the year 1205,

‘ Un chat font fus le pont atraire,
Dont pieça mention feismes,
Qui fit de la roche meismes,
Li mineur defous se lancent
Le fort mur a miner commencent,
Et font le Chat si aombrer,
Que riens ne les peut encombrer.’

They were also made use of to fill up the ditches that the Beffrois might be brought near to the walls, which was properly the use of the Musculi of the ancients according to Vegetius in the 16th chap. of the 4th book.

Jacques de Vitry, l. 3. p. 1142. ‘ Cati duo ad fossatum implendum magnis sumptibus compositi fuerunt.’ Add what the learned Lipsius writes, l. 1. *πολιορκητικων*, dial 7. and Angelo Portenari della felicità di Padua, l. 5. c. 5. p. 165. who have given an engraving and description of it.

The king St Louis caused two beffrois or towers of wood to be built, to guard those who were at work on the causeway, and these beffrois were called Chats-chateils; that is to say, ‘ Cati, castellati,’ because over these

cats were a sort of castles. They were not simple galleries like common cats, but galleries defended by towers and beffrois.

St Louis in his letter, speaking of this causeway, says,

‘ Saraceni autem e contra totis resistentes conatibus machinis nostris quas erexeramus, ibidem machinas opposuerunt quam plures, quibus castella nostra lignea, quæ super passum collocari feceramus eundem, conquassata lapidibus et confracta combusserunt totaliter igne Græco.’

The lord de Joinville says, that there were two chateils in front of the cats, and two houses in their rear to receive the stones the Saracens cast from their machines; which is just as I have explained the passage, that the cats or galleries were defended by towers that were to oppose the showers of stones continually thrown from the enemies engines. I believe likewise that the lower stories of these machines were employed as cats, which was the reason of their being called *chas châtels*; that is to say, according to my former remark, cats fortified with castles.

The author who has described the siege of Zara by the Venetians in 1346. l. 2. c. 6. apud Joan. Lucium de regno Dalmat. thus represents this sort of cat:

‘ Aliud erat hoc ingenium, unus Cattus ligneus satis debilis erat confectionis quem machinæ jadræ sæpius jactando penetrabant, in quo erat constructa quædam eminens turris duorum propugnaculorum. Ipsam duæ maximæ carruæ supportabant.’

Because these machines were not simple cats, such were called *chats faux* or *faux chats*, as had the form of belfreys or towers, but were nevertheless used for cats.

It is thus that the following passage in Froissart, vol. 1. chap. 121, must be understood: ‘ The next day two chief engineers came to the duke of Normandy, and said, that if he would supply them with wood and workmen, they would build two *chauffaux* (some copies have *chats*) of so great a height, that when brought near to the walls of the town they should overtop them.’ Hence comes the word *d’eschaffaux* among us to signify an elevated floor. See the *Recueil de Bourgogne* de M. Perard, p. 395.

(xcix) *Scecedun, son to the Sheik*. I have no doubt but that this name is a corruption, although the poitiers edition has the same; and the 'Mer des Histoires' calls it *Sefedus*, which seems something like *Scecedun*. It is, however, certain that the name of this lord, according to the oriental chronicle, is *Fachr-addin*; and William de Nangis, and the epistle of Saint Louis, respecting his capture and deliverance, is *Farchardin*. William Guiart calls him *Farchadin*, and Vincent de Beauvais, l. 32. ch. 99, *Sacardin*, a name that is nearer to that of *Scecedun*. The lord de Joinville styles him son of the Sheik, which is conformable to the oriental chronicle, which also makes him son of the Sciach, 'filius Sciachi,' and adds, that the fultan *Nagemaddin*, before his decease, proclaimed him chief of his armies, and recommended his son to his care, who was at that time near Damascus.

Selden, in his titles of honour, part. 1. ch. 4. § 1. says that the arabian word *Seich* signifies senior, ancient, old, which is agreeable to the meaning the lord de Joinville afterwards gives to this word.

(c) *The emperor Ferrat*. Saladin had likewise been made a knight by Humphry de Toron, as we are told in the history of Jerusalem, p. 1152. in *Gest. Dei per Francos*, and not by Hugh de Tabarie, as some romances have advanced. This I notice, to prevent any surprize that a pagan should have been willing to receive the order of knighthood from a Christian lord. But we learn, on the other hand, that St Louis refused it to a Saracen, though at the entreaties of his own people, who had killed the fultan, saying for his excuse, 'Abfit a me, ut vel pro servanda vita, vel morte declinanda, quemcumque a Christiana religione alienum, baltheo militari donere velim.' Apud Walding. anno 1254. n. 26.

With regard to *Fracardin*, if he received the order of knighthood from Frederic, it must have been during the truces this emperor made with the Saracens, and when he was crowned in Jerusalem in the year 1229, as Sanuto relates in the third book, part 11. ch. 12.

(ci) *Pierre d'Avalon*. In another part, he styles this knight his cousin. He married in the holy land Helvise, daughter to Raoul, who was the last son to William de Bures, prince of Tabarie. See the 'Lignage d'Outremer,'

c. 7. There is mention made of Joffelin d'Avalon in a title-deed of William de Nanteuil of the year 1210, in the cartulary of Champagne, in the chamber of accounts at Paris.

(CII) *And his banner was.* It results from this passage that armorial bearings were in use among the Mahometans, and that their sultans or princes had them painted on their banners. I shall hope to describe the arms of some among them, taken from manuscripts, in my families of the east.

(CIII) *The count Guy de Ferrois*, or rather *Forois*; that is to say, count of Fôrets, as this name is thus found written in a deed of the year 1218, in the memoirs of M. Perard, p. 301. For he means Guy the fifth, count de Fôrets. See Sanuto, l. 3. part. 11. c. 15, and the history of Burgundy by Andrew du Chefne, l. 3. ch. 75.

(CIV) *Greek fire.* Baldric, l. 3. of his history of Jerusalem, p. 125. 'Ignem quem Græcum vocant, in machinam jacere, πυρ Ῥωμαϊκον in Theophanes: 'ignis Romaicus' in Paulus Diaconus, l. 21. *Historiæ Miscellæ.*' This fire was so called, because it was first invented among the Greeks by Callinicus the architect, a native of Heliopolis, a town in Syria, under Constantinus Barbatus, as the above Theophanes has written; and likewise because the Greeks were for a long time the only people who preserved the use of it, which they very rarely communicated to any of their allies, as I have noticed in my observations on the history of Villehardouin, n. 113.

Anna Comnena says, that this fire was made with pitch and other gums from trees, mixed with sulphur, and the whole ground together.

Abbon, in the first book of the wars of Paris, has given the composition of it in these verses:

' Addit eis oleum, ceramque, picemque ministrans,
Mixta simul liquefacta foco ferventia valde,
Quæ Danis cervice comas uruntque trahuntque.'

The author of the history of Jerusalem, p. 1167, makes oil a part of the composition: at least, he names it 'oleum incendarium, quod ignem

Græcum vocant.' It may perhaps be Naphtha, which Procopius, in the 4th book of the war of the Goths, ch. 11. says, the Greeks call Μηδείας ελαιον, and the Medes *Naphtha*, which Lambecius, in his observations on Codinus, thinks should be corrected to Μηδείας ελαιον, oil of Media, and that for this reason the same Greeks have given to this artificial fire the name of Μηδικον πορ, which is met with in Cinnamus, p. 308. and in Codinus, page 7th of the royal edition.

There are others, however, who imagine Naphtha was called Μηδείας ελαιον, or πορ, because Medea, according to Pliny, l. 2. ch. 105. burnt her husband Jason with this fire. Whatever may be thought of this, Procopius, in the part quoted, informs us, that in the composition of this artificial fire, there was a mixture of naphtha with sulphur and bitumen.

Jacques de Vitry, l. 3. ch. 84. says, that in certain countries of the east there is a fountain, 'Ex cujus aquis ignis Græcus efficitur, quibusdam aliis admixtis, qui postquam vehementer fuerit accensus, vix aut nunquam potest extinguui, nisi aceto et hominum urina, et sabulo.'

Adam of Bremen, ch. 66. relates something similar in a place of the north, which he names 'Olla Vulcani, quam incolæ Græcum vocant ignem.' Vanoccio Biringuccio, in the tenth book of his Pyrotechny, chap. 9. has described all the materials that form part of the artificial fire-works which the Greeks made use of to burn the vessels of their enemies, from whence Theophanes, page 295. calls this fire πορ θαλασσιον, and in page 352. πορ υγρον, sea fire, liquid fire. They made use of this fire when at sea, in two ways: first by fire-ships filled with this fire, that were floated among the enemies fleet, and thus set them on fire. These fire-ships are named by Theophanes, pp. 294. 352. κακαβοπυρφορος, that is to say, fire-ships; and I have shewn elsewhere, that the Greeks particularly employed for this service that sort of vessel called χελανδια, whence we have borrowed the word *Chaland*, a wood boat or barge, a name given to the boats on the Seine and Loire, and from which the Parisians call the bread brought by those boats *pain chaland*.

Fireships were used before the time of the emperor Constantinus barbatus, for Theophanes informs us, p. 100, that under the empire of Leon le grand, Genseric king of Africa, burnt with vessels that were filled with dry wood

and other combustibles, and which he floated down the stream, the whole of the grecian fleet. This serves to justify father Mambrun in his Constantine, who had been blamed for having first established in his reign the invention of fireships: to this charge he has replied in the preface of his edition of 1659. We have other instances of such fireships in the history of Theophanes, pp. 294. 331. 352. in Abbon, p. 503, and in various authors.

The other use made of artificial fires was in vessels employed in the pursuit after a battle, called *δρομονες*. On the prows of these vessels were placed large tubes of copper, through which they blew these fires into the enemy's ships. The emperor Leon in his tactics, ch. 19. n. 6. thus speaks of them, *εχεται δε παντως τον σιφωνα κατα την πρωραν εμπροσθεν χαλκω ημφιεσμενον, ως εθος, δια τετο εσκαυασμενον πορ κατα των εναντιον ακοντισοι*. He mentions them again in the notes 46 & 52, whence we learn that these are the vessels called by Theophanes, page 294, *δρομονες σιφωνοφοροι*.

With regard to the use of the greek fire in battles on land, it was different, for soldiers were then supplied with copper tubes, and blew it through them on their enemies. This is what Anna Comnena, in the 13th book of her Alexiade, expresses in the following terms: ' *τουτο (το πορ) μετα θειου τριβομενον εμβαλλεται εις αιλιδικους καλαμων και εμφυσεται παρα του παιζοντος λαβρω και συνεχει πνευματι καθ ούτως ομιλει τω προς ακραν πυρι και εξαπτεται*.'

Sometimes they threw sharp bolts of iron, covered with tow, well oiled and pitched, with which they set fire to the engines. Of this we have instances in Albert of Aix, book 7. chapters third and fifth, and also in a letter on the taking of Damietta, in the additions to Matt. Paris, page 108.

Joinville speaks of this fire, ' and they opened a very quick fire upon us with balls made of the greek fire.' Sometimes this fire was put into phials and pots, as may be collected from this letter, and from Albert d'Aix, l. 10. ch. 4. And in the tactics of Leon, ch. 19. n. 55. In short it was discharged from perrieres and cross-bows, as the lord de Joinville notices in the part above mentioned.

Albert d'Aix, l. 7. ch. 5. remarks, that ' *hujus ignis genus aqua erat inextinguibile*;' but there were other materials by which it could be extinguished, namely, vinegar and sand.

Matt. Paris in the year 1219, ‘ Nam ignis græcus de turri eminus projectus fulminis instar veniens pavorem non minimum videlibus incussit : sed per liquorem acetosum et sabulum et cætera extinctoria est subventum.’

In the history of Jerusalem, ‘ Ignis iste pernicioso foetore, flammisque livientibus filices et ferrum confumit : et cum aquis vinci nequeat, arena resperfus comprimitur, aceto perfusus sedatur.’

Jacques de Vitry, l. 3. ch. 84, adds urine as an extinguisher ; and Cinnamus, in the place before quoted, says that ships were frequently covered with cloths dipped in vinegar, to prevent the bad effects of this fire. I omit, in this place, the many observations I have made on the greek fire, in my remarks on Villehardouin.

(cv) *Trect & pilote.* ‘ Pilot,’ Spiculum. *Pilet* in the romance of Garin :

‘ Volent pilet plus que pluies en prè,
Et les sajettes et carriax empanès.’

William Guiart, in the year 1214, says,

‘ Ribaces qui de l’ost se partent,
Par les chams ça et la s’épartent,
Li uns une pilete porte,
L’autre croc, ou maçuë torte.’

And further on,

‘ Maçes levées et piletes,
Se fierent parmi les viletes.’

(cvi) *Tandeis.* The edition of Poitiers is in this instance more correct, reading it *Taudies*, p. 50. for it is thus Froissart, the duke of Cleves and others write this word. It should seem that the Greeks of the middle ages have borrowed from us, or we from them, the word *ταλδον*, signifying the baggage of an army, which is most commonly in confusion and disorder ; and this is the meaning of the words *toudis* or *taudis* in our historians.

See the glossaries of Rigaltius and Meurfius.

(cvii) *Du merrain.* Materials of beams of wood. See the glossaries.

(CVIII) *John d'Orleans*. See what I have said respecting this family in my observations on Villehardouin, note 5.

(CIX) *The lord de Coucy*. Son to Enguerrand, of whom mention has been made before. See the history of this house by Andrew du Chêne, book 6. chap. 7.

(CX) *To the number of three hundred*. The oriental chronicle says, that the French lost in this defeat, beside the brother of the king, fourteen hundred knights.

(CXI) *Over the ears of my horse*. After these words, as far as 'to the walls of this ruined house,' the Poitiers edition has, 'And the Saracens would have killed me, had it not been for sir Arnaud de Commenge, viscount de Couzerans, who came most valiantly to my succour, and the vigorous gallantry he displayed. He had left the cross-bows, which he was conducting to the camp with the duke of Burgundy, and had followed the count de Poitiers, whom he would never abandon in any serious affair. From the time he gave me this timely assistance, there never was a day of my life that I did not most affectionately love him.'

'After I was thus rescued from the Saracens, the viscount de Couzerans and myself retired towards a house that had been destroyed to wait for the king, who was coming, and in the mean time I found an opportunity of recovering my horse. But while we were waiting near this house, a fresh troop of Saracens appeared, who seeing the main body of our people in our rear, pushed by us to attack them: in their passage they flung me to the ground with my shield over my neck, and galloped over me, thinking me dead, which was nearly the case. When they had passed, sir Arnaud de Commenge, after having courageously fought the Saracens, returned to me, and raised me from the ground, and then we went to the walls of this ruined house,' &c.

I perceive by this text, that the lord de Joinville attributes the succour given him on this occasion to the viscount de Couzerans; whereas, in the

edition of Cl. Menard, he gives the glory to Erard d'Eymeray, knight; and in page 101, line 9, instead of the four following lines, beginning *a donc en cette detresse*, &c. as far as *et tantouft*, there is in the edition of Poitiers, 'Sir Arnaud de Commenge was wounded in two parts of his body, in the shoulders, and under one of his arms.' In short, at page 54, his valour, and the arms of his family, are spoken of. Perhaps Pierre de Rieux, who is the editor of this edition, being a native of Languedoc, may have inserted these fragments into the history of the lord de Joinville, in favour of the house of Comminges.

It is certain, that this Arnaud, viscount de Couzerans, bore the surname of Espagne, as may be collected from the last will of Roger IV. count de Foix, whose daughter he married in the year 1264, and which is published by M. de Marca in the 24th chap. notes 8th and 9th of the 8th book of his history of Béarn. He was son to Roger de Commenge, viscount de Couzerans, issue of Bernard count de Commenge and Cecilia de Foix. He was also count de Pailhars in Spain.

(CXII) *A sword from Germany.* William Guiart, in the life of Philip Augustus, speaks of these german swords:

' A grans espées d'Allemagne
Leur tranchent souvent les poins outre.'

In his description of the battle of Bovines, he says that the Germans fought with short and sharp swords.

' Alemans uns coutiaus avoient,
Dont aus François se combatoient,
Grailles et agus à trois quieres,
L'en en peut ferir fus pierres.'

In speaking of the battle of Beneventum, he gives them long swords:

' Car les deus mains en haut levées,
Gietent d'une longues espées,
Souef tranchans à larges meures.'

The emperor Nicephorus Phocas reproaches the Germans, through his ambassador Luitprandus for their long swords. In some old ordinances of

the town of Paris mention is made of the swords of Lubec. The French, on the contrary, used short swords. William Guiart :

‘ Li François espées reportent,
Courtes et roides, dont ils taillent.’

And in the year 1301,

‘ Espées viennent aus servifes,
Et font de diverse semblance,
Mes François qui d’accoustumance
Les ont courtes, assez légieres,
Gietent aus Flamens vers les Chieres.’

(CXIII) *For none used the bow.* To kill an enemy by the bow, cross-bow or other artillery, has never been esteemed by the French an action of valour. They only valued blows from the hand, sword or lance, which required address and skill; and it was for this reason, that in process of time, they forbade the use of cross-bows, arrows and poisoned darts: it was not sufficient to destroy the enemy by any means whatever, it was necessary that he should be conquered by fair force, and with such arms as displayed the dexterity of the person using them. It is certain that the above-mentioned arms have been forbidden at various times by the popes, and particularly at the council held at Rome under pope Innocent II. in the year 1139, ch. 29.

The emperor Conrad was one of the Christian princes who forbade their use for similar reasons, as we learn from William de Dole, who lived before the year 1200, when he introduces Raoul de Houdanc, and makes him say that this emperor forbade the cross-bow.

‘ Par effort de lance et d’escu
Conqueroit toz ses ennemis:
Ja arbalestriers ni fu mis
Por fa guerre en autoritez,
Par avoir et par mauvaitié
Les tiennent ore li haut home.
Por demi le thresor de Rome.
Ne vofist-il, n’a droit, n’a tort
Qu’uns en eut un preudhome mort.’

From whence it is easy to judge, that we must interpret favourably the terms of the breton poet, when, in the second book of his *Philippiade*, he says, that Richard I. king of England invented cross-bows, it must be explained by his meaning that king Richard revived the use of them during his reign. This, indeed, Brompton says in express words: ‘*Ipse siquidem hoc genus sagittandi, quod arcubalistarum dicitur, jam dudum sopitum, ut dicitur, in usum revocavit.*’ This is so strictly true, that in every action we read of in the histories of the first croisades, they made use of bows and cross-bows.

(cxiv) *The duke of Burgundy.* Andrew du Chefne, in his history of the dukes of Burgundy, ch. 9. might, from this passage and three or four others of the lord de Joinville’s memoirs, have cleared up his doubts, whether this duke accompanied the king St Louis in his expedition to Egypt.

(cxv) *Gaubifon.* It should be *Gambifon*, which is the name of this fort of drefs. A roll in the chamber of accounts at Paris, of the year 1322, ‘*Adæ armentario 40. Sol. 4. d. pro factione Gambesonorum.*’ In an account respecting the bailiffs of France, of the year 1268, ‘*Expensæ pro cendatis, bourra ad Gambesones, tapetis,*’ &c.

In a deed of Henry, lord of Suilly, of the year 1301, of the franchises of the town of Aix, ‘*Quicumque vero 20 librarum, vel amplius habebit de mobilibus, tenebitur habere lorica, vel lorica, et capellum ferreum, et lanceam. Qui vero minus de 20 libris habebit de mobili, tenebitur habere gambesam et capellum ferreum, et lanceam.*’

Roger Hoveden, in the year 1181, uses the word *Wanbasia*, and in page 614 that of *Wanbais*. A roll in the chamber of accounts at Paris, containing an inventory of the wearing apparel of the king Louis Hutin, taken in the year 1316, has, among other articles, the following:

‘Item, Une cote gamboisée de cendal blanc.

Item, Deux tunics et un gamboison de bordures des armes de France.

Item, Une couverture de gamboisons broudées des armes du roi.

Item, Trois paires de couvertures gamboisées des armes du roi, et unes Indes jazequenées.

Item, Un cuifiax gamboifez.

Item, Unes couvertures gamboifées de France et de Navarre.'

I have explained, in my observations on Villehardouin, note 88, that the gamboifon was a quilted drefs, well stuffed with wool, that had been foaked in, and beat up with vinegar, which Pliny, in the 48th chapter of his 8th book, fays refifts iron.

Nicetas thus describes the gambefon in the first book of his life of the emperor Ifaac. This fort of work is called *Coachle* by Alpianus in l. 25. § 1. de auro argent, &c. And in the Gloss. Lat. Græc. where it is translated, from the word *πλωτον*, the workmen are named *Coactiliarii*; and *Lanarii Coactores* in an ancient infcription. Whence the learned imagine, that the words *feltrum* and *filtrum* in the writers of the middle ages, and of *αφελετρον* among the Greeks, have fimilar fignifications.

(CXVI) *The lord de Chastillon.* Gaucher, who has been before mentioned.

(CXVII) *The master of the Temple.* He is called Frere Guillaume de Sonnac in the additions to Matt. Paris, page 110.

(CXVIII) *Guyon de Malvoifin.* The second of the name, lord of Rosny. See the genealogy of that family in the history of the house of Dreux, l. 1. ch. 8. page 115. and in that of Bethune, l. 6. ch. 5. p. 416. where this lord and his alliances are fpoken of.

(CXIX) *The Bedouins.* The lord de Joinville has here confounded, as elfewhere, the Bedouins with the Affaffins, although Jacques de Vitry, in his history of Jerufalem, ch. 12. (whence he feems to have drawn what he fays of these people), and Aython, ch. 35, 51, 55. make two nations of them; and Jacques de Vitry fays pofitively they were Arabians, and their refidence near Aleppo and Crach, in Arabia, and that the Affaffins inhabited a canton of the province of Phœnicia, inclofed by mountains near Tortofa. However this may be, every writer agrees that the Bedouins were a wandering and vagabond people.

The history of the asiatic expedition of the emperor Frederic I. in the fifth volume of the *Lectiones Antiquæ* of Canisius, thus speaks of them.

‘ Est autem consuetudo incolarum illius terræ, qui Sylvestres, Turci, five Beduini dicuntur, carere domibus, et omni tempore degendo in tabernaculis de pascuis ad pascua se transferre cum gregibus et armentis. Hi semper in armis ad bella proni sunt et accincti,’ &c.

We must compare our author with Jacques de Vitry and Sanuto, in the various places quoted, respecting the opinions held by these people touching fate, and their modes of living and fighting, which are perfectly conformable to what the lord de Joinville has written of them.

Arnoul de Lubec, l. 7. ch. 10. Brocardius in his history of the holy land, and others, have noticed these people.

(cxx) *The law of Aly.* Aly was not uncle to Mahomet, but his cousin, and son-in-law, having married his daughter Fatima. William of Tyre, l. 1. ch. 4. l. 19. ch. 20. Jacques de Vitry, l. 1. ch. 8. and the writers of the mahometan histories, relate at length the difference of the religion established by Mahomet, and that introduced by Aly, the latter of which was embraced by the caliphs of Egypt, who for that reason are called *Fatimites*, in the eastern chronicle, from the name of *Fatima*, wife of Aly.

(cxxi) *Walter de Chastillon.* Read Gaucher, as before noticed in note 116.

(cxxii) *A priest.* Anna Comnena, in the 292d page of the tenth book of her *Alexiade*, reproaches the Latins for their clergy putting on armour, and with sword and lance hastening to the field of battle when they have but just received the order of priesthood, which is directly forbidden by the Greeks.

Petrus Diaconus, in the fourth book of the chronicle of Monte Cassino, makes the same charge, and introduces a Greek thus speaking to a Latin:

‘ In occidentali climate Propheticum illud videmus impietum, erit ut populus, sic sacerdos cum pontifices ad bella prodeant, ut papa vester Innocentius.’

Doubtless it is not without reason that the Greeks have so often made this reproach to the Latins; seeing that although it has been forbidden by all the councils for priests to handle arms, or interfere in battles as combatants, yet notwithstanding they are there to be found fighting like seculars. Thus we read, that Ebles abbot of St Germain des Près, and Gosselin bishop of Paris, fought valiantly against the Normans, who had besieged the capital of France. The clergy not only fought against the infidels, but against the Christians; witness the bishop of Beauvais, who, at the battle of Bovines, struck the earl of Salisbury to the ground with his battle-axe.

Gregory of Tours, in l. 4. ch. 43. l. 5. ch. 20. l. 8. ch. 39. of his history, and others of our own historians, furnish an infinite number of examples, which I pass over, to avoid entering into too long a detail. I shall merely remark, that the cardinal Baronius, in his ecclesiastical annals of the year 888, complains that our historians praise bishops and abbots for their courage and address in battle, although they deserve blame as persons who act contrary to the duties of their office, and as violators of the canons of the church.

See the epistle of pope Adrian to Charlemagne, in the 3d vol. of the historians of France, p. 754. Petr. Damianus, l. 1. epist. 15.

(cxxxiii) *Flung his dagger.* The word *dague* is still in use for a small knife or dagger. The Spaniards call it *dagas*, the English *dagger*.

The statutes of William king of Scotland, cap. 23.

‘Habeat equum, habergeon, capitium e ferro et cultellum, qui dicitur dagger.’

In Thomas of Walsingham, p. 252. ‘Extracto cultello, quem dagger vulgo dicimus, ictum militi minebatur.’

See the same author, page 332. Hen. Knighton in Edw. III. the chronicle of Flanders, page 232. Monstrelet, vol. 1. ch. 98. &c.

(cxxxiv) *Who died in the battle.* The epistle of St Louis, on the subject of this capture, notices, in like manner, the death of Fracardin, in the battle that was fought on Shrove Tuesday; and the eastern chronicle says, he was

flain the 75th day of his reign, which, according to his calculation, brings it to the 8th of February, infomuch that the sultan Nagem-Addin died the 25th of November.

(cxxxv) *The Refil*. I have before said some little of this place, which is situated on the branch of the Nile called *Rexi*, and by the Arabians *Raschit* or *Rasit*, which has probably taken its name from this town, which Jean Leon, l. 8. p. 263. calls *Rasid*. Aython, ch. 64. *Refint*. William of Tyre, l. 19. c. 21 & 26. *Refsit*. Sanuto, l. 3. part 11. ch. 9. *Rofith*, and the Latins *Rofetum*.

(cxxxvi) *Guy Guivelins*. The edition of Poitiers reads *Guy de Grimesins*; but there is a mistake in each, for it should be *Ibelin*. This Guy d'Ibelin and Baudouin, his brother, were the sons of John lord d'Ibelin and de Baruth. Guy was constable, and Baudouin seneschal of Cyprus. See the 'Lignage d'Outremer.'

(cxxxvii) *De la Horgne*. The Poitiers edition has *de la Horgue*.

I know not why the lord de Joinville should have given the title of Count to the lord d'Aspremont, which is not to be found in any writer of this period.

(cxxxviii) *Vigorously driven from the army*. After these words, the Poitiers edition has as follows:

'And in this engagement sir Arnaut de Commenge, viscount de Couzerans, shewed himself bold and adventurous, of whom I have before spoken when I received such timely succour from him. This count bore for arms on his banner, a field or, with a bordure gules, which, as he has since told me, had been given to his predecessors, who had the surname of Espagne, in former times, from the king Charlemagne, for the great services the viscounts of Couzerans had rendered him when he was on his expedition in Spain against the infidels, and likewise because his ancestors had driven the Saracens out of the country of Commenge, and restored it under the obedience of Charlemagne.'

(cxxxix) *Jofferand de Brancion*. Jofferand, the second of the name, lord of Brancion, (Brancidunum in Latin,) son to Henry Gros, and grandson to Jofferand I. lords of Brancion. He accompanied Baldwin II. emperor of Constantinople, when he went to take possession of the empire, after the death of his father-in-law, John de Brienne, as Albericus informs us. He married Margaret de Vienne, daughter to Gaucher, lord of Salins, and begot Henry, third of the name, father to Margaret, married to Bernard de Choiseul, lord de Traves, about the year 1272.

The lord de Joinville says, in this place, that Jofferand was his uncle, which Andrew du Chefne, in his history of the house of Vergy, l. 2. ch. 6. supposes must be understood as welln uncle, probably on his mother's side.

Albericus in the year 1193.

A. du Chefne in the place quoted.

M. Guichenon in his history of Breffe, part 1. ch. 36. and in his *Bibliotheca Sebustiane*, pp. 174, 244, 344, 357, 366, 433, 434, 437, 444, 445.

Claude de St Julien aux antiquités de Mâcon, pp. 282, 319, 346.

Le Pere Vigner in his genealogies of Alsace and Lorraine.

M. Perard in his memoirs of Burgundy, pp. 496, 522, and others, have amply spoken of this family.

(cxxx) *The count de Mascon*. John de Dreux, or de Braine, son to Robert, second count de Dreux and de Mâcon, in right of his wife Alix, only daughter to Gerard, count de Vienne, by which connection he was cousin to Jofferand, lord of Brancion, on account of his wife, Margaret de Vienne, daughter to Gaucher de Vienne, lord of Salins, who was youngest brother to William, count de Mâcon, father to Gerard.

(cxxxix) *For when a king*. It is still the custom of the Turks to compose their principal military force, the Janisaries, from tributary children, sent for this purpose every fifth year by commissaries established in the provinces, from children carried off from Christians, whom they instruct in their religion, and train up to military exercises. These soldiers, thus educated, and unacquainted with their parents and birth, only acknowledge

the grand signor for their father and protector, which is one of the best political maxims of the infidels, although contrary to the law of nature.

See on this subject W. of Tyre, l. 13. ch. 23.

Aython, ch. 50.

Sanuto, l. 1. part 3. ch. 2. l. 2. part. 2. c. 6.

Pachymeres, in his MS. history, l. 3. c. 3.

Jean Leon, in his description of Africa, l. 9. page 275, and particularly the discourses and observations of M. de Breves, ambassador from the king to the porte, in the treatise which he has composed, of the sure means to ruin the Turks.

(CXXXII) *De la Haulcqua*. In the edition of Poitiers it is *de la Halcqua*.

(CXXXIII) *Admiral*. That is to say, as the lord de Joinville explains this word, captain, or governor of a province or place, chief of an army or smaller body of troops. The word is derived from the Arabic *emir* or *amir*, which signifies *lord*, according to W. of Tyre, l. 21. c. 23.

Rigord in the year 1195.

Sanuto, l. 3. part. 3. ch. 5.

Mariana, in his history of Spain, l. 6. ch. 11.

Victor Cayet in paradig. 4 Linguar.

M. de Marca, in his hist. of Béarn, l. 2. ch. 2. n. 11.

Leunclav. Watfius, and others.

The same thing is observed by the lord de Villerval in his manuscript travels, in the chapter on the condition and nature of the sultans, of their admirals and slaves, &c.

‘ Item, The sultan of Babylon has always, as they tell me, as well in Cairo as in the environs, about ten thousand slaves in his pay, who fight for him when war makes it necessary, some with two horses, and others with more or less, according to their circumstances. It must be known, that these slaves are from foreign nations, such as Tartary, Turkey, Bulgaria, Hungary, Sclavonia, Wallachia, Russia, Greece, and other countries, as

well from those of the Christians, as elsewhere. They are not called the sultan's slaves unless they be bought with his money, or sent to him as presents from distant countries. In these slaves he trusts wholly for the guard of his person, and he gives them women, houses, horses and robes, and places them, when young, under masters, to teach them the art of war. According to their different abilities, he appoints one captain of ten lancemen, another of twenty, another of fifty, another of one hundred; and, thus rising, they are made, one governor of Jerusalem, another king, or ruler, of Damascus, another chief governor of Cairo, and thus with other officers of that country.'

The word *admiral* is printed by different writers various ways. This officer is called by the Greeks, *Αμειραλ*, *Αμειραλαιοι*, and by the Latins of the middle ages, *Amirabiles*, *Admiraldi*, &c. This much is however certain, that we have borrowed the word from the infidel nations, and commonly style the chiefs of naval armaments admirals, because those from whom we have adopted it thus applied the word.

(cxxxiv) *Had gained some fortune.* M. de Breves, in the treatise to which I have before alluded, remarks, that at this day such is the conduct of the Turks.

(cxxxv) *The counts of Montfort and of Bar*,—Who were defeated, and made prisoners by the garrison of Gaza in the year 1239. See G. de Nangis in his life of St Louis, and Sanuto, l. 3. part. 15. ch. 15.

(cxxxvi) *The king of Armenia.* Constant. See Vincent de Beauvais, l. 3. ch. 29.

(cxxxvii) *Had a son.* He was named Afmoaddamo Gajiat-addin Taranciac, according to the oriental chronicle, or Melec-Esmahadin, as in the fragment de Statu Saracenorum, to. 1. S. hist. Franc. p. 432. and the MS. french chronicle of William de Nangis.

St Louis, in his letter, says that he came to Maffoura 'de partibus orientis,' thirteen days after the death of Frachardin, according to the

oriental chronicle, that is to say about the twenty-second of February. See what has been said before concerning his death.

(CXXXVIII) *The golden wands.* The modern Greeks call these wands of the magistrates, and officers of the palace at Constantinople, *δικαστήρια*, as we learn from Codinus, being ensigas of superiority and of justice.

(CXXXIX) *Carementrant.* He thus calls Shrove-Tuesday. A deed of the year 1196, cited in the proofs to the history of Savoy by Guichenon, p. 45. ‘a Natali Domini usque ad Carementrannum.’

(CXL) *The flesh on our legs became dried up.* In the ‘chronicon incerti auctoris,’ quoted in the history of the counts de Toulouse by M. Catel, in the year 1250, ‘infirmetas vero multa oritur in exercito Christiano dolore maxillarum et dentium, et tibiarum tumore, qui infra paucos dies morabatur, vixque sufficiebant mortuos sepelire.’

(CXLI) *Hugh de Landricourt.* This lord, or his father, appears in the cartulary in the chamber of accounts at Paris, in two title-deeds of Simon, lord de Joinville, of the years 1210 and 1218.

(CXLII) *The treaty with their consent.* Sanuto, l. 2. part 2. ch. 9. says, that by this treaty the sultan of Babylon offered to give up to the king the town of Damietta, with the adjacent country, for a residence to those Christians that might remain in Egypt, called at that period, ‘Christiani de Cinctura: quia cingulum portabant latum et vestimentum, per quod recognoscebantur ab aliis, (Jacobitis scilicet et aliis Christianis).’ This has been also noticed in the chronicle of Odoricus de Frioul, which he has carried down to the pontificate of Benedict XII. at which time they were denominated *Centurini*.

(CXLIII) *The dysentery.* In the lapidary manuscript, in the chapter of Amethysts, it is said, ‘that it destroys dead flesh from wounds, and stops the dysentery.’

(CXLIV) *Garrotz*. Bolts from crofs-bows, or rather from fpringals.
Guiart, in the year 1304,

‘ Quarriaus traient au cliqueter,
Et font l’espringalle geter,
Li garros qui lors de la ist,
Les plus viguerous esbahit.’

And further on,

‘ Et font geter leurs espringalles,
Ca et la fonnent li clairain,
Li garrot empané d’arain,
Lassent leur lieus de ce me vent,
Plustost que tempeste ne vent.’

In the same year,

‘ Espringalles font leur servise,
Dont li garrot en main lieu faillent.’

Fauchet derives this word from *quadrellus*, which the writers of the middle ages made use of for quarrels, or bolts for crofs-bows. M. Menage thinks it comes from *verutum*, the diminutive of *veru*.

(CXLV) *The king was made prisoner*. On the 5th day of April. See Vincent de Beauvais, l. 32. chap. 100, &c. The author of the life of St Boniface, bishop of Laufanne, ch. 4. l. 15. in Bolandus, and at the date of the 19th February, says, that during the time St Louis was in the holy land, there came a voice from heaven to this holy bishop when at his prayers, saying, ‘ Scias pro certe regem Franciæ hodie trahi in manus gentium et multos e populo suo occidendos, et reliquos duci captivos:’ which is what happened.

(CXLVI) *Philip of Montfort*,—who was afterward lord of Tyr. I notice him and his descendants in my families of the east.

(CXLVII) *Their towels*. Turbans are commonly made of napkins or other linen wrapped round the head. The lord de Joinville, in another part, says, ‘ And know that they received heavy blows on these towels:

they, however, wore them when going to battle, and they are tightly wrapped round one over the other.'

Vincent de Beauvais, l. 32. ch. 55. speaking of Saphadin, says, ' Ipse quidem Saphadinus equitans filios suos visitaturus involvitur pura syndone caput: ' which the MS. treatise of expeditions to the holy land thus translates, ' Saphadin li peres, quant il chevalche, va voir ses fiex, si chevalche sa teste couvert d'un vermeil famit.'

See Leunclavius in Pand. Turc. n. 240. The latin authors of the middle ages have differently written this word *toïaille*; the chronicle of Fontenelle uses *toacula*, Odoricus de Frioul *toalia*, the Roman Ceremonial in MS. *tobalea*, Johannes de Janua *togilla*, Kero Mon. Mappula, Duvahila.

(CXLVIII) *In pagan countries.* He repeats this same thing afterwards, and it is probable that this mode of acting was common to infidels since the annals of France drawn from the church of Metz in the year 844, attribute it to the Normans.

(CXLIX) *On the escot of my vessel.* In the edition of Poitiers, it is *escr.*

NOTES

ON

THE THIRD PART

OF THE

MEMOIRS OF THE LORD DE JOINVILLE,

BY M. DU CANGE.

(I) *Montfaucon de Bar.* SEE the history of the house of Bar by A. du Chefne, p. 18.

(II) *The emperor of Germany.* Frederic II. who had been crowned king of Jerufalem, and held all the places in that kingdom.

(III) *The hospital of Rhodes.* This passage, which is likewise in the edition of Poitiers, confirms my belief, that the history has been altered in its language, and even in essential points, which shew that some have retouched the discourses of the lord de Joinville, which are not so clear as this, as may be easily inferred from his original letter, which I have inserted in his eulogium; for beside this instance, and others that I have noticed, either he himself, or some other, must have corrected it after the year 1308, at which time the knights of St John of Jerusalem seized the island of

Rhodes from the Turks, according to John Villani, l. 9. ch. 104. where they afterwards established themselves.

(iv) *En Bernicles*. See the nineteenth dissertation, where this torment is spoken of.

(v) *Ten hundred thousand besants of gold*. I reserve to the twentieth dissertation a notice of the ransom of St Louis.

(vi) *Barguiner*. That is to say, *bargain*. A statute for the tradesmen of Paris in Brodeau, sur la coutume de Paris, art. 89. has, ‘ Si une personne barguine denrée à l’estail, ou a l’ouvroer d’un marchand, ou il veut achepter,’ &c. The English use the word *bargain* to express an agreement or convention. The capitularies of Charles le chauve, tit. 28. ‘ Quia et foeminæ barcaniare solent,’ on which father Sirmond says, that ‘ barcaniare, est licitando cunctari.’ A title-deed of St Bernard, abbot of Clervaux, of the year 1145, which is in the cartulary of the bishoprick of Auxerre, expresses more strongly the meaning of this word, according to the sense of our author: ‘ De illis qui pisces vendunt, comes habet. 4. creditarios, in quibus episcopus nihil accipit. Si ad alios thelonearius episcopi primus advenerit, et primus barguinauerit, tantum accipiet, quantum curia episcopi necesse habebit, et thelonearius comitis faciet, si pariter venerint, pariter accipient quod invenient. Similiter in aliis victualibus facient.’

It is doubtful whether the word *barganaticum*, which is right of taxation, mentioned in some old charters of Charlemagne, and others of an older date, which are to be found in the chronicle of Verdun, by Hugh, abbot of Flavigny, in the year 755, and in the history of the abbey of St Denis by Doublet, pp. 708, 709. has any signification relative to the above. It is uncertain whether this impost was put on merchandise sold in open market, or whether it was collected from boats on rivers.

Joseph Scaliger, on Festus, supposes that this word comes from *bargana* of the Latins, the meaning of which, however, that Cujas gives, has no connection with *barguinement*.

(vii) *Who flew him.* A chronicle, published by M. Catel, of the year 1249, says, that the sultan was killed by his own people, in a dispute about the ransom of St Louis. The lord de Joinville writes, that he was slain by those of the haulqua. Matt. Paris says, that he was poisoned by his chamberlains. Aython, in ch. 52. says it was done by the Comains, and the oriental chronicle by the Mamelukes. This difference is easily reconciled, for the lord de Joinville has before said, that the knights of the haulqua formed part of the military force of the sultans of Egypt, composed of children sent as tribute. Aython adds, that these tributary children were from Comania; and that Melec-Sala, sultan of Egypt, having learnt that the Tartars had invaded the kingdom of Comania, and were selling at a low price the poor inhabitants of that country, sent thither merchants, with large sums of money, who bought great numbers of children, whom they led into Egypt, and who, after they had learnt every warlike exercise, were selected, as the sultan's guard, and sent as governors to the different provinces, and raised to the chief command of the armies.

Hence William de Nangis, and the fragment on the state of the Saracens during the reign of St Louis, in the 5th vol. of the historians of France, say, that the sultan was killed by sixty of his captains, who were of these Comanians. These foreign soldiers were, in the arabian language, called Mamelukes, as we learn from William of Tyre, l. 2. ch. 23. This gives us the reason why the oriental chronicle writes, that the sultan was slain by the Mamelukes.

(viii) *The town of Damietta.* It was then under the guard of the duke of Burgundy and Olivier de Termes, in which the legate and a number of prelates had saved themselves; as did likewise the queen of France, according to Matt. Paris. Aython, ch. 24. says, that when it had been surrendered to the Saracens, they completely destroyed it, and made it a desert, building another town farther distant from the river and sea, to which they gave the name of New Damietta. Sanuto, l. 3. part 11. ch. 10. adds, that this new town was begun about the year 1220, when the Saracens, desirous to

blockade the town of Damietta that had been taken by John king of Jerufalem, had encamped themselves on the other side of the river, and constructed several houses, which they then called New Damietta.

(IX) *Morentaigne*. Mauritania.

(x) *Nous esperions*. *Esperer* is frequently used by old french writers to signify 'to fear.' Our lord de Joinville says, in the first part of his memoirs, 'Et esperions estre tous en peril de mort.' And further on, 'J'esperoie beaucoup plus la mort que la vie.' The Latins also use it in the same sense: 'Auter Breviloqui, Achirologia, est dictio improprie posita, ut timeo requiem, spero laborem.' The 25th law of the theodosian code, 'de petitionib. et ultro dat. Cum per illyrici partes barbaricus speraretur incurfus.'

(xi) *Philip de Nemours*. The person who sold to St Louis the town and castlewick of Nemours. See the genealogy of this family in the history of the house of Dreux, l. 2. ch. 1.

(xii) *The marshal of France*. Alberic Clement, who attended the king St Louis on this expedition. See the chronicle of Flanders, chap. 20.

(xiii) *The master of the Trinity*. Nicholas, general of the order of Mathurins, which in those times was called the Order of Asses: 'Eo quod asinos equitabant, non equos,' as an old chronicle of the year 1198, tells us, tom. 2. Spicileg.

In an account relative to the king's household in the year 1330, 'les freres des Asnes de Fontainebliaut, ou madame fut espousée.'

Albericus in his chronicle, and Jacques de Vitry, in his history of the west, ch. 25. remark in like manner, that those of this order, 'humilitatis Christi formam expressius imitantes, aut pedibus ambulant, aut super asinos equitantes incedunt.'

This general died in the year 1256.

(xiv) *By balance weight.* By this we learn, that what Louis Lafféré, purveyor to the college of Navarre, has introduced in the life of St Louis, which he has dedicated, with that of St Jerome, to Louisa de Bourbon, abbess of Fontevraud, and published last year without the name of the author, is only a vulgar error, stating, that when the ransom of the king was fixed at eight hundred thousand golden besants, there were instantly coined a similar number at Paris from gold which he had exacted from the people and sent off by Charles count of Anjou, whom his brother the king saint Louis had ordered to return to France expressly for this purpose.

Perhaps what Matt. Paris relates in the year 1250, page 521. may have given rise to what the above author has advanced. This money having been sent from France during the time when he was near Damietta attacked on all sides by the Saracens. It is also another vulgar error, that St Louis paid for his ransom his weight in gold, and that he put himself into the scales for this purpose, the word *besans* having caused the mistake.

The MS. chronicle of Bertrand du Guesclin,

‘ Un jour estoit li princes * levés de son disner,
 En chambre de retrait estoit voulu aller,
 Avec ses barons aus espices donner;
 Et tant que li baron prirent a deviser,
 Et d’armes et d’amours, et beaus fais recorder,
 De mors, de chevaliers de prisons racheter,
 Et de plusieurs estats, et des fais d’outremer,
 Et comme St Louys pour son ame sauver,
 Se laissa prendre en Tunes, et il se fit peser
 De fin or en balance, pour son cors delivrer.’

I wish not to forget in this place what I noticed in the register of the chamber of accounts at Paris, intitled *Nofter*, which was communicated to me by M. d’Herouval, that to make up the ransom of St Louis, there was borrowed, or rather deducted, from the expenses of his household, the sum of 167,102 livres. As the extract I made from it furnishes us with several circumstances relative to the reigns of St Louis and other kings of France, I have thought I should oblige the public by inserting it in this place.

* The prince of Wales.

‘ Domina Margareta comitissa Valeſii, mater regis Philippi de Valeſio obiit in feſto S. Silveſtri, anno 1299.

‘ Domina Catherina comitiſſa Valeſii imperatrix C. Politana obiit mart. poſt S. Silveſtrum, 1307.

‘ D. Carolus comes Valeſii pater regis Philippi de Valeſio obiit 16. die Decemb. 1325.

‘ Ludovicus de Valeſio filius dicti comitis et frater dicti regis ob. 2. die Novembris 1328.

‘ Rex Philippus de Valeſio receſſit de Piſſiaco de nocte 13 die Junii 1330 pro eundo in Maſſiliam et Avenionem peregre.

‘ Comes Piſtavenſis ob. anno 1271.

‘ S. Ludovicus obiit craſtino S. Barthol. 1270, pro cujus redemptione captæ fuerunt per hoſpitium ſuum anno 1250, 167,102 lib. 18. S. 8. d. Tur.

‘ Rex Philippus ſuus filius obiit ante candelos anno 1285,

‘ Rex Philippus pulcher filius dicti regis Philippi ob. an. 1316.

‘ Rex Joannes filius reg. Ludovici obiit in ætate 8 dierum.

‘ Rex Philippus magnus filius regis Philippi pulchri, et frater regis Ludovici, obiit 2 Jan. 1321.

‘ Rex Carolus frater dicti regis pulchri et Ludovici obiit 1. Febr. 1327.

‘ Militia dictorum trium fratrum fuit in Pentecoſte 1313.

‘ Rex Philippus de Valeſio natus fuit an. 1293, et devenit ad regnum menſe Febr. 1327. Coronatus fuit die S. Trinit. 1328. et habuit victoriam contra Flamingos 23 Aug.

‘ Ad Magdalenam 1294, dicitur incepſiſſe ſecundum viagium Vaſconizæ pro guerra.

‘ Anno 1324, incæpit alia guerra Vaſconizæ.

‘ Terra Ducatus Aquitanizæ fuit in manu regis Franc. ab omnibus ſanctis 1299, uſque ad 3. diem poſt O. S. 1304, quo fuit reddita regi Anglizæ.

‘ Expenſæ hoſpitii S. Ludovici ultra mare pro anno finito ad aſcenſ. 1251, 48,588 lib. 14. ſ. 1. d. Tur. et pro gentibus armorum et navigiis 240,400 lib. 14. d. Tur. apud Accon. et Tyrum.

‘ Redemptio dicti ſancti eodem anno 167,102 lib. 18. ſ. 8. d. Tur.

‘ Dieta fine guerra et redemptione pro expensis per diem 133 lib. 9. d. Tur.

‘ Expensæ ejus hospitii pro anno finito ad ascensionem 1252, 56,407 lib. 18. f. 10. d. Tur. et pro gentibus armorum et navigiis 212,164 lib. 13. f. 11. d. Tur. apud Acconem et Cæfaream ac Castellum.

‘ Dieta fine guerra, 154 lib. 10. f. 10. d. Tur. pro expensis per diem.

‘ Expensæ ejusdem hospitii pro anno finito ad ascenf. 1253, 60,680 lib. 10. f. 10. d. Tur. et pro guerra seu gentib. armorum ac navigio, 270,547 lib. 15. f. 5. d. Tur. apud Joppem.

‘ Dieta fine guerra pro expensis per diem 166 lib. 4. f. 11. d. ob. Tur.

‘ Dictus S. Ludovicus expendit pro passagio ultra marino ab ascenf. Dom. 1247, usque ad ascenf. 1256, per 5. annos 1,537,570 lib. 13. f. 5. d. ob. Tur. et arripuit iter circa omnes sanctos 1248, et rediit an. 1254.

‘ Dom. Carolus comes Valefii pater regis Philippi de Valefio expedit. pro viagio Romanix pro toto 115,960 lib. 19. f. Tur. fort. ab anno Domini 1302, usque ad annum 1313.

‘ Valor omnium terrarum Domini Valef. pro uno anno 24,000 lib. fort.

‘ Valor regni super Thesaur. 2,334,000 lib.

‘ Expensæ totales pro coronamento S. Ludovici mense Nov. 1223, 40,334 lib. 14. f. Paris, captæ super regem per Compot. hospit. mense Nov.

‘ Expensæ totalis coronationis regis Philippi Audacis filii fui 12,931 lib. 8. f. id captum per compotum hospitii ad O. S. 1271.

‘ Expensæ totales pro coronatione reginæ confortis suæ 22,564 lib. 12. f. 5. d. prout in magna recepta ascenf. 1275.

‘ Expensæ totius coronationis regis Philippi pulchri, 24,560 lib. 72. f. Par. captæ per templum ad candelos 1285, et pro militia sua 14,684 lib. 12. d. captæ in magna recepta omn. sanctorum 1284.

‘ Expensæ coronationis regis Ludov. filii fui 20,824 lib. 15. f. 2. d. ob. P. captæ per compot. hospitii ad Nativ. Dom. 1315.

‘ Expensæ hosp. regis S. Ludov. pro anno 1271. 111,688 lib. 14. f. 2. d. Par.

‘ Expensæ Hospitii reg. Philippi pulchri pro anno 1301, 267,888 lib. 14. f. 10. d.

‘ Expenfæ,—Hosp. Ludovici filii fui pro anno 1315, 209,771 lib. 16. f. 2. d.
 Hosp. Philippi magni fratris dicti Ludov. 184,332 lib. 19. f. 11. d. pro uno anno.
 Hosp. Karoli fratris fui
 Hosp. Philippi de Valesio regis moderni pro anno 1329, 347,457 lib. 17. f. 6. d.’

(xv) *Light up, light up.* The French is ‘*Alume, alume.*’ The Poitiers edition has the same words, which mean to light the candle to see the compass, and the part whither they are sailing. It is thus, I think, they must be understood. Hugh de Berry, who lived under the reign of saint Louis, in the description he gives, in his Bible Guyot, of the use of the compass in those times, says, that sailors in the dark nights, to avoid losing their route, lighted a candle to observe the needle every now and then.

‘ Quant la nuit est obscure et brune,
 Qu’on ne voit estoile ne lune,
 Lors font a l’aiguille allumer,
 Puis ne peuvent-ils s’egarer.’

See Estienne Pasquier, in his ‘*Recherches sur la France,*’ l. 4. ch. 25..

With every deference to M. du Cange, I should rather interpret this cry of *Alume, alume!* as a signal of joy and illumination on the safe return of the count de Poitiers.

The chapter quoted in Pasquier refers to different diseases, and nothing to the above purport.—*Transf.*

(xvi) *Jacques du Chastel.* Andrew du Chêne, in his history of the house of Châtillon, l. 11. ch. 6. and those who have drawn up the list of the bishops of Soissons, call him Guy, and make him son to Raoul, lord de Châteauporcean by Agnes de Bazoches.

Vincent de Beauvais, l. 32. ch. 96. mentions him and his expedition to the holy land.

(xvii) *Nazac.* Edition of Poitiers, *Nazart.*

(xviii) *Tristan*. Guillaume Guiart sings,
 ‘ L’Enfant a très grande destrece;
 Et vout que nom li meist an
 Sans rapel nul Jean Tristan.’

This prince was also surnamed ‘de Damiete,’ from the place of his birth. In the cartulary of the bishopric of Paris, belonging to the late M. du Puy, there was as follows: A. 1266. ‘Joannes dictus de Damiete, filius illustrissimi regis D. Ludovici,’ &c.

(xix) *Playing at backgammon*. Among the orders laid down for the more regular discipline that was to be observed in these expeditions to the holy land, all playing with dice was strictly forbidden: ‘Statutum est etiam, ut nullus enormiter juret, et quod nullus ad aleas, vel ad decios ludat.’ In William de Neubourg, l. 3. ch. 23.

(xx) *Threw the tables into the sea*. After these words, the Poitiers-edition contains a whole chapter, which is wanting in the edition of Menard, in the following terms:

‘When we arrived before Acre, the citizens came out to meet the king as far as the shore with grand processions, and received him joyfully.

‘I attempted to mount the palfrey that had been brought for me from the town; but I was no sooner mounted than I fainted, and should have fallen to the ground had it not been for him who brought the horse, who held me tight, and with much difficulty I was led to the king’s house. I remained some time at a window without any one taking the least notice of me, and of all those whom I had brought to Egypt I had only with me a young boy, called Bartholomew, the bastard-son of the lord Amé de Montbelliar, lord of Montfaucon, of whom I have before spoken.

‘As I was there waiting, a youth came to me dressed in scarlet striped with yellow, and, having saluted me, asked if I did not know him. On my saying I did not, he told me he was a native of Chateau-Defcler, that belonged to my uncle. He asked if I would take him into my service, for that he was without a master. This I readily agreed to, and retained him as my varlet. He soon after brought me clean coifes, and combed my hair exceedingly well.

At this time, the king sent for me to come to dinner : I went, attended by my new varlet, who carved before me, and found means to get a sufficiency for himself and the young boy.

‘ After the dinner, this varlet, whose name was Guillemin, obtained for me a lodging near the baths, that I might wash and clean myself from the filth I had gained in prison. Towards evening, he put me into a bath ; but I had no sooner entered it than I again fainted and fell backwards in the water, so that with much trouble they drew me out alive, and carried me to my chamber. You must know, that I had only a poor jacket for my dress, nor any money in my pocket to buy better clothing, or to support me in my illness. This affected me very much, and I suffered more from the extreme indigence I was in, than from the pains of my disorder.

‘ As I was in this distress, most fortunately a knight came to visit me, whose name was sir Peter de Bourbrainne, and seeing my miserable state, he comforted me to the best of his power, and caused cloth to be given me to new-dress myself, by a merchant of Acre, to whom he gave his own security for the due payment.

‘ At the end of three days, when I was somewhat better and stronger, I went to the king, who blamed me much for having been so long absent, and charged me, as I valued his love, not to fail partaking of his meals morning and evening, until he should determine to remain there, or return to France. While with the king, I complained to him of the lord Peter de Courcenay, who owed me four hundred livres of my pay, and refused to give it me ; and the king ordered the four hundred livres to be instantly paid me, to my great joy, for I did not possess a single farthing.

‘ When I had received my money, sir Peter de Bourbrainne advised me to keep only forty livres for my expenses, and to give the remainder to the governor of the palace of the Templars to keep for me, which I willingly did. Having spent the forty livres, I sent for as much more ; but this governor bade them tell me, that he had not any money of mine, and, what was worse, that he did not know me.

‘ On the receipt of this answer, I went to the master of the Templars, whose name was father Regnaut de Vichiers, to whom I carried intelligence

of the king, and then told him the treatment I had met with, and complained to him of the governor of the palace, for not restoring to me the money I had intrusted to his care. But I had no sooner ended, than he flew into a violent passion, and said,—‘ Lord de Joinville, I love you very much, but I shall cease doing so, if you hold such language, for it seems to be insinuated, by what you complain of, that our brotherhood are all thieves.’ I replied, that so far from being silent, I would make the matter public, for that I was in such want of my money I had not a penny to support me, and, without a word more, left him.

‘ I can assure you I was during four days in the utmost uneasiness about my money, and knew not to what saint to make my vows, to recover it. These four days I did nothing but run about, seeking means to regain it. On the fifth, the master of the Templars accosted me with a smile, and told me he had found my money, and instantly gave me the amount, to my great joy, as I was in very great need of it; and I took good care, in future, not to trouble these monks with the keeping of my cash.’

The above shews, that William de Sonnac, master of the Temple, died immediately after the battle of Maffoura, and perhaps he was killed there, since Regnaud de Vichiers had succeeded him, when the king returned to the holy land, after his captivity. A deed in the cartulary of the church of Auxerre, of the year 1247, gives him the title of ‘ Domorum militiæ Templi in Francia magister.’

There are other deeds in the ‘ Trefor des Chartes,’ Laitte Champagne vi. titre 100, which style him Master of the Templars in the year 1255; and Sanuto, l. 3. part 12. ch. 5. says, that he followed the party of the Venetians in the war they had with the Genoese in the year 1257.

(XXI) *Count de Japhe.* John d’Ibelin the fifth. See note on a former part of this work.

(XXII) *William de Belmont.* I believe to be the same whose name appears in the cartulary of the bishoprick of Paris, wherein he is mentioned as doing homage to that see, in the year 1263, for his lordship of Pierre Fite.

(xxiii) *The prince of Antioch.* Boëmond V. prince of Antioch, and count of Tripoly, who died in the year 1261.

(xxiv) *Poulains.* The author of the life of Louis le gros, explains the force of this word in his 24th chapter, as follows: 'Pullani dicuntur, qui de patre Syriano et matre Francigena generantur.' To this must be referred what Sanuto says on the same subject, in l. 3. part. 8. ch. 2. 'Illustrium virorum qui ad terræ sanctæ tuitionem, perfectamque illius de jugo servitutis liberationem in ipsa manserunt, degeneres filii, qui ab illis descenderunt, ut rubigo de argento, amurca de oleo, fex de vino, possessionum illorum successores, non morum, pulani vocantur.'

Jacques de Vitry, l. 1. ch. 67. speaks also of these Poulains, and says they were thus called because they were originally from la Puglia. 'Pullani dicuntur, qui post terræ sanctæ liberationem ex ea oriundi extiterunt: vel quia recentes, et quasi novi pulli, respectu furianorum reputati sunt: vel quia principaliter de gente Apuliæ matres secundum carnem habuerunt. Cum enim in occidentali principum exercitu paucas mulieres, respectu virorum, adduxissent nostri, qui in terra sancta remanserunt, de regno Apuliæ, eo quod proprius esset aliis regionibus, vocantes mulieres cum eis matrimonia contraxerunt.'

See the above author, chap. 72.

It is still probable, that Frenchmen gave this name to such as had sprung from these irregular connections, because they resembled young wild colts, that could not be caught: 'illustrium virorum degeneres filii,' as Sanuto writes.

The lord de Joinville says, the peasants of the holy land were so called, and that in his time the term was understood as a reproach; which is confirmed by these verses of the romance of Garin le Loherans:

' Quant li gloton lecheor de pulin
Ma terre gastent, mes homes m'ont oçis.'

And again,

' Dex, dit Fromond, con puis enragier vis,
Par trois garçons lecheor de pulin
Que l'Empereres me tient en si por vil.'

The MS. chronicle of Bertrand du Guesclin frequently uses this word to express contempt or abuse.

‘ Là peut-on voir le Sarazin pulant, &c.

Un autre chevalier à Henry le pulant, &c.

En un sac fu boutés rois Pietre le pulant, &c.’

The lord de Joinville speaks of a place in the holy land, called , Passépoulain,’ which has been probably so named from the Poulains.

During the time the French possessed the empire of Constantinople, they called Gasmoules (Γασμουλοι), those born from a french man and greek woman; or to quote the words of Pachymeres, in his MS. history, l. 4. ch. 25. διγενείς, και Ρωμαιων γυναικων γεννηθέντες τοις Ιταλοις.

I am persuaded our countrymen did not call them *Gasmoules*, but *Gastemoules*, by way of derision; as if such children by these irregular marriages, on account of the difference of nations, and even religions, had in some sort sullied and debased the womb of their mothers, which is the mould wherein children are formed.

Thus in Antioch, the issue of armenian or greek inhabitants of that town by turkish women were called *Turcati*. The Turks, a little before this place came into the possession of the French, having given wives of their nation to the inhabitants who were in want of them, as we are told by Raymond d’Agiles.

(xxv) *Recreant knight*,—That is to say, one who owned himself conquered, for that is the meaning of the word *recreu*, which is taken from the usage of duelling. When one of the combatants was overpowered by his adversary, and confessed himself unable to continue the fight longer, he owned that he was *recreant* or *recreu*; that is, that he was exhausted, and could do no more, and confessed himself vanquished.

In those parts of the MS. assizes of the kingdom of Jerusalem which speak of ‘wager of battle,’ the appellant or defendant is introduced as saying these words before the judge of the field: ‘I am ready to prove it by my body against his body, and to fight until death, or till I own myself recreant any hour of the day, and here is my glove,’ &c.

The MS. customs of the city of Amiens speak thus of the champion :
 ‘ And he shall take the defendant by the right hand, and, raising it up, declare that he will hold himself disloyal and perjured, if he will not, any hour of the day, put him to death, or make him confess himself recreant with the arms he has now on, and by opposing his body against his.’

The same assizes say, chapter 94. on the subject of trial for the cause of murder : ‘ The judges of the field must attend, and be as near the combatants as possible, that if one of them should utter the word *recreant*, he may be heard, and, in that case, the moment it shall be heard, they will order his adversary to cease, and say that he has done enough. They will then take the body of the vanquished, and give it up to the pleasure of the lord, who will order it to be dragged thence to the gallows, and hanged by the neck. The same will be done to him that shall be slain in the duel, although he may not have said the word *recreant*.’

So that the lord de Joinville, on this occasion, returned abuse for abuse, and, as they called him ‘ Poulain,’ he retorted on these knights ‘ recreant knights,’ that is to say, cowards and base.

In the same assizes, ch. 190. ‘ And should any man have given a blow, who shall be known for base, recreant, cowardly, or that shall have a hump on his back,’ &c.

Robert de Bourron, in his MS. romance of Merlin : ‘ For after that I should have acknowledged my recreantism, I could never enjoy any honour ; and certainly I would rather die a hundred times, if it were possible to die so often, than at any time say or do what may be construed into recreantism.’

The charter of the commonalty of Amiens, of the year 1209 : ‘ Qui juratum suum recreditum, traditorem willot,’ that is a blow, ‘ appellaverit, 20. fol. perfolvat.’

(xxvi) *The fault shall not be mine.* The editor of the Poitiers edition thus explains this passage : ‘ And I will not spare any treasures in recompensing the merits of those who shall do their duty, no not even to the disposing of my cup out of which I drink, for it shall be yours, and not mine.’ But I think he is mistaken, for *coupe*, in this place, means treasure,

from the custom, that, when in those times, princes wished to make presents to their subjects, they had sums of money, in gold and silver coins, brought them in cups, which they distributed among them, after the heralds had proclaimed largeffe.

Such presents were commonly made at the great feasts, when kings held their *cours plenieres*, as they were called, though some style them *cours couronnées*, because they appeared at them with their crowns on their heads, and in royal robes. This usage of largeffe is described at length by a herald, who lived under the reign of Henry VI. of England, in a manuscript treatise in the college of heralds, and by Thomas Mills, in his book de Nobilitate Politica vel Civili, pp. 59, 72, 109. from which we learn that the french word *largeffe* is now used in England when such proclamations are made.

The ‘Cereimonial de France,’ to. 2. p. 742, says, ‘that at the interview of the kings of France and England, near Guines, in 1520, during the feast, largeffe was cried by the king at arms and heralds, holding a large and very rich pot of gold.’ These cups, or pots, were called by the more vulgar name of *hanaps*. An old french poet, quoted by Fauchet, l. 2. ch. 14. has,

‘N’en vol prendre cheval, ne la mule afeltrée,
Pelicon, vair ne gris, mantel, chape fourrée,
Ne de buens Parisis une grant henepée.’

Fauchet has explained this word wrong, by calling it a *handful*, for *henepée*, in this place, means a hanap full of deniers parisis. And thence is derived the name of *hanaper office*, forming part of the royal exchequer in England, as Spelman has observed in his glossary; not that this word signifies a sort of basket, in which, according to him, money was put, but because the royal treasures were distributed by *hannepees*, and in cups, when the king was inclined to be generous.

A deed of Richard II. in the Monastic. Anglic. to. 1. p. 943: ‘Rex, &c. cum de gratia nostra speciali, et pro quodam fine quem Elizabeth, quæ fuit uxor ——— nobis solvit in Hanaperio nostro, concessimus,’ &c.

And in the 2d vol. page 2. a deed of Henry IV. ‘De gratia tamen nostra speciali, et pro centum marcis quas prior et conventus ——— nobis solverunt in Hanaperio nostro, concessimus,’ &c.

(xxvii) *Pierre Chambellan.* Peter de Nemours, or de Ville-Beon, chamberlain of France, under the reign of St Louis, whom he accompanied in his expedition to Tunis, and died there. He was buried at the king's feet, in the abbey of St Denis.

See William de Nangis, and the history of the house of Dreux, p. 135.

(xxviii) *The whole amounts to twelve hundred livres.* To make this calculation, we must presuppose that the pay of knights-bannerets was of two sorts, the ordinary and extraordinary. The ordinary pay was only twenty sols tournois per day, the extraordinary thirty. This is seen from the accounts of the treasurers of the king's wars, which are in the chamber of accounts at Paris. So that to make up the sum of 1200 livres for eight months service, or two-thirds of the year, the three knights-bannerets must have each received the extraordinary pay, and for which the lord de Joinville engaged to give them 400 livres each, at the rate of thirty sols per day, which makes for the three knights the sum of 1200 livres. I shall speak more fully, as to the pay of knights, in my eleventh dissertation.

(xxix) *The sultan of Damascus.* His name was Salah. See Vincent de Beauvais, l. 32. c. 102, and Sanuto, l. 3. part. 11. ch. 15. part. 12. c. 1.

(xxx) *The old man of the mountain.* All the writers on the holy wars agree, that the old man of the mountain, who is called 'Vetulus,' or 'Senex de Montanis,' ruled over the Assassins, who inhabited, as I have elsewhere remarked, the mountains of Phœnicia, whence he was called Prince of the Mountains. The lord de Joinville confounds the Bedouins, in this place, with the Assassins.

Arnold de Lubeck, l. 7. ch. 10. speaks thus of them: 'In terminis Damasci, Antiochiæ et Alapiæ, est quoddam genus Saracenorum in montanis, quod eorum lingua vulgari Heiffesim vocatur.' And further on, 'In montibus habitant et sunt quasi impugnabiles quia in munitissimis castris recipiuntur,' &c. He then describes the palace, and the behaviour of this prince, which is conformable to what the lord de Joinville and the

greater part of those who have written on the holy wars relate. Among others,

William of Tyre, l. 14. c. 19. l. 20. ch. 21.

Matthew Paris, in the year 1150.

William de Neubourg, l. 4. c. 24. l. 5. ch. 16.

Jacques de Vitry, l. 1. c. 13 & 14. l. 3. p. 1126.

Vincent de Beauvais, l. 31. ch. 93.

Sanuto, l. 3. part 14. ch. 2.

It is from these authors, that the person who composed the MS. 'Traité de la Terre d'Outremer,' has drawn all he has written of the Assassins and their prince, in these terms :

' In the lands near Damascus and Antioch, live a sort of Saracens called by some ' Hauffassins,' by others ' the people of the old man of the mountain.' These people live a lawless life, and eat pork, contrary to the religion of the Saracens, and lie with every woman they meet, whether mothers or sisters. They inhabit great towers, which they have built among the mountains. The country is full of wild beasts, on which they live. Their prince is very cruel, and very different from other Saracens and Christians, for he is accustomed to put many to death without reason. He has several fine and strong palaces, surrounded by high walls, and he has them very well guarded, so that no one can enter them but at one gate. In these palaces, he confines the children of his subjects, and none of these youths appear before him, unless so ordered by their masters, who teach them various languages and other things: they must obey the commands of the prince, believing that through him alone, they can obtain paradise, and not otherwise. When once confined, they are never to come into his presence without his permission, and when he asks them if they be willing to obey his orders in hopes of gaining paradise, they make him such answers as their masters have taught them. The prince then gives them a large and sharp knife, and sends them whither he lists to assassinate those he hates; and know, that they will, if possible, execute this commission, whatever may happen to them in life or death.'

With regard to the name of these people, Arnold of Lubeck writes, that they are called, in their language, *Heiffessin*. William of Tyre, speaking of

them, says, ' Hos tam nostri, quam Saraceni (nescimus unde deducto nomine) Affissinos vocant.' The Jew Benjamin calls them *Hafsifim*, from a word that is something like that of *χασσισται*, which John Phocas gives them in his description of the holy land, ch. 3. and this is not very different from the name of *χασσι*, by which Anna Comnena, in the sixth book of her *Alexiade*, p. 178. and Nicetas, in his lives of the emperor Isaac, l. 1. n. 1. and of Alexis, l. 3. n. 6. distinguishes these people.

However, from these different appellations have been formed that of ' Hanfessii,' in William de Neubourg; of ' Affidei,' in the monk of Saint Narian of Auxerre, p. 93; of ' Accini,' and ' Affasi,' in Roger Hoveden, pp. 716, 751; of ' Arfarcidæ' in Rigord, and of ' Hakesins' in Philip Mouskes.

(xxxI) *In another body.* They had borrowed from the Arabians the doctrine of the Metempsychosis. See the hist. of the Arabians by Abraham Ecchellenfis, l. 1. ch. 17.

(xxxII) *A small book.* This prince had, in this respect, followed the example of his predecessors, who had made themselves acquainted with the mysteries of our religion, by reading the evangelists and epistles of St Paul. See William of Tyre, l. 20. c. 21. and Sanuto, l. 3. part. 6. ch. 23.

(xxxIII) *The bones of the count de Brienne*,—whose death is afterward related.

(xxxIV) *Madame de Secte*, or *de Sajette*, for he is speaking of Margaret, princess of Sidon, or Sajette, wife to Balian, prince of Sajette, and whom the ' Lignage d'Outremer,' ch. 8. makes niece to John de Brienne, king of Jerusalem. This is conformable to our author, who says she was cousin german to Walter, count de Brienne, nephew to John, and son to Walter count de Brienne, his elder brother, whence we may suppose, that she was daughter to William de Brienne, brother to Walter count de Brienne, and to king John of Jerusalem, who, according to Vigner, in his history of Luxembourg, deceased about the year 1200, leaving children; but, as he

does not name them, this princeſs may have been one of them. But there are reaſons to doubt that William left iſſue, ſeeing that his brother, count Walter, ſtyled himſelf his heir in that year.

With regard to the name of Sagitta, which is commonly given to the town of Sidon, it is to be met with in Albert of Aix, l. 5. ch. 40. l. 10. ch. 3. and in other authors, whence ſome have made ‘Sajette’ in French, and the lord de Joinville ‘Seçte,’ which is the word uſed by the french writers of the middle ages, to ſignify an arrow. Among others, Littleton in chap. 9. ſect. 159.

(xxxv) *Of the coins of Madame de Secte.* Of the number of the great barons of the kingdom of Jeruſalem, who, among other rights, had that of coining money, was the lord de Sajette. In the aſſizes of that kingdom, ‘Lords de Sajette and de Beaufort have the privileges of holding a court, with that of coinage, of executing juſtice, and that of Sajette of holding courts of burghers and of juſtice.’

(xxxvi) *Ragged and ill-dreſſed.* The editor of the edition of Poitiers has changed this word *deſerpillez* into *deſchirez*. In the ‘Coûtume d’Anjou,’ art. 44. and in that of Maine, art. 51. the *deſerpilleurs* and *deſrobeurs* are ſynonymous. In effect, the ancient ‘Coûtume d’Anjou’ deſcribes *eſſerpillurie* as a ſort of theft. ‘When any thing is taken from a man by night, or by day, on the high-way, or in woods, ſuch theft is called *eſſerpillurie*.’

The eſtabliſhments of St Louis, which were to the ſame effect, have *eſcharpeterie*. So that, in this place, *deſerpillé* means a perſon from whom his clothes had been taken. This word may be derived from *farpe*, with which gardeners cut off branches of trees, or rather from *eſcharpe*, *eſcharpillerie*, being a theft of the *eſcharpe*; that is to ſay, of the dreſs. M. Menage gives his opinion on the derivation of this word, in his ‘Origines de la Langue Françoisé,’ p. 789.

(xxxvii) *En ſon etat,—of expenſe.*

(xxxviii) *On the walls of Quaffere.* The Poitiers-edition has *Quahere*, and the lord de Joinville gives us to understand, further on, that he means the town of Cairo. The eastern chronicle also informs us, that the heads of those slain at the battle of Maffoura, were brought to Cairo, and affixed to the points of lances, on the gate of Zuaila, which is a suburbs of Cairo, as we learn from John Leo's description of Africa, l. 8.

(xxxix) *The great king of Tartary.* This passage of the lord de Joinville should be compared with what the bishop of Tusculum writes, in his epistle to PP. Innocent IV. tom. 7. Spicileg. p. 222.

William de Nangis' life of St Louis in the year 1248.

Thomas de Cantimprè, l. 2. de Apib. ch. 54. n. 14.

Sanuto, l. 3. part 13. ch. 3 & 4.

Aython, ch. 17. 24, 25.

Vincent de Beauvais, &c.—where ample mention is made of the origin of the Tartars, of the victories they gained over Prester John, and the Persians.

(xl) *Two notable preaching friars.* The bishop of Tusculum names three.

(xli) *Berie.* A flat country. Sanuto, l. 2. part. 4. c. 28. 'in quo habitant Arabes, qui Bedwini vocantur, in beria continue habitantes, seu in locis campestribus, sub tentoriis mansiones suas omni tempore facientes.'

Spelman has thought that the word 'beria,' or 'de berry,' which is found at the termination of the names of some towns in England, signified 'a burgh;' but it is more probable they were thus called from their being built on extensive plains. Matthew Paris speaks in the year 1174 of the berry of St Edmund, 'beria S. Edmundi,' which is nothing more than the plain belonging to the monastery of St Edmund.

(xlii) *Gog and Magog.* In the list of the Aijubite Caliphs, in the eastern chronicle, it is said, that these people of Gog and Magog inhabited

the country adjoining China: ‘ anno 613 fuit irruptia Tartarorum, qui colebant planitiem finarum contermimam, quæ dicitur Hagin-Magin.’

Paul the Venetian, l. 1. ch. 64. ‘ Sunt etiam ibi regiones Gog et Magog, quas illi nominant Lug et Mungug.’

Arius Montanus and Anathasius Kircher ‘ in prodromo coptico,’ c. 4. say, that these people of Gog and Magog, mentioned in the Bible, and in the Sibylline verses, are those of Catay, that join China.

See also Vincent de Beauvais, l. 32. ch. 34.

La Geographie Arabe, part. 9. Climat. 7.

Gallia Christ. in Episc. Parif. n. 63.

And the other writers cited by the learned Gaffarel on the rabbi Elcha-ben-David, ‘ de fine mundi,’ § 30.

(XLIII) *Prefter John.* It was an ancient error, now no longer believed, that the empire of Prefter John, was the kingdom of the Abyssinians in Africa. This passage alone of the lord de Joinville is sufficient to destroy it; for it shews plainly that the kingdom of Prefter John was in Asia, and meant the empire of India. This is confirmed in an epistle of the PP. Alexander III. which is to be found in Raoul de Dicetis, Matthew Paris and Brompton in the years 1180 and 1181; and by another letter from a prior of the order of preaching friars in Matthew Paris likewise, at the year 1237, page 301.

William of Tripoly, in Gerard Mercator, relates, that at the time of the capture of Antioch by the French in the year 1098, Coirem Cham was lord or king of the eastern parts of Asia. After his death, a certain nestorian priest seized the kingdom, and was called Priest John. Albericus, in the year 1145, has fully spoken of him, and said that it was believed he was of the race of Magi mentioned in the Scriptures. He may, however, have advanced this opinion, from what he had read, that he governed the country called in the Scriptures Gog and Magog. In the year 1165, he says, that this prince sent ambassadors to the emperors of Germany, Manuel and Frederick. He speaks of him again in the year 1170. His brother, Wth Cham, succeeded him, but was defeated by Genghis, cham or king of the

Tartars, prior to the year 1200, as Paolo Veneto tells us, in l. 1. chapters 51 & 52.

This king of India, according to Vincent de Beauvais, l. 30. ch. 69 & 87. l. 32. ch. 10 & 93. and Sanuto, l. 3. part. 13. ch. 4. was called David, and the son of Prester John. Albericus notices him in the years 1220 & 1222. The same author, in 1197, and Paolo Veneto, l. 3. ch. 74. add, that the Tartars having subdued the kingdom of India, and killed the king, established another, who was of the race of Prester John, and made him tributary to them. See the above Paolo, l. 2. chap. 30 & 32.

Vincent de Beauvais, l. 3. ch. 92, 93. says, positively, that this king was a Christian, and adds, that Ghengis Cham married his daughter, which last part is confirmed by Thomas de Cantimprè and Sanuto. Our ancient heralds even go so far as to give for arms, to Prester John, a shield or, with a crucifix azur, having on each side two thongs of the same.

There are some writers who do not agree that this prince, who was the origin of, and gave his name to these kings of India, was a priest; and they suppose the error to have arisen from his being called in the persian language *prestegiani*, which means in Latin *apostolicus*, or a Christian orthodox king, and that in this quality he had a cross borne before him, like the archbishops and primates, to shew his people that he was the protector and defender of the Christian religion. This is the opinion of Joseph Scaliger, in lib. 7. de emendat. Tempor. and of some others. But it is not very certain what were the provinces of Asia which these princes possessed, whose dominions were so extensive, that it was said the first Prester John subjugated and rendered tributary seventy-two kings.

Father Kircher supposes that he ruled over the vast countries of Catay, and informs us, that the first person who introduced this error, of the name of Prester John, which is given to the king of the Abyssinians, was Peter Couillon, who was sent as ambassador to this king by John II. king of Portugal, who having learnt that Prester John was a most powerful Christian prince, believed the king of Abyssinia was likewise so called, because he was equally a powerful prince, and made profession of following the Christian religion.

(XLIV) *Brought him an arrow.* The lord de Joinville has made a mistake by attributing to the Tartars the election of their king by the number of arrows. This circumstance is told of the Turks and Turcomans by William of Tyre, who lived before the name of Tartars was heard of, in the first book and seventh chapter, and by Albericus in the year 1059, when they possessed themselves of the lands of the king of Persia.

(XLV) *A wonderful thing.* Thomas de Cantinprè, l. 2. ch. 54. n. 14. relates this event likewise.

(XLVI) *Elenars de Seninguan.* The Poitiers edition calls him 'Clenard de Semingam.'

(XLVII) *Norone.* It is *Nerone* in the edition of Poitiers. I do not recollect to have ever read any thing of this kingdom.

(XLVIII) *In the chase of lions.* Oppian, in the fourth book de Cynegeticoi, relates the various manners of lion-hunting, but does not mention this.

(XLIX) *Of those of Coucy.* It must be read *Toucy*, as I have remarked in the history of Constantinople, l. 5. n. 2. for this passage is meant to speak of Philip de Toucy, governor, or regent of the empire of Constantinople during the absence of Baldwin II. This lord was son of Narjot de Toucy, who enjoyed the same dignity, by a daughter of Theodore Branas, or Vranas, a powerful greek lord, who had married Agnes, sister to king Philip Augustus, when widow of the emperor Andronicus.

In the 'Tréfor des Chartes du Roi, Laitte Mutua ultramarina,' n. 13. is an acknowledgement of Philip de Toucy, regent of the empire of Constantinople, to the king St Louis, for the sum of five hundred livres tournois, for which he had made himself responsible to a merchant of Valenciennes, dated at the camp before Cæsarea, July 1251, which agrees with the circumstance noticed by the lord de Joinville.

He is also mentioned with the title of regent, in a roll in the chamber of accounts at Paris, entitled, ‘*Debita et bosci inter ascensionem et omnes SS: A. 1252.*’ Under the bailiwick of Sens, ‘*Pro dom. Philippo de Touciaco Bajulo imperii Constantinopolitani, pro eodem debito 500 lib. ad omnes sanctos.*’ Albericus confirms, in several places, not only the marriage of Branas with Agnes, which is noticed also by Geoffry de Villehardouin, but adds, that from this union there were born, among other children, a daughter married to Narjot de Toucy, who had a daughter married to William de Villehardouin, brother to Geoffry prince of Achaia.

In the year 1236, ‘*Frater ejus Gulielmus, qui custodit terram suam, habet filiam Nargaldi, natam de filia Li-Vernas, et sororis regis Franciæ.*’

In the year 1239, ‘*Uxor hujus Nargaldi fuit filia Li-Vernas, Græcæ potentissimi, de illa imperatrice quæ fuit foror Philippi regis Francorum.*’

In the year 1241, he tells us, he was cousin to Guy de Dampierre; that he was married a second time to the daughter of Jonas king of the Comains; and died the same year. ‘*Filiam vero regis Jonæ, qui videbatur esse major in regibus Comanorum, duxerat dominus Nargaldus Balivus, qui Nargaldus hoc anno decessit, et prædicta uxor ejus facta est monialis.*’

It is probable that Anceau de Toucy, whom Acropolitus mentions in his eighty-first chapter, was also his son. Narjot de Toucy is noticed in several deeds of the years 1174, 1182, 1191, father, as I presume, of him we are speaking of. However that may be, he was of the family of Toucy in Auxerrois, whose genealogy is drawn out in the 10th book of the history of the house of Châtillon, but this branch is omitted, which seems to take its origin from Narjot de Toucy, who, with his brother Hugh, gave to the abbey of Molême some heritages, by a deed completed at the castle of Toucy, during the bishoprick of Humbaude, bishop of Auxerre, that is to say, about the year 1100, with the consent of Ermengarde, his wife, and his daughter Beatrice.

Narjot, having intentions to make a journey to Jerusalem, confirms this donation by another deed, in which he speaks of his brothers Hugh and Itier, of his wife Ermengarde, of his son Itier, of his daughter Adelvie, and of other children, but who are not named. The lords de Toucy have

always particularly signalized themselves in the holy wars. Itier, the first of the name, accompanied king Louis le jeune to the holy land in the year 1147, according to the testimony of Suger, ch. 111.

Itier III. and his brother Anseric, from whom the lords de Baferne are issue, were there in the year 1216, as we learn from the chronicle of Saint Marian d'Auxerre, which also enables us to correct Jacques de Vitry, page 1134, where he puts down the death of Itier, as happening at Damietta in the year 1218, or the printer has made a mistake, by printing Iterius de Tucci, instead of Toci or Touci.

(L) *The king of the Comains.* Jonas, who had married his daughter to Narjot de Toucy, and whose death is recorded by Albericus in the year 1241. 'Mortuus est hoc anno rex Jonas prædictus nondum baptifatus, et id circo sepultus est extra muros civitatis in altissimo tumulo, et octo armigeri appensi sunt vivi a dextris et a sinistris, et ita voluntarie mortui, et 26. equi vivi similiter ibi fuerunt appensi.'

The kingdom of Comania is mentioned by Aython; chap. 5. and other writers, whom I have quoted in my observations on the history of Villehardouin. Claude Menard is mistaken in supposing William le Breton to mean the king of the Comains in the tenth book of his Philippiade, when he writes that Peter emperor of Constantinople was taken prisoner, *a principe Comaniorum*; for by these words he understands the duke of Duras, of the family of the Comnenes, and it ought to be corrected to *a principe Comeniorum*.

(LI) *Vataiche.* John Duras, surnamed *Vatatzes*, who held the empire of the Greeks in Asia, and was at war with Baldwin II. emperor of Constantinople. In a deed of the year 1243, he is named *Vastachius*. In Thierry de Vaucouleurs *Vacacius*. In an epistle of the pope Innocent IV. which may be found in Waddingue, in the year 1247, *Vatacius*, and in Vincent de Beauvais, l. 1. ch. 143, 144. *Vatachius*.

(LII) *In sign of brotherhood.* This passage will furnish me with an opportunity of discoursing on a subject hitherto not treated of, namely, on

brotherly adoptions. It is curious, uncommon, and but little known, as may be seen in the twenty-first dissertation. In the succeeding one, I shall treat of honourable adoptions of sons.

(LIII) *They made a dog pass.* The Comains borrowed this ceremony from the Sclavonians, among whom it was practised. ‘*Litteræ Juvanensis archiepiscopi editæ a Gewoldo post chronicon Reichesperg. Quod nos præfati Schlavi criminabantur cum Ungaris fidem catholicam violasse, et per canem, seu lapum (forte lupum) aliasque nefandissimas et ethnicas res sacramenta et pacem egisse.*’

(LIV) *To whom they gave the choice.* The romance of Garin uses the word *partis* in the same manner :

‘*Manuéfement nos est li jeus partis.*’

The Ordene de Chevalerie by Hugh de Tabarie :

‘*Li princes Hues respondi,
Puisque m’avés le giu parti,
Je prendrai donc le raiembre,
Se j’ai de quoi, jel puisse rendre.*’

Raoul de Houdanc, in the romance of Meraugis the Portuguese :

‘*Un giu vous part, que volés faire,
Se volés miex tançer que taire.*’

See Fauchet, L. 2. on the french poets, ch. 107.

Matthew of Westminster relates, in the year 1253, another instance of the severity of St Louis in the punishment of knights found guilty of crimes. He tells us, that the king having ordered a knight to be hanged, the father was so outrageous at it that he retired to the Saracens, and, changing his religion, embraced that of Mahomet.

(LV) *According to the customary right.* There is not any mention made of this custom in the MS. Assizes of the Kingdom of Jerusalem, nor of the punishment hereafter related, as inflicted on a sergeant for having abused a knight.

(LVI) *One karet.* The Poitiers-edition has *kafel*. *Carret*, in this place, seems to mean an inclosed field of a square form, in which corn was sown; in like manner as in Anjou *closeries* are portions of land, or vineyards inclosed by hedges.

A deed of Maurice bishop of Paris, in the year 1104, in the cartulary of the abbey of St Victor: ‘Robertus de Chala dedit 5 fol. super cameras, quas habebat retro domum suam, quæ est in carreto Alrici.’ This word is met with in the Bibliothèque de Cluny, p. 1515, but I do not believe it is used there in this sense.

(LVII) *The count de Den.* The edition of Poitiers has the same word; but without doubt it ought to have been the count d’Eu. This passage cannot allude to Raoul d’Issoudun, second of the name, count d’Eu, who, in 1241, had been twice married, nor to Alphonso de Brienne, his son-in-law and successor, since Matthew Paris and other writers assert, that he and his brother John were of age when their father died, that is to say, in the year 1237.

Geoffry archdeacon of Toledo, in confirmation of this, says, ‘in appendice ad hist. Roder. Tolet.’ that these two brothers received the order of knighthood from Alphonso the wife, king of Castile. This count d’Eu then, whom the lord de Joinville calls ‘un jeune jouvencel,’ when he was knighted by the king St Louis about the year 1252, must have been John, son to Alphonso by Mary countess of Eu, who was daughter to Raoul II. and to Jolande de Dreux, his second wife; and to this the circumstance of the period seems to agree. Jolande died, according to Andrew du Chêne, in his history of the house of Dreux, p. 66. prior to the year 1240. There is besides reason to believe that Jeanne de Bourgogne, first wife to Raoul, dying shortly after her marriage, which took place in 1222, as the MS. chronicle of the counts d’Eu informs us, he espoused Jolande immediately afterward.

Thus we may presume, that their daughter Mary married Alphonso de Brienne during the lifetime of her father; for in a deed of the year 1249, in the cartulary of Champagne, kept in the chamber of accounts in Paris, fol. 279. he styles himself count d’Eu, in these terms: ‘Alfonſus filius bonæ memoriæ Joannis quondam imperatoris Constantinopolitani, comes Augi.’

From whence it follows, that Alphonso was count of Eu in this year 1249. And this passage of the lord de Joinville not being applicable to him, as I have remarked, it must be meant for his son John, who, during the life of his father, who did not die before the year 1270, took the title of count d'Eu. The inheritance of this county having fallen to him by the decease of his mother, who probably died before the year 1252. See the hist. of the house of Châtillon, l. 3. ch. 8.

(LVIII) *Arnold de Guymene.* The edition of Poitiers has the same word; but it must be changed to that of *Guynes*, for he is speaking of Arnold, youngest son to Arnold II. count de Guynes, by Beatrice de Bourbourg.

(LIX) *His two brothers.* Robert and Henry. See A. du Chesne in his hist. of the counts de Guines, book 5. ch. 1.

(LX) *The prince of Antioch.* Boemond VI. prince of Antioch, and count of Tripoly, son to the prince Boemond V. by Lucy, whom the Lignage d'Outremer styles daughter to the count Paul of Rome, and who, Sanuto says, l. 3. part. 11. ch. 14. was sister to the bishop of Tripoly. The same author relates, in the fourth and fifth chapters, that this young prince received the order of knighthood from the king, St Louis, one year after the death of his father.

(LXI) *For four years to come.* Whence it may be inferred, that in the principality of Antioch, at least in regard to princes, the same custom was followed that was universal through France, which fixed the age of majority, and the period judged proper for the uncontrolled management of estates, and the holding of fiefs, at twenty-one years. Elsewhere, according to the Assizes of Jerusalem, the age of majority for males was fifteen years, and for females twelve years complete. Neither could hold fiefs until they had attained these years, and during their minority their guardian or tutor managed their estates.

In the 167th chapter, 'Should a fief fall to an infant, who is a minor, when he is of the age of fifteen years, if he wish to take possession, he must

appear in the court of his lord, and say, ‘Sire, I am fifteen years old or upwards,’ &c. And when he has proved his age, he may enter upon his fief as often as he may please without let or hindrance from any one in the bailiwick, after he shall have made proof of his being of majority. Should he not be a knight when he proves his age, he will, if wise, say after this act, ‘Sire, allow me a reasonable time before you make me a knight, that I may do you some suitable service, as in duty bound from my fief.’

They then add, that the lord ought to give him a respite of forty days before he dub him a knight, after which he is bound to receive his homage. This is again repeated, when the proper age for majority is spoken of in chapters 170 and 190.

(LXII) *He quartered his arms.* It is not probable that the young prince of Antioch would quarter the arms of France of his own authority, but that he had obtained from the king this honour, which was not unusual in those days, as I shall prove in my 23d dissertation.

(LXIII) *Which are vermillion.* Our heralds give for arms to the family of the Boëmonds, and to this branch of the kings of Sicily, a shield gules with a bend chequered argent and two arrows azur. See Favyn’s *Theatre d’Honneur*. Albert d’Aix says in book 4. ch. 23. that the standard which Boëmond, first prince of Antioch, displayed in the holy wars, was vermillion. ‘*Signum nempe Boëmundi, quod sanguinei erat coloris.*’

The seal of this prince, Boëmond VI. which is affixed to a charter of the year 1262, in the *Trésor des Chartes des Hospitaliers de Manosque*, in Provence, represents a cross fichée on the shield; which shews, that his arms were not gules simply, without any additions, as may be supposed from the terms used by the lord de Joinville.

(LXIV) *The count de Japhe.* Vigner doubts if this count Walter be the son of William, brother to king John, or son to Walter count de Brienne, who died at the conquest of Naples. But Sanuto, l. 3. part. 12. chap. 1. says positively that he was count de Brienne, and posthumous son to Walter third of the name, count de Brienne, by Alberica, daughter to Tancred, king

of Sicily. He adds, in part II. ch. 4. that during his minority, and when he resided in la Puglia, his uncle, John de Brienne, was his guardian, and held the county of Brienne in trust for him; on which account, and by the custom of France universally followed, he, like other guardians, took the titles of the lordships belonging to his ward, and called himself count de Brienne. He is so styled in some deeds of the year 1209, in a cartulary of Champagne in the possession of M. de Thou, and also in others, respecting the priory of Foicy, in Champagne, of the year 1210. He held this county, and managed the estates and lordships of his nephew, until he was advanced in age, and appointed in his name governors of the county of Brienne, during the time he was in the holy land, as king of Jerusalem; among whom, in the deeds, appears Jacques de Durnay, knight of Champagne, who there takes the title of 'Comitatus Brenensis, procurator pro D. rege Hieros: comite Brenæ.'

Although he might have had this wardship until his nephew was twenty-one years of age, according to the general custom of France, he surrendered it to him before that time, as we are informed by a letter which he wrote in the month of April 1221, to Blanche countess of Champagne, and to her son Thibaud, by which he entreated them to put his nephew Walter, son to the count Walter who went into Champagne, in possession of the county of Brienne, and not to retain it in their hands, under pretence that he, as guardian, had done homage for it, and that his nephew was as yet a minor, his intention being that he should have full possession of that county.

In the month of November of the following year, the young count did homage liege to the count de Champagne, for the lands of Oignon and Luyeres, which the king of Jerusalem had given him; on this condition, however, that he should not have the power of disposing of them; so that he became vassal liege to the count, although he was so before for the county of Brienne, as the title-deeds shew.

When possessed of these lands and lordships, he crossed the sea to the holy land, where he held the county of Japhe, and signalized himself very frequently by his valorous actions against the Saracens. They at last made him prisoner, and put him to a most cruel death, thus making him suffer

martyrdom. Sanuto relates his capture in the year 1244, and Matthew Paris his death in 1251, which may incline us to believe, that he was kept prisoner until that time; but this I shall reserve for discussion in my families of the east. He married Mary, daughter to Hugh, king of Cyprus, by whom he had three sons, John, who continued the race of counts de Brienne, Hugh and Aymery.

(LXV) *Barbaquan*. The lord de Joinville in this and other passages says, that Barbaquan was emperor of Persia, who, on being driven by the prince of the Tartars from his kingdom, came to the holy land, where he committed many ravages. Sanuto, and Vincent de Beauvais, l. 30. ch. 88. relating this event of the year 1244, say, that when Saleh Nagen-Addin, sultan of Babylon, was before Gaza, about twenty thousand Persians, who had been expelled from Persia, arrived at his camp, and united themselves to him, after having laid waste the countries of Tripoly and Jerusalem, in the last of which they had slaughtered five thousand men. They add, that when these Persians, after the defeat of the sultans of Damascus and la Châtelaine, proposed making an irruption into Egypt, the sultan of Babylon stopped their march, and that when thus separated and scattered from each other, they were defeated by the peasants.

With regard to this Barbaquan, whom the lord de Joinville styles Emperor of Persia, I cannot find him named in any author; and I imagine, that as there was in Persia, beside the caliph, a sultan, who had the superintendance of the armies, and the management of public affairs, that of religion being intrusted to the caliph, this Barbaquan may have been the sultan. For the caliph, who was killed by Haolo, brother to Mango, grand cham of the Tartars, was called, according to the oriental chronicle, Almostaafami Billa. There still remains a difficulty, as to the year in which the Tartars conquered Persia or Chorazan, for, according to the lord de Joinville, it should seem to have been before St Louis was returned from the holy land, since he received the news of it when there. Paolo Veneto sustains the capture of Baldach, and of the caliph, as happening in the year 1250, but Aythou, ch. 25. and Sanuto, l. 3. part. 13 ch. 7. formally say

that it was in the year 1258, in which the eastern chronicle agrees, and that it was in the 655th or 656th years of the hegira, which, according to Leo, in his description of Africa, book 3. answers to the year of our Lord 1258. This being the case, we must conclude, that the fultan was driven from Persia before the caliph.

(LXVI) *Heude de Montbeliar.* Eudes de Montbeliard was son to Walter de Montbeliard, regent or guardian of the kingdom of Cyprus, and who held the principality of Tabarie, in right of Eschiva his wife, daughter to Raoul, and grand-daughter to William de Bures, prince of Tabarie.

See my 'families of the east.'

(LXVII) *Sultan of Babylon.* Sanuto, l. 3. part. 11. ch. 15. part. 12. ch. 1. calls him 'Salah;' and the eastern chronicle, as I have before observed, 'Saleh Nagem-Addin.'

(LXVIII) *The fultan of la Chamele.* I have before said, that the fultan of la Chamele was the same as the fultan of Aleppo and of Haman. This is what Vincent de Beauvais, l. 32. ch. 95. says in express terms. With regard to la Chamele, it is a town called by the ancients *Emiffa* or *Emesa*.

See William of Tyre, l. 7. ch. 12. l. 21. ch. 6. Albert d'Aix, and the other writers whom I have quoted in my historical treatise on the head of St John the Baptist, ch. 7. notes 3 and 4. But others maintain, that it was the town called *Gamala* by geographers. See the Thresor. Geogr. d'Ortelius.

(LXIX) *The bishop of Rainnes.* We must read 'bishop of Rama,' or 'Raima,' which is the name of a celebrated episcopal town in Palestine, whose bishop is frequently styled 'of Lydda,' because after the destruction of Rama, the episcopal seat was transferred to Lydda.

The History of the true Crois, which is preserved in the abbey of Grammont, often mentions the name of Bernard Moine de Deols, bishop of Rama and of Lydda, who brought it from the holy land. But although

this matter does not concern the reign of St Louis, I shall take this opportunity of publishing my conjectures * in the 24th dissertation, on the circumstances attending the translation of this precious relic, and which is no small ornament to France.

(LXX) *At Gadres.* A town situated in the country of Decapolis, called by the latin authors 'Gadara.' See W. of Tyre, l. 16. ch. 13.

(LXXI) *Lord d'Asur.* 'Affur,' or 'Arfuf, Arfopha and Arfupha,' in the eastern chronicle; and in the history of the Arabians by Georges El-macin, p. 364. is a maritime town near Jaffa, called by the ancients 'Antipatris,' which was then in the possession of the family of Ibelin.

John d'Ibelin, lord of Baruth, who had espoused the heiress of it, named Melissent, was father (among other children) of Ibelin II. lord of Arfur, who died in the year 1258.

Sanuto, the Lignage d'Outremer, and the Assizes of the kingdom of Jerusalem, which speak of this lord, make no mention of the title of Constable of the kingdom of Jerusalem, which the lord de Joinville gives him.

(LXXII) *But he parried it.* The French is, 'il y gyncha;' 'il guenchit' in the Lufidiare,

'Entre els se mit come lupars,
Sos fist guenchir de toutes pars.'

The translator of William of Tyre, l. 20. ch. 20. translates the word 'declinare' by that of 'guenchir.' See the glossary to Villehardouin.

(LXXIII) *Grandfather to the last deceased.* Henry III. duke of Burgundy, father to duke Eudes III. and grandfather to duke Hugh IV. died in the year 1272.

Sanuto, l. 3. part 10. ch. 6. seems to speak of the retreat of the duke of Burgundy with less bitterness than the lord de Joinville; for he says, that

* I cannot find any thing relative to this in the 24th dissertation.

as the Christians were advancing toward Jerusalem, the duke represented to the French, that the whole flower of French chivalry was in his battalion; whereas king Richard had but few in number, to whom, nevertheless, the honour of the victory would be given, which would be to the disadvantage and shame of France.

.. This duke is also much blamed by Ralph de Coggeshall, in his MS. chronicle; by Matthew Paris and others.

(LXXIV) *Neffa*. The edition of Poitiers has ‘Messa.’

Pliny, in his 6th book, ch. 38. places the town of Neffa in Arabia Felix, in the country of the Amatheans. Agatharchides, in his books on the Erythræan Sea, mentions it likewise, and a MS. book of heraldry speaks of a king of Messa, whom it ranks among the Christian kings, and gives him for arms a field azure, with three bends argent, sprinkled with hearts of the same.

(LXXV) *The greatest king in Christendom*. See the 25th dissertation.

(LXXVI) *Count John de Châlons*. John, count de Châlons and d’Auxerre, who was first married to Maude, daughter to Hugh III. duke of Burgundy, from which marriage sprung Hugh, surnamed de Châlons, thus called from his maternal grandfather, and who afterward married Meranie, countess of Burgundy.

(LXXVII) *Preuhomme*. Saint Louis made this distinction between *preuhomme* and *preudhomme*. The first was valiant and personally bold; the second, prudent, discreet, having a good conscience, and the fear of God. The words *preu*, and *preuhomme*, are derived from the Latin *probus*, which, in the writers of the middle ages, signified a ‘valiant man;’ and from this the French have formed their word *preux*.

Saxo Grammaticus in l. 2. of his hist. of Denmark, ‘Affit eidem, ut probus est quisque, procul hinc procul este fugaces.’

An ancient epitaph, quoted in the antiquities of Befançon, by Chifflet, has,
‘Hic Renaude jaces, vir amabilis, et probe Miles.’

Thus the word *probitas* is used for courage and valour, in Gauterius Cancell. de bellis Antioch. p. 444.

Roderic. arch. of Toledo, in his history of Spain, l. 2. ch. 14. and in the extract of a decree of the council of Sienna, published by Christopher Fortner: ‘Quod mariscalco et militibus Theutonicis pro remuneratione probitatis, quam fecerunt heri contra inimicos communis senensis, debeant donari et dari de pecunia communis D. libræ denariorum senensium.’

From this word we have formed ‘prouesse,’ the English ‘prowess,’ the Spaniards ‘prozza,’ the Italians ‘prodezza.’ St Louis has then kept to the meaning which this word had in his time, or rather paid attention to the manner of its being pronounced.

(LXXVIII) *Naples*. Neapolis, a town in Samaria, which Baldwin, king of Jerufalem, had formerly taken.

See Albert d’Aix, l. 10. ch. 26.

Robert le Moine, l. 9.

Baldric, l. 4.

Guibert, l. 7. ch. 14.

John Phocas in his description of the holy land, note 13. &c.

(LXXIX) *The lord de Sur*. Philippes de Montfort.

(LXXX) *Belinas*. Called by the ancients ‘Paneas,’ and ‘Cæfareæ Philippi.’ Noradin captured it from Humphrey de Toron in the year 1177.

(LXXXI) *Jordan*. See W. of Tyre, l. 13. ch. 18.

The history of Jerufalem at the year 1113.

John Phocas in his description of the holy land, n. 22. &c.

(LXXXII) *Les terriers*. This word is not in the Poitiers edition.

(LXXXIII) *The Germans*. The knights of the teutonic order.

(LXXXIV) *John de Valenciennes*. I have seen a deed in the Tresor des Chartes du Roi, which mentions a John de Valenciennes as lord of Cayphas, in the holy land, under the PP. Clement V.

(LXXXV) *Olivier de Termes*. This Olivier de Termes was son to Raymond lord of Termes in Languedoc, a strong partisan of the counts of Toulouse, of whom the monk of Vaux de Sarnay speaks fully in the 36th, 41st and 42d chapters of his history of the Albigeois. He, as well as his father, followed the party of the viscount de Beziers, and of Raymond the young count of Toulouse, against the king St Louis; to whom, however, he submitted, in the year 1246. See the history of the counts of Toulouse by M. Catel.

According to our author, and the chronicle of Flanders, ch. 21. he attended the king on this expedition, and again returned to the holy land in the year 1264, as we learn from Sanuto, l. 3. part. 12. ch. 7.

When the king, St Louis, went the second time to Africa, he followed him thither, according to William de Nangis. Having returned to France after the death of the king, Philippes le hardy again sent him to the holy land in the year 1273, with twenty knights and one hundred cross-bows, in the pay of the king, where he died two years afterward, as Sanuto relates, part. 12. chapters 12 & 14.

(LXXXVI) *Captains of the Torte Langue*. Languedoc. See Catel's memoirs on Languedoc, p. 39.

(LXXVII) *During this*. Before these words, there is in the Poitiers edition a whole chapter (the 74th), wherein is related how the king of the Tartars took the town of Baldach, and how he confined the caliph of it in an iron cage, and starved him to death. Because it seems to have been retrenched from this edition, or rather from the MSS. which Claude Menard made use of, and since it bears every appearance of having been written by our author, I think it proper to insert it in this place.

‘ While we were before Sajette, some merchants came to the king, and brought him intelligence that the king of Tartary had taken the city of

Baldach, with the apostle of the Saracens, who was lord of the town, and was called the Caliph of Baldac.

‘ The manner of its capture was as follows. The king of Tartary had laid his plans with much secrecy and caution, and, after he had besieged the place, sent to inform the caliph, that in order to preserve peace and be on good terms with him, he was desirous that a marriage should take place between their two children. The caliph, having consulted his council, replied, that he was satisfied with the proposal. In return, the king of Tartary requested, that he would send to him forty of his principal counsellors to treat of and agree to this marriage. This the caliph complied with; but the king of Tartary detained them, and sent word they were not enough, and that forty more of the richest of the caliph’s subjects must also be sent for the greater security of the articles of the marriage. The caliph, believing what he said was the truth, sent him forty more, as he had desired, and even a third time the same number of his principal subjects.

‘ When the tartar king had thus got six score of the best captains, and the principal and most wealthy of the caliph’s subjects, he thought the remainder must consist of such common people as could not resist him, and would be unable to defend themselves.

‘ Upon this, he ordered the six score personages to be beheaded, and attacked the town so briskly that he took it, with the caliph its lord.

‘ Having gained the town, he wished to cover his disloyalty and treason by throwing the blame on the caliph, whom he confined in an iron cage. He made him fast until the last extremity, when the king came to him, and asked if he were hungry. ‘ Yes, indeed, am I,’ replied the caliph, and not without cause.’ The king then ordered a large golden platter filled with jewels and precious stones to be offered to him, and asked him, ‘ Caliph, dost thou know these rich jewels and treasure which thou seest before thee?’ ‘ Yes,’ said the caliph, for they had been his own. The king again asked, if he much loved these jewels: and on the caliph answering in the affirmative, he replied, ‘ Well, since then thou lovest these treasures so much, take of them as much as thou wilt, and eat them, to appease thy hunger.’ The caliph said, they were not food to eat. ‘ Now,’

answered the king of Tartary, ‘thou mayest at present see thy great fault; for if thou hadst given of thy treasures, which thou lovest so dearly, to subsidize soldiers in thy defence, thou mightest have held out against me, but that which thou prized the most, has failed thee in thy need.’

The lord de Joinville had before said something of this exploit of the Tartars; but in the foregoing passage he has detailed circumstances, (if, however, this be written by him) which are conformable to what Aythya relates in the 25th and 26th chapters. See also the writers before quoted.

With regard to the caliph of Baldac, or of Babylon, or rather ‘Baudac,’ and ‘Baudas’ by Froissart, vol. 3. ch. 23. vol. 4. ch. 74, (Sauvage’s edition), and other writers of those times. The above account styles him Apostle, that is to say, Pope of the Saracens, because he was the head of the mussulman religion.

Jacques de Vitry, l. 3. p. 1125, ‘Machomet tenet regnum de Baudac, ubi est Papa Saracenorum, qui vocatur Calyphas.’

Tudebodus, in his history of the holy wars, gives him the title of ‘Apostolicus Turcorum.’

Raymond d’Agiles that of ‘Papa Turcorum.’

(LXXXVIII) *Our Lady of Tortosa.* This pilgrimage is not mentioned in the histories of the holy wars, though Claude Menard has likewise so written it; for Guibert and William of Tyre, whom he quotes, speak only of the capture of Tortosa by the count of Toulouse. It is, notwithstanding, true, that Vincent de Beauvais, l. 31. ch. 93. and Jacques de Vitry, l. 3. p. 1142, notice this church being then much frequented by Christians, on account of its sanctity. They write, that the son of the count of Tripoly was there slain by assassins employed by the old man of the mountain, and whither, probably, he had gone on a pilgrimage to fulfil a vow. The printed copies of Jacques de Vitry, in this place, misname it Carchusa, for Tortosa.

William of Oldenbourg, in his itinerary of the holy land, given to the public by the learned Allatius, in his miscellanies, assures us, that in his time this church was in great veneration with Christians, and even with infidels; for, in speaking of Tortosa, he says, ‘Est in ea ecclesia parva maximæ venerationis, quam B. Petrus et Paulus cum Antiochiam

propararent, ex Angelica admonitione, propriis manibus ex incultis lapidibus, sanctæ Mariæ tunc primo composuerunt, ac si dicerant: flebile principium melior fortuna sequetur. Hæc erat prima ecclesia quæ in honorum Dominæ nostræ semperque virginis Mariæ fuit ædificata et dedicata. Et est in ea hodie sedes episcopalis, ubi Domina nostra Dei genetrix semper virgo Maria, etiam ipsis infidelibus Saracenis multa præstat beneficia.'

This agrees with what the lord de Joinville says, 'that it was then reported to have been the first altar raised to the honour of the mother of God.'

(LXXXIX) *The prince of that territory.* Boëmond VI. prince of Antioch, count of Tripoly and lord of Tortosa.

(xc) *To his camlets.* After these words, what follows is in the edition of Poitiers: 'I forgot to say, that whilst the king was at Sajette, a great person in Egypt sent him a most curious stone, the like was never seen. It split into scales, and, when one scale was taken off, there was seen the perfect resemblance of a sea-fish deeply impressed between the two stones, to which neither colour nor form was deficient, in similar matter to the stone. The king gave me a part of it, and, when it was divided, there was the exact form and colour of a tench, such as it is in nature.'

(xci) *His mother was dead.* See Geoffrey de Beaulieu, ch. 28. and Matthew of Westminster, p. 351.

(xcii) *For his said lady-mother.* The Poitiers edition adds, 'After I had quitted the apartment of the king, the lady Mary de Bonnes-Vertus came to entreat that I would wait on the queen to comfort her, for that she was in marvellous great grief. When I was in her chamber, and saw her weeping so very bitterly, I could not refrain from saying to her, that the proverb was very true which said, 'We ought never to believe in the tears of women,' for that the lamentation she was making was for the woman

she hated the most in this world. She replied, that it was not for her she wept, but for the extreme melancholy of the king, as well as for her daughter, afterwards queen of Navarre, who would now be under the guardianship of men. The reason why the queen disliked the queen dowager, was the continued rudeness of her behaviour to her; for she would not suffer her son to keep company with his queen, and prevented it as much as lay in her power. When the king made any excursions through his kingdom, in company with the two queens, queen Blanche had him separated from his queen, and they were never lodged in the same house. It happened one day, during a stay which the court made at Pontoise, that the king was lodged in the story above the apartments of his queen, and he had given orders to his ushers of the chamber, whenever he should go to lie with his queen, and his mother was coming to his, or to the queen's chamber, to beat the dogs until they cried out: when the king heard them, he hid himself from his mother. Now one day queen Blanche went to the queen's chamber, where her son had gone before to comfort her, for she was in great danger of death, from a bad delivery, and he hid himself behind the queen to avoid being seen, but his mother perceived him, and, taking him by the hand, said, 'Come along: you will do no good here,' and put him out of the chamber. Queen Margaret observing this, and that she was to be separated from her husband, cried aloud, 'Alas! will not you allow me to see my lord, neither when I am alive nor dying.' In uttering these words she fainted, and her attendants thought she was dead: the king likewise believed it, and instantly returned to her, and recovered her from her fainting fit.

(xciii) *Among such disloyal people.* This was the common complaint of the writers of those times against the abuses of the court of Rome; against which they have uttered such invectives that the cardinal Baronius, with many others, have believed these scandalous expressions to have been scattered with address by heretics in the books they published, such as Matthew Paris, and other historians, particularly the English. This is, however, scarcely probable; for it is certain the complaints were then

universal, as may be gathered from the conversation John de Sarisbury, bishop of Chartres, had on this subject with pope Adrian IV. as he mentions himself in the sixth book of the Polychronicon, ch. 24.

It is, besides, worthy of remark, that the legate, according to the lord de Joinville, treats those of that court as disloyal. The Recluse, or the Monk of Moliens, who lived under the reign of Henry II. of England, in his MS. romance, which he has entitled, 'De Charité,' enlarges much on this subject, sparing neither pope nor cardinals, and inveighing bitterly against the avarice and other disorders of that court. I do not, however, give an entire belief to these invectives, for the book is one continued satire against the disorders of every profession. I shall now give an example of the complaints in the poet's own words.

‘ § O Charité la me dit-on
 Qui tu jadis en la maison
 Del pape estoit conseillere,
 Dont ala la cours par raison :
 Mais tu n'i fus c'une saison,
 Car on te mist à la foriere,
 Par conseil d'une pantoniere,
 C'est convoitise la bonnefiere,
 Qui ne redoute traïson,
 Faire tant à pecune chiere,
 Fel cuer tapiit sous bele chiere,
 Quant on li fait d'argent poison.
 ‘ § Je n'ois pas te grant bien non,
 Dire du Pape par son nom,
 Pape ne tet com arains tonne,
 Mais eil qui li font environ ;
 Souvent i tendent leur giron,
 Si en font blâmer la perionue,
 Tele manie entour lui toïsonne,
 Dont male nouvelle resonne,
 Car volentiers fert d'un balton,
 Au povre, si que tout l'estonne,

Ne doit servir fers qui bastonne
A Pape, mais à Pilaton.

‘ § Ne puet povres en court entrer,
S’il ne se veut faire fautrer,
Mainte teste i a on fautrée,
Li fus fait vuit pot espautrer,
Hom Wis ne puet la porte outrer,
Mais au portant est ire outrée,
Qui porte il a pais encontrée,
Bele chiere fait a l’entrée
Li portiers quant voit ens entrer
Dont espoire argent ou rentrée,
Convoitise est tout esventrée,
Ja tant ne fara enventrer.

‘ § Quant je me fuis mis al retour,
De la grant court je fis un tour,
La où mainent li Cardounal,
Mais tous les trouvai d’un atour,
Chà et là tous font merquatour,
Li bas et li haut curial,
Quel font amont, tel font aval
Par tout trouvai porte venal,
Moi souvient, passé font mains jour,
Que un home dit un mot ytal,
Je ne vueil estre plus loial,
Ne plus preudom de mon Seignour.’

And further on,

‘ § Charité, tu n’as pas mesure
En Roume qui la gent mesure,
Roume mesure home comment
La bourse est grans non l’estature,
La lois se taist quant ors murmure
Droit se tapist à lon d’argent
Si je vueil descrire briement,

Coment on vit roumainement,
 Roumains à la langue fece et dure
 Ne puet parler fans oignement
 Et fes huis fiet tant fecement,
 Qu'il ne puet ouvrir fans ointure.'

See the Recherches de Patquier, l. 3. ch. 21.

(xciv) *Perilous*. French *perillez*. An old expreffion, to fay we had fallen into danger. In the norman laws of William the baftard, ch. 32. ' Et fi avers trepaſſent, perilot, a el devient vuaté, e il ne puſſent muſtrer ne cri ne force qui l'en fu faite, fi rendiſſent l'aveir.' That is to fay, ' if the avoires (cattle) die, or fall into ſuch peril, that in the end they are ruined,' &c. This I have explained, becauſe the learned Selden has miſtaken the ſenſe of this paſſage.

' Anonymus Barenſis in Chron. an. 1064. Dux venit in Bari, — et Gozelino perikavit cum ſuis in Perino.' See page 128.

(xcv) *Baphe*,—a town in Cyprus. See Stephen de Luſignan's hiſtory of Cyprus, ch. 7.

(xcvi) *King's ſiſter*. Blanche, daughter of Philippes le hardy and ſiſter to Philippes le bel, kings of France. She was married to Rodolphus duke of Auftria, eldeſt ſon to the emperor Albert I. and afterwards king of Bohemia. This marriage was arranged at the interview near Toul in Lorraine, between king Philip and Albert king of the Romans; and the young lady, who had accompanied her father, was betrothed on the day of the conception of the Virgin, in the year 1299, according to the auſtrian hiſtory. But Steron ſays, the marriage did not take place before 1301; when it is certain it was concluded in the year 1300, from an account of the bailiffs of France to Aſcenſion-day 1302, which was communicated to me by M. d'Herouval, and in which is inſerted another account with this title, ' Compotus viagii facti in Alemanniam conducendo duciſſam Auftriæ anno 1300 fororem regis, factus per Mag. Joannem de S. Juſto.'

In this account mention is made of the lord de Joinville, who, with other lords, accompanied the princess to Germany, in these words : ‘ Pro scutiferia Dominæ Ducissæ per Hermerum de Montemartyrum pro 29. diebus, et pro pluribus personis, qui cum ea remanserunt pro suis negotiis, 195*l.* 19*s.* 2 *den.* Item pro denariis traditis comiti Sacri Cæsaris 132*l.* Ducissæ Lotharingiæ 73*l.* 15*s.* Domino de Joinville 45*l.* 14*s.* Domino de Domna-petra 168*l.* 16*s.* 7*d.* Philippo de Pacy de dono 80*l.* &c. Summa totalis dictarum et aliarum expensarum 4763*l.* &c.

It seems even that the marriage was solemnised at Paris, whither Rodolphus came for that purpose. A journal of the treasury, beginning the 1st January 1297, and ending the last day of December 1301, has the following entry :

‘ 13 Maii 1300. Gulielmus de Flavacuria, Miles pro provisione expensarum pro nuptiis Dominæ Blanchæ fororis regis 1000*l.* Par. Martis die 24 Maii 1300. Comes Sacri Cæsaris dominus Stephanus, et Rodolphus Crocuria Miles, missi obviam filio regis Alemanniæ, pro expensis suis, et aliis sibi commissis de Mandato regis 800*l.* Par.’

I am indebted for all these curious particulars, with many others, to Monsieur de Vyon, lord of Herouval, auditor of accounts.

(xcvii) *The island of Lâmpieuse.* This is the island of Lampedusa, called by Ptolomy *Lapadusa*, by the Italians *Lampadoufa*, and *Lipadusa* by Ariosto in his fourth canto, who represents it as being uninhabited, as well as the lord de Joinville. It is one hundred miles distant from Malta. Geographers remark, there is at present a church called Sancta Maria de Lampedusa, divided into two parts, as described by our author.

(xcviii) *Blanche de champ.* The edition of Poitiers reads, ‘ Blanchie de chaux,’ whitened with lime.

(xcix) *That he might live on them.* The Poitiers edition to this adds : ‘ Afterward, in the course of our voyage, we passed another island, called Pantaleone, which was peopled with Saracens, a part of whom were subject

to the king of Sicily, and part to the king of Tunis. When we first saw this island at a distance, the queen entreated the king to have the goodness to order three galleys to bring fruit for her children, which he did, commanding them to make haste, that they might meet him when he should pass the island.

‘ It fell out, that when the king was opposite to the port of this island, he could not see his galleys. The sailors, to his questions about them, answered, ‘ that very probably the Saracens had captured them and their crews; but, sire, we would not advise you to wait for them, for you are near the kingdoms of Sicily and Tunis, neither of whose kings bear you any great love; and if you will allow us to make sail, we will, before night, place you out of danger from them, for we shall, in a short time, have passed the straits.’ ‘ In truth,’ replied the king, ‘ I shall not follow your advice, but order you to turn the helm, that we may seek our people.’ And, happen what would, we were obliged so to do, and thus lost full eight days in waiting for them, on account of their gluttony, which they were impatient to satisfy.’

This island, which is here called ‘ Pantaleone,’ is that named by geographers ‘ Pantalarea,’ situated between Sicily and Africa, pretty near to Soufa, a town in the kingdom of Tunis. It belongs to the king of Spain, and is subject to the viceroy of Sicily. The inhabitants, although catholic Christians, wear the dress, and speak the language of the Moors.

(c) *Our Lady of Valbert.* The Poitiers-edition reads ‘ Vauvert.’

(ci) *Agues-mortes.* The town of Agues-mortes was unknown before the reign of St Louis, who built the tower that is now seen there, and which is commonly called the Tower of Constance, and serves as a light-house for seamen. He had it afterward surrounded by walls, to induce inhabitants to reside there, and for its security against pirates, as we learn from an epistle of pope Clement IV. l. 3. ep. 260. quoted by M. Catel, in his memoirs of Languedoc, and by Augustus Galland in his treatise on free tenures. It was the only sea-port our kings then had on the Mediterranean, for Provence and Languedoc had their own particular lords. At this day

there is no harbour at Aigues-mortes, and the sea does not come within half a league of it. The same has happened at Wiffan in the Boulonois, which I shall endeavour to shew, by a rather curious dissertation (the 26th), to be the celebrated Portus Itius which Cæsar and the ancient geographers have mentioned.

There are, in the chamber of accounts in Paris, different rolls, entitled ‘*Gista quæ Domino regi debentur*,’ which contain not only the names of all the towns, monasteries, bishopricks, and other persons who are bound to pay the tax of giste* to the king, but likewise all the gistes which the king, St Louis, had levied during his reign, in different parts, as occasions offered. I do not pretend to say any thing respecting the nature or origin of this tax, for it is irrelevant to my subject, but I will simply make an extract of the gistes he took in the year 1254, because they mark exactly the road he followed on his return to Paris from the holy land.

‘*Gista quæ dom. rex Ludovicus cepit an. Dom. 1254, postquam rediit de partibus transmarinis.*

‘*Dominica in vigilia S. Laurentii apud Podium pro gisto burgensium 120 l. 100 s. tourn.*

‘*Die Lunæ ibidem pro gisto electi Podiensis 120 l. 100 s. tourn.*

‘*Die Martis ibidem pro gisto capituli Podiensis 120 l. 100 s. t.*

‘*Die Mercurii apud Bridam pro gisto villæ, 100 l. t.*

‘*Die Jovis apud Yffiodorum pro gisto villæ, 100 l. 100 s. t.*

‘*Sabbato apud Clarummontem in Alvernia pro gisto villæ 120 l. 100 s. t.*

‘*Die Martis post assumptionem B. Mariæ apud S. Porcianum pro gisto 75 l. t. de quo solverunt burgenfes 50 l. et Prior pro parte sua 25 l.*

‘*Die Lunæ ante festum sancti Gregorii apud S. Benedictum supra Ligerim pro gisto Abbatiae, 100 l. t.*

‘*Die Sabbati ante festum S. Clodoaldi apud Vicenas pro gisto Abbatiae Fossatenfis 120 l.*

* Le droit de gîte was originally the tax imposed on the different towns, &c. when the first kings of France travelled through their kingdom, to defray their expenses: it afterward became a regular impost from which none were exempted.

See Du Cange's *Glossarium ad Scriptores Medii Ævi* voc. *Gista*.

- ‘ Dominica fequenti apud S. Dionysium pro gisto Abbatix 120 l.
- ‘ Die Sabbati ante festum apostolorum Simonis et Judæ apud Bruerias, pro gisto villæ 60 l.
- ‘ Dominica fequenti apud Cerniacum pro eodem 60 l.
- ‘ Die Lunæ fequenti apud Velleiacum pro eodem 4 l.
- ‘ Die Martis fequenti apud S. Medardum Sueffion. pro gisto 100 l. 54 s. 4 d.
- ‘ Die Mercurii ibidem in Abbazia Monialium pro eodem 120 l. 54 s. 5 d.’

(CII) *The bishop of Oliva.* William de Pontoise, who from being Prior of la Charité was elected abbot of Cluny in the 1244, and afterward bishop of Oliva, and not of Langres, as M. Menage has advanced, p. 737. of his ‘ Origines de la Langue Françoisse.’ The bull of pope Alexander given at Viterbo, 3. Kal. Oct. Pontific. 3. and now in the library of Cluny calls him, ‘ Venerabilis frater Guillelmus episcopus Olenensis;’ but it should have been ‘ Olivenfis.’ This William was bishop of Oliva, which is a suffragan bishoprick on the archbishoprick of Patras in the Morea.

Albericus intimates this, when in 1236, in speaking of Geoffry prince of Achaia, he says,

‘ Sub prædicto domino Gaufredo sunt duo archiepiscopi, ille de Patras, qui est primus et archiepiscopus Corynthis: primas habet unum episcopum de Oliva, id est Andrevilla,’ &c.

Pope Innocent III. l. 13. ep. 25 & 156. l. 15. ep. 22. notices this bishoprick of Andreville, and says, it was ‘ unus de ditioribus et nobilioribus episcopatibus Romanix.’ It is also mentioned in the ‘ Provincial Romain,’ and in an epistle of pope Honorius III. in the ecclesiastical annals of Odoricus Raynaldus, in the year 1218, note 27.

(CIII) *The dauphines.* Beatrice of Savoy, daughter to Peter count of Savoy, by Agnes de Foucigny, wife to Guigues V. dauphin of the Viennois. The lord de Joinville styles her his niece; that is to say, related in an inferior degree, as Andrew du Chefne has explained it, in the 7th chapter of his history of the dauphins.

M. de Guichenon, in that part of his history of Savoy where he speaks of this princess, does not notice this relationship. It is true, there was an alliance between the houses of Joinville and Foucigny, as I have remarked in the genealogy of the house of Joinville; for Simon de Joinville, lord of Gex, brother to John lord de Joinville, or more probably his son Hugh, married Leonora de Foucigny, sister to Agnes de Foucigny, mother to Beatrice of Savoy, and in this case Beatrice would have been niece by marriage to the lord de Joinville.

(civ) *The count de Châlons.* See hereafter, note cix.

(cv) *The daughter of Champagne.* Blanche, daughter to Thibaud VI. by his first wife Agnes de Beaujeu, married to John earl of Brittany.

(cvi) *Isabella the king's daughter.* See Messieurs de Sainte Marthe's history of France. The epitaph on this princess is in the 5th vol. of the historians of France, page 443.

(cvii) *In his dress.* The simplicity of the king St Louis in his clothing has been already noticed, and by William de Nangis in the year 1248, where he says, that from the moment he first put on the cross, he quitted all pomp of dress: 'nec ab illo tempore indutus est scarleto, vel panno viridi seu bruneta, nec pellibus variis, sed veste nigri coloris, vel camelini seu perfei.'

Pope Boniface VIII. in the sermon on his canonization, says, 'Vestes quas habuit, non erant regiæ, sed religiosæ; non erant militis, sed viri simplicis.' See also the bull for his canonization in the 5th volume of the historians of France, page 490. and Geoffry de Beaulieu 'de vita et conversat. S. Lud.' c. 8.

It was on this subject that a doctor of his time thought proper to blame him publicly, maintaining that a prince ought never to appear but clad in purple: 'Regem non debere communibus uti vestibus, sed semper purpuratum incedere.' But Thomas de Cantimpré has undertaken his defence against this imprudent preacher, in the 3d book de Apib. c. 57. n. 63, 64.

(CVIII) *Garnutes*. The poitiers edition has *Carintes*.

(CIX) *The count de Châlons*. It is the count John, who has been before mentioned. His father was William count d'Auxonne, married to Beatrice, countess of Châlons, daughter to William III. count de Châlons. From this marriage were born, among other children, John count de Châlons, and Beatrice, second wife to Simon lord de Joinville, father to the author of this history, to whom the count de Châlons was uncle, as he calls him in this, and other passages.

John count de Châlons had a son, as has been noticed, named Hugh, who espoused Alicia de Meranie, countess of Burgundy, daughter and heiress to Otho III. count palatine of Burgundy. By means of this marriage the county of Burgundy again returned to the male line of these counts. See Du Chefne's hist. of Burgundy, book 4th.

With regard to the disputes that arose between the father and son, although history has suppressed the causes of them, they will afford me matter for a thorough discussion on private wars, and afterward on *fiefs jurables, et rendables*, which are rather uncommon subjects, in the two last dissertations, the 27th and 28th.

(CX) *Count Thibaud de Bar*. In the history of the bishops of Verdun, at the year 1226, is, 'Theobaldus comes Barri cepit in conflictu Henricum comitem de Lucemburgo 15 kal. Oct. cepit etiam castrum de Ligneio per insidias ipso anno 111. Non. Jul.' Du Chefne, in the first chapter of the third part of his history of Luxembourg, relates the motives and consequences of this war.

(CXI) *An infamous oath*. William de Nangis, p. 364. and Geoffry de Beaulieu, ch. 32. call this oath 'inhonestum juramentum.' The MS. statutes of the order of the Crown of Thorns, drawn up by a Celestin friar under the reign of Charles VI. has, 'he who once only shall have sworn this infamous oath,' &c.

This great rigour of St Louis against blasphemers was not approved by pope Clement IV. who addressed a bull to him, which is in the *Treſor des*

Chartes du Roi. Laïette against blasphemies, tit. 1 & 2. given at Viterbo the 12th July, in the fourth year of his pontificate. In this bull the pope, after complaining of the great numbers of blasphemers in France, entreats him to have the goodness to establish temporal punishments against them, without putting them to death, or depriving them of their limbs. He does not mean to withdraw them from canonical censures, or to do any thing prejudicial to the constitution of pope Gregory, his predecessor; ‘*Sed auxilio mutuo utriusque gladium credimus adjuvandum, et ut spiritualis manulem dirigat, et manualis spiritualem fulciat et sustentet.*’

By a bull of the same date, addressed to the king of Navarre, count of Champagne, he exhorts him to repress the disorders that are daily committed by blasphemers, advising him, however, not to imitate the example of the king of France in the punishments which he had enacted against blasphemers, in these words: ‘*Sed fatemur quod in pœnis ejus modi tam acerbis, eorundem vestigiis charissimum in Christo filium nostrum regem Francorum illustrem non deceat inhærere, sed aliæ poterunt reperiri citra membri mutilationem et mortem, quæ a dictis blasphemis temerarios homines poterunt cohibere. Quo circa serenitatem tuam monendam duximus et hortandum, quatenus tuam reputans tui redemptoris injuriam, prædicto regi Francorum consulas et suadeas, quod ad regnum suum ab hac labe purgandum salubriter statuatur de suorum consilio procerum quod ad Dei honorem et gloriam viderit statuendum. Dat. Viterbii 11. Id. Aug. pontifi. nostri A. IV.*’

This epistle is in the cartulary of Champagne, in the king’s library, f. 64. It is probable that it was in consequence of these remonstrances of the pope, that the king, St Louis, changed the corporal punishments of blasphemers into pecuniary fines, by the following edict, which is in the 10th register of the Tresor des Chartes du Roi, f. 54.

‘It shall be proclaimed through all towns, and at every fair and market, once at least every month, that none be so bold to swear by any of the members of God, of our lady, or of the saints, or to do any thing, or utter any indecent word by way of oath, that may any way turn to the disgrace of God, of our lady, or of the saints. Should any such be done or said, the punishments established shall inevitably follow. And he who may have

been privy to, or heard or seen such things done or said, is bound to make them known to the officers of justice, otherwise he will be at the mercy of the lord of the town or place, to inflict such fine on him as he may judge proper.

‘ If any person of the age of fourteen years, or upward, use any word or expression, by swearing, or otherwise, that may turn to the disgrace of God, of our lady, or the saints, and which shall be so horrible as it would be shocking to relate, he shall pay a fine of forty, but it shall not be ever reduced to less than twenty livres, according to the state and situation of the man or person so offending. Should he or they be in such indigent circumstances as to be unable to pay the above fine, or to procure others to pay it for them, he shall be put in the pillory for the space of one hour, by the officers of justice, in that part where the commonalty most usually assemble, and then confined in prison for the term of six or eight days, and fed on bread and water.

‘ Should it happen that any one, of the age aforesaid, do, or utter any thing disgraceful to God, to our lady, or to the saints, although very horrible, yet in an inferior degree to what we have before noticed, he shall pay a fine of ten livres, but never less than twenty sols, according to the manner of the act or speech, and the state and condition of the person, and which he shall be forced to pay; but should his situation be such, that from poverty he cannot pay the fine, or find any to pay it for him, he shall then be put in the pillory for one hour in lieu of it, in the most public place of assembly of the people, and afterwards be imprisoned for three days, and fed on bread and water.

‘ And when any person shall offend by word or deed, though in a less criminal degree, God, the blessed virgin or the saints, he shall be fined eleven sols, and never less than five, according to the degree of criminality and the condition of the person; and, should he, from poverty, be unable to pay it, or to procure some other person to do it for him, he shall be imprisoned one day and one night, and fed on bread and water.

‘ If the person guilty of any of the above crimes be of the age of ten years or upwards, but under fourteen years, he shall be stripped naked and flogged with rods, either publicly or in private, according to the heinousness

of the offence : that is to say, the men to be flogged by men, and the women by their own sex, without the presence of men, unless they shall avoid this punishment by paying the fine.

‘ When any one shall be denounced to the magistrate as guilty of such things, he shall be instantly brought before him, and the charges heard against him, whether his accuser be present or not ; and if he be found guilty of the charges laid to him, he shall immediately suffer according to the aforesaid punishments.

‘ Those named as witnesses to prove the charges, if not present, shall be forced to come, if necessary, by bodily arrest and seizure of goods, to deliver their testimony respecting them on oath ; and should there be several magistrates, one of them shall hear the evidence at the request of another, and shall send it sealed to the magistrate of the place where the crime had been committed.

‘ With regard to the fines levied, the accuser shall have one-fourth part of them, the magistrate another fourth ; the lord of the place one-fourth, and the other shall be reserved to reward, if need be, those who shall make information of such crimes, and give the necessary knowledge of those who are too poor to pay the penalties.

‘ And for the more effectually carrying this law into execution, all provosts, bailiffs, mayors of towns, and magistrates acting under different lords, shall swear to use their utmost efforts to abolish this crime, according to the manner and form aforesaid ; and that whoever may be convicted shall pay the full penalty, temporal and corporal, and not be otherwise acquitted. And he who shall inform against any magistrate neglecting his duty in this respect shall, on conviction, receive one-half of the fine so levied.

‘ The king commands all his bailiffs and magistrates of towns strictly to attend to the above, and orders it to be proclaimed at every assize, and that each lord do pay attention to it within his jurisdiction. Should it happen that any lord may be unable to carry this law into effect by punishing such as may be convicted of the crime aforesaid, he shall require the aid of his nearest lord and neighbour : should there be none, he must apply to us. And we order all our bailiffs do give every assistance in such cases, when required, that justice may have its course.

‘ Be it known, that the sergeants of a supreme lord cannot reside, nor remain on the lands of other lords who shall have jurisdictions, though subjects to the king, nor the sergeants of subjects on the lands of the sovereign.’

The warrant to the bailiffs for the enforcing the above ordinance runs as follows :

‘ Ludovicus, &c. tali baillivo. Cum nos in hoc parlamento assumptionis B. M. Paris. de assensu baronum nostrorum quandam ordinationem fecerimus de amovendis blasphemis, et enormibus juramentis, ac etiam puniendis: quam quidem ordinationem vobis mittimus per latorem presentium sub contrafigillo nostro inclusam, mandamus vobis quatenus ordinationem istam per villas, nundinas, et mercata preconizari, et in vestris assisiis publicari faciatis, eamque in vestra baillivia quandiu nobis placuerit teneri firmiter, et servari.

‘ Et si forte contigerit aliquem de vestra baillivia aliquid dicere contra Deum, aut beatissimam virginem Mariam matrem ejus, adeo horribile, quod de pænis in prædicta ordinatione positis, ad illud non sufficiet vindicandum: volumus quod inflicta eidem propter hoc graviore pæna in eadem ordinatione contenta, res deferatur ad nos, et ipse in prisione nostra nihilominus teneatur, quousque nostram super hoc rescripserimus voluntatem. Partem autem nos contingentem de emendis quæ provenient in vestra baillivia de blasphemis et juramentis hujusmodi, ponetis ad partem ad nostrum bene placitum inde faciendum, summam partis ipsius in parlamento omnium sanctorum nobis reddituri in scriptis, ac etiam relaturi quid de blasphemis interim erit. Actum,’ &c.

In another register, what follows is added to this edict of St Louis :

‘ It is ordered that messages be sent to the bailiffs and seneschals, that they see and make inquiry throughout all the king’s manors and castles within their bailiwicks, if there be any officers of justice receiving pay with whom they are dissatisfied: should there be any such, they must send their names written down to the king, and by whose orders they were appointed to the parliament that was to assemble on All-faints-day.

‘ Item, That orders be sent to every bailiff to remit all arrears they may owe to the treasury, to the Temple, and that it be done without delay.

* Item, That all bailiffs be commanded to enforce the aforesaid edict against villanous swearing throughout their bailiwicks, and in the territories of all barons within their jurisdiction; and to forbid all common brothels, and games of dice; to make proclamations of this ordinance: but the fine may be exchanged for corporal punishment, according to the rank of the offender, and the heinousness of the crime.

* Et est sciendum quod istæ et ultimæ partes, seu clausulæ, sunt de ordinatione facta super omnibus prædictis per regem Philippum, Parisiis en parlamento ascens. anno Dom. 1272.'

See the constitutions of Clement III. and of Gregory IX. in the Decretales tit. de Maledicis.

Corporal punishments have, however, been ordered, since the reign of St Louis, against blasphemers, especially in such cases where fines have failed to check their blasphemies. Without making a search into the laws of the subsequent kings, I shall content myself by reporting the terms of one by John II. duke of Bourbonnois and Auvergne, given at the castle of Moulins the last day but one of February 1474. This prince, wishing to extirpate blasphemers from his territories, ordered, that those convicted of such crimes should pay for the first offence the sum of five sols tournois, and a pound of wax to the church of the place where the offence had been committed, for repairs, or other necessary wants.

For the second offence, the fine was to be doubled; that is to say, ten sols and two pounds of wax.

For the third offence, the criminal was to be put in the pillory, and bound to it.

For the fourth, it was ordered that one of his ears be nailed to the pillory: should he be guilty a fifth time, his tongue was to be pierced with a hot iron on a full market-day; and should he still persist, he was to be banished for ever from the states of the duke.

There is an edict of Richard, king of the Romans, published at Soleure in the month of July 1257, which ordains punishments against blasphemers according to the coarseness of their blasphemies, even unto death. 'Si quis data industria et deliberato animo per Dei nomen, potentiam, misericordiam, baptismum, sacramentum, martyrium, passionem, vulnera, virtutem, et

similes sermones blasphemos juraverit, in primis ut damnatæ blasphemix delictum inter publica crimina numeretur, deinde in ipsum reum ultionis gladio animadvertatur. Si quis vero ex ira aut prava consuetudine deliquerit, quoties dejerasse aut blasphemasse auditus fuerit, toties pro unoquoque blasphemo dicto vel juramento, singulos solidos judici, in cujus districtu crimen commisisse deprehensus fuerit, toties pro unoquoque blasphemo culpabilis judicetur, (nisi tamen ita graviter blasphemasse convincatur, quod morte dignus existimetur) decernimus, ut secundum criminis circumstantias pro judicis arbitrio atrocius in corpore et vita puniatur.'

(CXII) *Set on a ladder, with a paper mitre on his head.* This ladder of punishment was used in ancient times, and, according to the glossary of Du Cange, is similar to our pillory. The criminal was forced to mount this, and be exposed to public view, to make him suffer the shame his crime deserved.

The Coûtumes d'Auxerre, art. 1. de Sens. art. 1 & 2. de Nivernois, tit. 1. art. 15. and de Bourbonnois, art. 2. speak of this mode of punishment, the vestiges of which are to be seen in the ladder in the Temple at Paris. It is also mentioned in the assizes of Champagne, preserved in the chamber of accounts in Paris, fol. 78. in these words: 'Visa appressia facta super hoc quod Major et Scabini de Pruvino dicebant se esse et fuisse in bona faina faciendi et habendi scalam a tempore dominorum Campaniæ prædecessorum D. regis apud Pruvinum, in medio vico ante Domum Dei Pruvinensem, ad ponendum ibidem malefactores jurantes *inhonestâ juramenta*, et justitiandi eosdem in scala, sive puniendi secundum locis consuetudinem, et secundum delictorum quantitatem, inventum fuit et probatum dictos Majorem et Juratos intentionem suam sufficiter probasse. Quare pronunciatum fuit per Curix consilium, quod ibidem, prout esse consueverat, salvo jure D. regis, scala fiet et remanebit.'

(CXIII) *To call on the devil.* Our first Christians, and the devout who served God, held the devil in such abhorrence, as the enemy of mankind, that they were scrupulous even of naming him. It is for this reason that we

find the fathers of the church have affected to call him the wicked one, by simply naming him Malus. See Tertullian, lib. de Pœnitentia, c. 5. lib. de Patient. c. 11. 14. de cultu fœmin. 2. 5. 1. 2. ad Uxor. ch. 6. S. Cyprian de orat. Dom. c. 10. S. Paulin epist. 4. ad Sever. Natali 4, 5 & 7.

Several imagine that this is understood in the words of the Lord's prayer, 'Deliver us from evil.' St Chrysostom thinks so, with Euthymius, Theophylactes, Origen, and others, on this prayer.

Our ancient poets call him almost always *Maufez*, because he does evil, and is the author of it, or because he is deformed and ill made, whence we have the word *mauvais* at present in use. The romance of Garin has,

' Mult sçait de guerre, maufez li ont appris.'

And William Guiart in the year 1302,

' Vilains braient come maufez,' &c.

(CXIV) *Several churches.* See Guillaume Guiart in the life of St Louis, La Mer des Histoires, Louis Lafféré, and others.

(CXV) *We Louis.* This ordinance was published at Paris in the year 1256, and is to be met with in some registers in the chamber of accounts at Paris in fuller detail than here.

(CXVI) *For forty days.* See the law 1. 'Cod. Ut omnes iudices tam civiles quam militares post administrationem depositam 50 dies in civitatibus, vel certis locis permaneant.' See also the Theodosian and Valentinian Code 'de Tributis fiscalibus.' It is practised in Scotland, as we learn from the laws of the barons of Scotland commonly entitled, 'Quoniam Attachamenta,' ch. 101.

(CXVII) *Sold themselves to the highest bidder.* See the ordinance of Philip le bel of the year 1315, for the reformation of the kingdom, art. 10. and the ordinance of 1302.

(CXVIII) *Bad customs.* Taxes, imposts, tributes, oppressions. This expression is common and trivial.

(cxix) *Stephen Boileau*. In an account of the bailiffs of France to the term of the Ascension in the year 1262, he is called 'Stephanus Boileue.' In another to Ascension-day 1266, 'Stephanus bibens aquam.' And in one to Candlemas in the year 1268, 'Stephanus Boitleaue Præpositus Parisiensis.' The author of the manuscript life of St Louis in the king's library, No. 714. says, in chap. 34. page 58. 'that instantly on his arrival at Paris, after his return from Palestine in the year 1258, he assembled many prelates, barons, and learned clerks of all ranks, and the members of his council, to revise the laws. Several ordinances were proposed, which he approved and confirmed, and had them enregistered and proclaimed in the court and jurisdiction of the Châtelet of Paris, and in all the other jurisdictions, bailwicks and seneschalships in his kingdom. He nominated a citizen of Paris well famed for his prudence and wisdom, named Stephen Boileau, as president of the court of the Châtelet; and the king went thither very frequently, and seated himself beside the aforelaid Boileau to encourage him, and to give an example to the other judges of the realm. Oftentimes twice a-week he gave audiences in his palace to the poor and friendless, and sent at different times persons into the provinces to give him information of any corrupt or wicked judges.

'It happened that a bailiff at Amiens was found to have acted corruptly as a judge, when the king deprived him of his office, and had him imprisoned until he had made restitution of all that he had taken.'

This family of the Boileues subsists to this day in Paris and in Anjou.

The author of *La Mer des Histoires* speaks as highly of the strict justice of this provost of Paris, and confirms what the lord de Joinville says, that in matter of justice he paid no regard to relations or friends, adding, that 'he ordered a boy to be hanged, because the mother had said that he could not be prevented from stealing: likewise a companion of his own, who had denied the receiving a sum of money which his guest had given to him to keep.'

Louis Lasseré says the same thing.

(cxx) *Charitable to the poor*. Geoffroy de Beaulieu, ch. 18. speaks very fully of his alms, and the care he took of the poor.

William Guiart confirms this :

‘ Cis saints rois chascun jour fesoit
A l’honneur du bon Roy celestre,
Sis vint povres a sa cour pestre,
Très-souvent devant eus tailloit,
Et les viandes leur bailloit,
Pour ce faire souffroit grant peine.
Tout l’Avent et la Quarantaine
Estoit par son comand creus
Le nombre des Ramenteus.
Deus cens fust à chans ou à villes,
En feroit aus hautes vigiles,
Ainçois qu’il menjast ne beust.’

The edict which this holy king published at Paris in the month of October, of the year 1260, furnishes another proof of his charity. He thereby orders, that, according to the annual practice of his predecessors in time of Lent, ‘ De bursa regis usque ad duo millia centum decem et novem libras Parisienses, et 63 modios bladi, et insuper 68 millia alecium per manus eleemosynarii et baillivorum distribuantur.’ In addition to these usual alms, he orders his almoner to distribute daily during Lent 100 fols to the lower ranks of poor, &c.

(cxxi) *Annual festivals.* The four principal festivals of the year were thus called. The deed of Hugh duke of Burgundy, for the foundation of the holy chapel in Dijon, in the year 1172, quoted by M. Perard, in his memoirs on Burgundy, runs, ‘ In festis annualibus, id est in nativitate Domini, in Pascha, in Pentecoste, et in omnium Sanctorum.’ In another deed of Odo, bishop of Paris, of the year 1199, ‘ Apud Sammarthan. in Gall. Christ. statuentes ut in ipso festo tantum celebritatis agatur quantum in cæteris festis annualibus fieri consuevit.’ *Feste annual* is in a deed of Hugh of Burgundy of the year 1268, quoted by Perard, page 339.

(cxxii) *His familiars.* That is to say, the officers of his household, for it was thus they were styled in those days.

Roger Hoveden, p. 725. 'Robertus de Turneham, familiaris regis.'

In the ratification of the will of king Philippes le bel, by Louis Hutin, Martin des Effars is called 'familiar of the king,' as mentioned by Gilles de Compiègne in the register of the Grands Jours, at Troyes.

Falcandus, in his history of Sicily, very often speaks of 'the familiars of the court.'

(CXXIII) *Very expensive and liberal in his household.* We can form no better estimate of what were then the expenses of his household than from the ordinance St Louis issued respecting it, which is in a roll in the chamber of accounts at Paris, communicated to me by M. d'Herouval.

'Ordinatio hospitii et familiæ dom. regis facta an Dom. 1261, mense Augusto.

'Cambellani amotis liberationibus suis, videlicet Johannes Sar Johannes Bourg et Petrus de Land quilibet 6 fol. per diem, et tres valletos comedentes ad curiam, et in fero dimidium sextarii vini, de candela unam torchiam per septem, etiam per quinque, aliam per quatuor, et 12 pecias candelæ minutæ, et fabricam (forge) ad tres equos.

'Galterus de Quitriaco Cambellanus 5 fol. 6 d. per diem, 2 valletos comedentes ad curiam, dimidium sex. vini, in fero candelam et fabricam sicut alii Cambellani.

'Valletti Cameræ quilibet 6 d. per diem, unam præbendam avenæ loco liberationis, et pugneyarum, 6. per diem qui sunt in curia ipsi omnes pro fœno summarii sibi communis 4 den. per diem, et quilibet sex pecias minutæ candelæ, et fabricam ad unum equum. Et vult dom. rex quod omnes pugneyæ erogentur ad voluntatem ipsius per manum eleemosynarii. Item quilibet eorum habet unum valettum, ad curiam comedent, pro roba 100 s. per annum quilibet partem suam æqualiter morfuum candelarum.

'Guillelmus Brito, et Johannes de Ermenovilla, quilibet 12. d. per diem: 2 præbendas avenæ, 1. valletum, comedent ad curiam, quibus roba est loco liberationis et pugneyarum, 6. den. per diem, candelam, fabricam, et partem suam remorfuum candelarum sicut Valetti Cameræ.

'Petrus de Brocia Cyrurgicus, et Valletus de Camera, et Guillelmus de Saltu, quilibet 2 s. per diem in Curia, et extra, duas præbendas avenæ, 2.

valletos comed. pro roba 100 s. de candela unam torchiam per 4. & 8. pecias candelæ minutæ, fabricam ad 2. equos. Item idem Petrus loco liberationis cameræ et pugneyarum 6 d. per diem, quando erit in curia.

‘ Guetæ. quilibet 6 d. per diem, loco liberationis et pugneyarum 6 d. per diem, quando sunt in curia, 1. præbendam avenæ. 1. valletum comed. 6. pecias minutæ cand. fabricam ad unum equum, pro roba 100 s.

‘ Johannes Barberius 6 d. per diem, pro valletto suo et equo hospitand. 3 d. per diem, unam præbendam avenæ, 1. valletum comed. fabricam ad unum equum, 6. pecias minutæ cand. pro roba 100 s.’

PANETERIA.

‘ Paneterius, Bartholomæus Tritan, ad 3. equos 6 s. per diem, 3. valletos comed. dimidium sextarii vini in fero, de Candela unam torchiam pro septem, aliam pro 5. aliam pro 4. & 12. pecias candelæ minutæ, fabr. ad 3. equos.

‘ Alii Paneterii quilibet ad 3. equos, 5 s. 6 d. per diem, 2. valletos comed. dimid. sextarii vini in fero, de candela unam torchiam per 5. aliam per 4. & 12. pecias candelæ minutæ, fabr. ad 3. equos.

‘ Michaël de Furno 4 s. per diem ad 2. equos, 2. valletos pro furno, et 1. post se comed. de candela unam torchiam per 5. aliam per 4. & 12. pecias minutæ candelæ, fabr. ad 2. equos, pro roba pro se 60 s. pro roba pro 2. valletis 60 s.

‘ Jacobus clericus Paneteri 6 d. per diem, loco liberationis pro se, et homines paneterii hospitand. 3 den. per diem, unam præbendam avenæ, 1. valletum comed. 1. torchiam per 4. & 12. pecias minutæ candelæ, pro servitio paneter. fabricam ad unum equum, pro roba 100 s.

‘ Petrus de Paneter. 6 d. per diem, 1. præbend. avenæ, et fabric. ad equum suum pro omnibus.

‘ Summularii mapparum quilibet 6 d. per diem pro quolibet fummar. hospitand. 3 d. per diem, pro fœno cuilibet fummario 3 d. per diem, quilibet eorum pro se et roncino suo hospit. loco liberationis 3 d. per

diem, 1. præbendam avenæ, 1. valletum comed. fabricam ad 1. equum, de candela omnes infimul 1. torchiam per 4. & 12. pecias minutæ candelæ, cuilibet pro roba 30 s.

‘ Quatuor portantes Capas, et unus diversus Clericos, quilibet 5 den. per diem, et comedant ad curiam omnes infimul, 12. pecias minutæ candelæ, quilibet pro roba 30 s.

‘ Oblearius pro fœno equi sui 3 d. per diem, 1. præbend. avenæ, pro præmio suo 100 s. per annum.

‘ Lotrix mapparum loco liberationis suæ 2 s. per diem, unam præbendam avenæ, 12. pecias minutæ candelæ, et præmium quod habere solet pro mappis levandis.

‘ Quadrigarius Paneter. ad 3 equos, pro fœno ipsorum equorum 9 d. per diem, pro pane, vino, coquina et victu suo, et pro se et equis hospitandis 21 d. per diem, pro præmio 4 s. per annum, 6. pecias candelæ minutæ per diem.

SCANCIONARIA.

‘ Harcherus de Corbolio ad 3. equos 6 s. per diem, 3. vallet. comed. dimid. sextarii vini in fero, de candela unam torchiam per 7. aliam per 5. aliam per 4. & 12. pecias minutæ candelæ, fabric. ad 3. equos.

‘ Alii Scancionarii ad 3. equos quilibet 5 s. 6 d. per diem, 2. vallet. comed. dimid. sext. vini, de Candela 1. torchiam per 5. aliam per 14. & 12. pecias minutæ candelæ, fabric. ad 3. equos.

‘ Duo Clerici in Scancionaria, quilibet 6 d. per diem, unam præbendam avenæ, unum valletum comed. unam quartam vini pro se hospite, 6. pecias minutæ candelæ, fabric. ad 1. equum, pro roba 100 s.

‘ Guillelmus Madelinarius 5 d. per diem, 1. præbend. avenæ, 1. valletum pro se, et 2. tam pro cyphis, quam pro vitris quærendis et portandis, comed. 6. pecias minutæ candelæ fabr. ad 1. equum, pro roba 100 s. et si oporteat eum mittere pro vitris, reddetur ei vectura, nec percipiet 12. denar. pro summariis, quos percipere consuevit, quando mittebat pro vitris quærendis, dum rex distabat a Parisiis ultra 20. leucas.

‘ Summularii Scancionariae 4. quilibet 3 d. per diem pro quolibet summario hospitando 3 d. per diem quilibet eorum pro se et roncino suo hospitando loco liberationis 3 d. per diem, pro fœno cujuslibet summarii 3 d. per diem, quilibet unam præbendam avenæ, unum valletum comed. ad 1. equum, de candela omnes insimul 1. torchiam per 4. et 12 pecias minutæ candelæ, quilibet pro roba 30 s. et unus ex istis qui vocatur Coletus afferet aquam ad bibendum pro rege. Item, debent omnes insimul dimidium sextarii vini qualibet nocte, et 12 d. per diem, quando rex comedit per viam.

‘ Barillarii 5. quilibet 4 d. per diem, et comedet ad curiam, dimidium quarterii vini in fero, 4 pecias minutæ candelæ, pro roba 30 s.

‘ Boutarii 4. quilibet 5 d. per diem, et comedet ad curiam, vinum, candelam, robam, sicut Barillarii.

‘ Quadrigarii boutorum ad 3 equos 4 s. per diem, et comedet ad curiam, unam quartam vini in fero, reparationem quadrigæ, et æstimabuntur equi sui quando ponet eos in servitio, et si moriantur in servitio, reddetur eis servitium, valletus etiam suus comedet ad curiam.

‘ Potarius pro servitio potorum 2 s. per diem, et comedet ad curiam, ipse et valletus suus.

‘ Duo portantes aquam ad bibendum pro communi, quilibet 3 d. per diem, et comedent ad curiam, et juvabunt Boutarios.

‘ Portator boutorum comedet ad curiam tantum.

COQUINA.

‘ Cocci, videlicet Nicolaus de Soifiaco, et Guillelmus Guillore, quilibet ad 3 equos, 6 d. per diem, 3 valleti comed. dimid. text. vini in fero, addito quod Hembertus habebat duo sextaria vini in quolibet fero, de candela quilibet 1. torchiam per 7. aliam per 5. aliam per 4. et duodecim pecias minutæ candelæ, fabr. ad 3 equos. Item, ille loco ipsius Hemberti serviet, habebit vinum et candelam sicut et ipse Hembertus.

‘ Alii cocci, quilibet ad 3 equos 4 s. 6 d. per diem, 2 valletos comed. dimid. sextarii vini in fero, de candela quilibet 1. torchiam per 4. et 8 pecias minutæ candelæ, fabric. ad 2. equos.

‘ Adjutores, quilibet 2 s. per diem, 1. præbend. avenæ, 1. valletum comed. 6. pecias minutæ candelæ, fabricam ad unum equum, pro roba 50 s.

‘ Hastatores 14. quilibet 7 d. per diem, et comedet ad curiam, omnes infimul 16. pecias minutæ candelæ, quilibet pro roba, et calciamento, 50 s. et ille qui fervit eleemosynæ, percipiet tamquam Pagius, quamdiu ferviet eleemosynæ in isto servitio.

‘ Sufflatores 4. quilibet pro omnibus ad unum equum 12 d. per diem, et comedet ad curiam, omnes infimul 18. pecias minutæ candelæ, quilibet pro roba et calciamento 60 s. et quando præmittentur, habebunt expensas rationabiles.

‘ Custos ciborum, 5. panes et dimidium sextarii vini pro victu suo, 6. pecias minut. candelæ, pro roba et calciamento 60 s. pro equo suo, et omnibus aliis 12 d. per diem.

‘ Hostiarii coquinæ 2. quilibet 6 d. per diem, et comed. ad curiam, pro roba 20 s.

‘ Quadrigæ coquinæ 2. ad 8. equos, pro fœno et letteria 2 s. 8 d. per diem, aloud. Quadrigarius se quinto pro victu suo, se, equis, herneffo hospitand. 5 s per diem, 9. præbendæ avenæ per diem, 20. pecias minutæ candelæ, et pro roba sua, et valletorum fuorum 20 l. per annum.

‘ Quadrigarii Prandii ad 3. equos 4 s. per diem, pro præmio, et pro victu suo, et fervientis sui, 12 d. per diem, pro quadriga sua et herneffo reparando, et tenendis in bono statu 40 s. per annum, et æstimabuntur equi quando ponet eos in servitio, et si moriantur in servitio reddetur eis servitium: et 2. valleti qui vadunt cum illa quadriga, quilibet eorum 3 d. per diem, pro tunica et calciament. 15 s. per annum, et comedent ad curiam.

‘ Salfarii 2. in propria coquina regis pro quærendis necessariis ad salsam regis, 3 s. 6 d. de candela 12 pecias minutæ candelæ, quilibet eorum pro roba 40 s. ambo infimul 3. valletos comedentes, quilibet habebit pro roba 40 s. et comedent ipsi ambo ad curiam.

‘ Scutellarii pro se, equo suo, et quinque valletis hospitandis 18 d. per diem, de candela 20. pecias minutæ candelæ, 1 præbend. avenæ, dictos

quinque valletos comed. pro roba 40 s. quilibet dictorum 5. valletorum pro roba, calciamento et præmio 60 s. per annum. Eleemosynarius habebit amodo panem salis.

‘ Lambertus custos 3. fummariorum fassar. et scuttelar. pro fœno et letteria ipsorum fummariorum 12 d. per diem, pro se et valletto suo, et ipsis fummariis hospitandis 6 d. per diem, pro præmio suo per annum 40 s. et pro præmio valleti sui per annum 20 s. de candela 8. pecias minut. candelæ, ambo comedent ad curiam.

‘ Clericus coquinæ pro radiis 12 d. per diem, pro fœno fummarii 3. den. per diem, pro lacteria fummariorum, se, suis valletis, et fummario hospitando 6 d. per diem, duo præbendas avenæ, de candela unam torchiam per 4. & 12. pecias minutæ candelæ, comedent autem ipse et valletus suus, et valletus pro fummario, ad curiam.

‘ Johannes de Tieys, Pullarius in propria coquina regis pro 2. equis in omnibus tenendis 18 d. per diem, comedet ad curiam, et valletus suus, æstimabuntur autem illi duo equi, et si moriantur in servitio regis, reddatur ei servitium.

‘ Radulphus, Pullarius de communi, pro 4. equis in omnibus tenendis 4 s. 6 d. per diem, comedet ad curiam, et duo valleti sui, æstimabuntur prædicti 4. equi, et si moriantur in servitio regis, reddetur eis pretium.

‘ Furetarius 18 d. per diem, et quando venit ad curiam, ipse et valletus suus comedent ad curiam, pro roba 70 s. pro filetis et aliis 20 s. per annum.

‘ Piscator 2 s. per diem, et quando venit ad curiam, ipse et valletus suus comedent ad curiam, pro roba 50 s. pro tra-naillio 40 s. per annum.

‘ Avicularius 12 d. per diem, et quando venit ad curiam, ipse et valletus suus comedent ad curiam, pro roba 40 s. per annum, pro rect. (l. retibus) 12 s. per annum.

‘ Johannes Pastillarius 6 d. per diem, pro se et hermesio suo hospitandis, comedet ad curiam, habebit autem pretium pastillorum, tartarum, et flatonem, sicut solet.

‘ Decem Garunculi qui sequuntur curiam in coquina, comedent ad curiam.

FRUCTUARIA.

‘ Johannes de Clichiasco 12 d. per diem loco liberationis pro se, et toto hermesio suo, et tota familia sua hospitandis 2 s. 8 d. per diem, 2 præbendas avenæ, 2 valletos per se comed. pro roba 30 s. residuum cerei de nocte ardentis in camera regis, et partem suam remorsuum candelarum. Item, habet 4 valletos qui faciunt candelam, et unum qui calefacit ceram, comedentes ad curiam, et habebunt pro dimidio sextarii vini quod percipere solent, et pro cesia 4 d. per diem, et 4. prædicti valleti qui faciunt candelam, et tam ille qui calefacit ceram, quam qui faciunt eandem, pro roba per annum 15 l.

‘ Quadrigarius fructus ad 3 equos, 3 præbend. avenæ, pro fœno 9 d. pro victu suo et se hospitando cum equis suis, et hermesio, 21 d. per diem, et pro servitio suo 40 s. per annum.

SCUTIFERIA.

‘ Scutiferi et Marecalli, quilibet pro victu suo et valletis 2 s. per diem, pro se omnibus infimul hospitandis 2 s. per diem, pro candela 12 d. per diem, quando rex mutat giftum, quilibet scutifer habet pro lecto suo, et valleti sui, et lecteria equorum suorum 8 d. per diem. Item, habent omnes infimul tam Scutiferi quam Marecalli loco liberationis quam habere solent, quando rex equitabat ante prandium, vel post, si mutaret giftum 8 s. per diem. Item, Pontius et Hugo habent fœnum et avenam et fabric. ad duos equos. Item, in vigiliis et diebus annalibus quærent victualia sua rationabilia, et reddetur eis summa pecunia rationabilis quam constabunt. Item, quilibet eorum habet pro roba 100 s. per annum.

‘ Scutiferi infimul pro capistragiis suis per annum 36 l. Item, in stabulo sunt 3. valleti ad equos, et quidam alii pedites, quorum quilibet qui sequitur curiam habebit 8 d. per diem tantum, et prædicti 3. ad equos habebunt quilibet pro robo 60 s. per annum.

FOURRERIA.

‘ Robertus de Fourreria 2 s. per diem. 1. præbend. avenæ, fabricam ad unum equum, pro roba 100 s. et 1. valletum comed.

‘ Ricardus de Fourreria 6 d. per diem, avenam, fabricam, robam, sicut dictus Robertus, 1 vallet. comed.

‘ Quinque valleti in ipsa Fourreria quilibet 6 d. per diem, pro roba 20 s. comedent ad curiam, ferviens de aqua comedet ad curiam tantum.

‘ Adjutores in Fourreria mercede conducentur, et non intrabunt hospitium quandiu comedetur.

‘ Capellani et Clerici Capellæ, sicut solent excepto quod loco liberationis quilibet Capellanus habebit 4 d. per diem, et quilibet Clericus 2 d. per diem.

‘ Thesaurarius Turonensis 5 s. per diem, loco liberationis 3 s. per diem.

‘ Decanus S. Aniani 4 s. per diem, loco liberationis 3 s. per diem.

‘ Hostiarii quilibet 3 s. per diem, 2. vallet. comed. fabricam ad duos equos, pro roba 100 s. de candela unam torchiam pro quatuor, et 8 pecias minutæ candelæ, nec amodo percipiet pugneyas.

‘ Portarii quilibet per diem, unam præbend. avenæ, 1. vallet. comed. 6 pecias minutæ candelæ pro roba 40 s. per annum, nec amodo percipient pugneyas.

‘ Valleti de porta, pro toto anno, pro roba, et præmio 60 s. comed. ad curiam, et amodo instituentur per regem.

‘ Lotrix diversus regem, pro radiis 2 s. 6 d. pro victu suo et familiæ suæ 5 s. per diem, 2 præbend. avenæ, de candela 1. torchiam per 4, et 12. pecias minutæ candelæ, pro roba 6 l. per annum.

‘ Quadrigarius cameræ ad 4 equos, 4 præbendas avenæ, pro fœno 2 d. per diem, loco liberationis 2 s. per diem, et pro præmio 40 s. per annum.

‘ Summularius cameræ, et Denariorum scriptorum, et fructuariorum, et capellæ, quilibet pro victu suo 8 d. per diem, pro fœno cujuslibet summarii 3 d. per diem, et 1 d. pro cumento sibi facto pro aliis necessarijs

summarii quærendi, et habent omnes infimul loco liberationis 4 s. per diem.

‘ Item, quilibet eorum habet pro roba per annum 30 s. addito quod 3. summularii capellæ habent quilibet pro roba 100 s. per annum, et in quolibet omnium festorum annualium, habent omnes infimul 50 s. et duplum illorum 4. solidorum quos habent loco liberationis prædictæ.

‘ Capellanus S. Michaelis comedet ad curiam, sicut solet.

‘ Capellanus S. Bartholomæi loco liberationis 22 d. per diem.

‘ Relicta Johannis Tailliatoris loco liberationis 19 d. per diem.

‘ 24. Conversi, quilibet loco fervitii sui quando comedetur bis in curia 14 d. per diem; et quando comedetur semel tantum modo in curia, quilibet ipsorum converforum, 9 d. per diem.

‘ 8. Rencarii, quilibet loco fervitii sui quando comedetur bis in curia 20 d. per diem; sed quando comedetur semel tantum modo in curia, quilibet 13 d. per diem.’

To this ordinance, I will add another for the household of king Philippes le bel, and for that of his queen, issued at Vincennes in the month of January in the year 1285, according to the manner of counting the years in those times. It is among the registers of the chamber of accounts in Paris, entitled ‘ Pater noster,’ and others which have been communicated to me by monsieur de Vyon, lord of Herouval, and which explain many of the latinified words that are in the ordinance of St. Louis.

PANTRY.

• Three pantiars; that is to say, one for the king, and two for the common service. Their duty is to procure bread and serve it, and to be ready on all occasions, &c.

‘ Item, Galeran des Nappes, who prepares the king’s seat.

‘ Item, the two butlers, who lay the table-cloths, and have the care of them, &c.: these two, and Galeran des Nappes, to have a varlet, with wages, to take care of their three horses.

‘ Item, two hood-bearers.

- ‘ The pastry-cook will make the pies for the king, and also for the common table, &c.
- ‘ The wafer-maker.
- ‘ The washer-woman of table-cloths.

THE CUP-BEARER'S OFFICE.

‘ There will be but four cup-bearers to whom wages will be paid : one for the king, and three for the common table. They are to purchase wines, to deliver them out, serve them, and even to draw them on the great feasts. They will be present at their delivery as often as possible, and on the same footing in regard to wages, and all other respects, with the pantlers.

‘ Item, the clerk of the cup-bearer's office will account with those of the pantry, and see to the delivery.

‘ Item, two coopers, who will personally hoop the vessels.

‘ A wine cart, with three horses.

‘ Two jug-bearers, who are personally to do their service.

‘ The potman will receive daily for his pots 12 deniers. He will have his food at court ; and, except on the annual feasts, no glasses are to be used.

KITCHEN.

‘ Ifembart, and four other cooks, of whom two shall be for the king's service, and two for the common table with Ifembart. They are to buy and provide meat, cut it up when dressed, and serve it, and see the different pieces properly disposed of. Ifembart will receive his usual wages, and the other four cooks in like manner. Ifembart will receive every evening for his inspection over the kitchen a septier, or eight pints of wine.

‘ Item, four roasters ; two for the king, and two for the common table.

‘ Four turnspits, who will take their place in the kitchen, and have their meals at court, &c.

‘ Four pages, who will eat at court, &c.

‘ Two blowers, one of whom shall be under the other: they will eat at court, and take care that the foup when on the fire, be not burnt or smoked.

‘ Four carvers for the whole household, who will live at court, save that they be not waited on.

‘ The salt-keepers of the common table, &c. will have only two varlets, to take charge of the salt-loaves. They will have for every thing six deniers wages, and be careful the maitre d’hôtel be not extravagant of salt.

‘ The meat-keeper will see to its delivery.

‘ The poultryman will attend to what concerns his department.

‘ Two ushers; one for the king’s kitchen, the other for that of the common table. They will have their meals at court, and receive each four deniers a-day.

‘ Two great carts attached to the service of the kitchens, with four horses to each. The carters will receive 8 s. for every thing; and they are indebted to the king, for each horse, sixteen livres, or the horse.

‘ The cart for small dinners, with three horses, will be paid five sols daily, every thing included, and any loss of horses will be paid for at the price fixed.

FRUITERY AND CHANDLERY.

‘ Seven fruiterers; and three varlets, who will make the candles, one of whom will assist in serving the fruit. They will have their meals at court, and receive together, &c.

‘ Item, two fommiers, one of whom will prepare the fruit, and the other the candle. These two fommiers will lie with those of the king’s chamber, ‘ et ceux qui les garderont aussi, et fera otée la charete du fruit *.’

* I do not understand this.

‘ Item, the king’s own table and that of his brothers will be served with fruit in the usual manner; the other tables of the household with a sufficiency; but in Lent only figs, nuts and raisins are to be served.

‘ Item, twelve great torches to be made; eight for the king’s use, and four for that of his brothers, which are not to be given to any one to carry without doors. The other torches to be made similar to those of the reign of king Louis.

STABLES.

‘ Four equerries. Roger for the king’s person, Denis for the household; Peter Jentiens, and another to purchase horses. Each to have two horses, two feeds of corn, and one servant fed at court.

‘ Item, two blacksmiths, &c.

‘ Three servants to attend the forges, &c.

‘ Four varlets of the stable. Varlets of the household, the bouteiller, &c.

‘ Item, it is ordered that the king have six horses for such as may accompany him in his rides to the forests, and for his personal pleasure.

‘ The clerk of the stables to attend to the delivery of oats.

‘ A servant to measure the corn, who shall have 7 deniers for wages.

HARBINGERS.

‘ Colin and Guillôt de Pontoise shall be harbingers, and have each, &c.

‘ Item, the king’s carriage with five horses, &c.

‘ Two ushers of the hall, &c. who shall be ready to set off at a moment’s notice, but they are not to be sent on messages any where.

‘ Three porters, &c.

‘ Three varlets of the door.

‘ Item, as chamberlain, Pierre de Chambly shall have, &c.

‘ Item, Pierre de Machau, Hùe de Bouville and Perrot de Chambly, will receive each, &c.

‘ Item, Jean Pomin will have, &c.

‘ Six valets de chambre, of whom two must be barbers, one taylor, and three others, &c.

‘ Two watchmen, &c.

‘ Thifty fergeants at arms, of whom there will never be more at court than two ushers at arms and eight fergeants: They will be fed at court, and keep watch during the time the king is at his meals, having always their quivers full of arrows; and they must never quit the court without leave.

‘ Item, the clerks of the cross-bows, and the fommier of arrows, shall be lodged, and master Peter de Condé will be paymaster of the cross-bows.

‘ The king’s laundress.

‘ Ten fomners: four for the king’s chamber, four for the chapel; two others, if it please the king, for the registers and writings, two for the fruit, and each of these shall receive, &c.

‘ Item, the head fomner, &c.

CLERKS.

‘ The bishop of Senlis to wear his mantle within and without doors.

‘ The seal-bearer to have seven fols wages daily, without oats, but with shoeing and horses found him.

‘ The archdeacon of Saaloigne to have three feeds of oats, and eighteen deniers. Guillaume de Crespi, &c.

FALCONERS.

‘ Nicholas de Chartres, Robert de la Marche. Each to have two feeds of corn, and twelve deniers wages: one valet fed at court, &c.

‘ Geoffry Gorguz, &c.

- ‘ Jean de Dijon, &c.
- ‘ Jean Bequet.
- ‘ Guillaume Darqueil.
- ‘ Pierre René, Guill. Nogent, Jean Malliere, Jean le Picart, &c.
- ‘ Mestre Geffroy du Temple, &c.
- ‘ ——— Aleaume de Silly.
- ‘ Monsieur Simon, who draws up the accounts for the king’s butler, to have twelve deniers wages, &c.
- ‘ Mestre Pierre de Condé, &c.
- ‘ Item, for his clerk Jeannot, &c.
- ‘ Monsieur Pierre de Maslée, &c.

THREE PHYSICIANS.

- ‘ Master Fouques de la Charité for his attendance on madame (the queen probably) shall receive, &c.
- ‘ Two attendant on the king’s person, masters Dudes, to receive the same pay as master Fouques.

CHAPLAINS.

- ‘ M. Aleaume, M. Nicolas, M. Jean. Each to have six deniers for wages, two feeds of corn. One varlet fed at court, and one with wages.

CLERKS OF THE CHAPEL.

- ‘ M. Estienne, Guill. de Chartres, will receive, together, eighteen deniers for wages, three feeds of corn, &c.
- ‘ M. Eudes de la Chapelle will wear his mantle within and without doors.

CLERKS OF THE COUNCIL.

- ‘ M. Gautier de Chambli.
- ‘ M. Guill. de Pouilly.
- ‘ M. Jean de Puseus.
- ‘ M. Jean de Morenciées.
- ‘ M. Robert de Harecourt.
- ‘ M. Lorent de Vezins.
- ‘ M. Jean le Duc.
- ‘ M. Phil. Suars.
- ‘ M. Giles Camelin.
- ‘ M. Jaques de Bouloigne.
- ‘ M. Guy de Loy.
- ‘ M. Giles Lambert.
- ‘ M. Robert de Senlis.

‘ The above-mentioned will not have their meals at court, but each will receive for wages five fols, when they shall be at court or in the parliament. On their attendance at the great festivals, they will appear in their mantles.

‘ M. Pierre de Sargines, Giles de Compiègne and Jean Malliere shall hear the pleas at the gate : Giles de Compiègne shall have the same pay as M. Pierre de Sargines, and eat with the chamberlain.

‘ Item, it is also ordained, that no one sleep in the treasury-chamber, but M. Peter de Condé and his valet, M. Pierre de Maenloe and his valet, Martin Marcel, who counts out the money, and Thomassin the chamber keeper, M. Geoffroy du Temple, M. Aleaume, and their clerks, as they have been accustomed to do ; and Thomassin will eat his meals in the hall behind.

‘ Item, the almoner to have 2 s. 6 d. for wages, and five pots of wine.

TWO SURGEONS.

- ‘ Each one shall have, &c..

‘ Item, two porters of the parliament, when the king is not there, Phelippot le Convers and another, who shall each receive 2 s. for wages, including every thing; and they shall be forbidden, on their oaths, to take any thing from prelates or others, and that they permit no one to enter the hall of pleas, without the consent of the master..

‘ Item, the master of the revels to have 6 d. for wages, one feed of oats for his horse, and one servant on wages, and 60 s. for his clothing annually.

‘ Item, a wax-heater, 3 d. for wages, &c.

‘ One messenger on horseback, &c.

‘ Three foot-messengers, &c.

‘ The ferrymen at Paris, &c.

‘ One mason, &c. one carpenter, the fruiterer, &c. the bird-catcher, &c. the wolf-catchers, &c. the six falconers, six huntsmen, three under huntsmen, one dog-boy, two archers, six brach dogs, twelve hounds for the chase, which shall have an allowance of 12 d. daily.

KNIGHTS OF THE HOUSEHOLD.

‘ Those sworn of the council, the maitre d’hôtel of the king and the like officer of the queen, shall receive 4 s. per day, as before mentioned, the delivery of candles, and two quarts of wine at bed-time. The other knights to have the usual allowance.

‘ Item, the maitre d’hôtel, my lord Hugh de Villers, and the queen’s maitre d’hôtel, the lord John du Châtellet, will each be allowed only one squire, who may eat at court; but they are not to have apartments there.

‘ Item, it is also ordered, that no more than twenty varlets be at court at one time, such as may be agreeable to the king. All the others will receive their dresses at Easter and All-saints, provided they attend the feasts, but not otherwise.

‘ Item, no one to have apartments at court but the keeper of the seal, the grand master of the household, the treasurers, the chaplain and almoners.

‘ Item, the king’s confessor to have three horses for himself and companion, but no more; one servant fed at court, who will wait on them; and their horses will be kept in the stables under the care of their servant. The companion will attend to any other friars that may come, and they will eat in the hall.

‘ Item, Gentian will purchase all the cloth and furs necessary for the king and queen, &c.

‘ Item, the king’s taylor, &c.

‘ Item, all the women attached to the king’s household to have apartments; that is to say, the quilter, or she who may occupy her place, the mantua-maker, mistress Baudran, and all others who have certain offices.’

(CXXIV) *They put on the cross.* See Geoffroy de Beaulieu, chap. 38. Nangis, and our historians. The letter which pope Clement IV. wrote him on the subject of this crusade, and which he sent before his departure, deserves insertion here, as it has never been published.

‘ Clemens servus servorum Dei, charissimo in Christo filio Ludovico regi Francorum illustri, Sal. et Apost. benedictionem. In spiritu pietatis mentem tuam ad Christum, fili carissime, conscendisse percipimus, nam dum in terris corpore militas, cœlestem militiam ad quam suspiras, animo contemplaris. Hic profecto labores amplecteris, ut ibi quietis perpetuitate læteris. Hic etiam indefessum et pervigilem exhibes, ut ibi percepto gloriæ præmio, veluti magnificus triumphator exultes. Tu quidem olim terræ sanctæ pressuras oculo clementis propitiationis advertens illam crucis assumpto signaculo personaliter visitasti, et inibi tam in te quam in tuis gravissima personarum et rerum dispendia pertulisti. Nunc autem illam solito durius affligi conspiciens, quam manus Agarenorum impia usque intrinsecus ad intima lacerat et enervat, motus erga ipsam internæ compassionis affectu, et ad vindicandam redemptoris injuriam, tanquam Princeps victoriosus exurgens, ut misereatur illius regionis oppressæ, cui miserandi tempus advenisse speratur, hujusmodi crucis signaculum cum tribus liberis tuis, et copiosa tuorum fidelium, tam baronum quam militum,

et aliorum multitudine refumpſiſti. Ut igitur votum tuum eo efficacius proſequi valeas, quo magis fueris apoſtolico favore munitus, poſtulationibus tuis favorabiliter annuentes, regnum Franciæ, comitatus, et cætera loca tibi ſubjecta, nec non terras illorum qui tecum in ſubſidium prædictum acceſſerint, quamdiu in proſecutione hujusmodi negotii fueritis, ſub B. Petri et noſtra protectione ſuſcipimus, et præſentis ſcripti patrocinio communimus. Inhibentes diſtrictius, ne quis te aut alios prædictos contra hujusmodi protectionis noſtræ tenorem in eiſdem regno, comitatibus, locis, et terris, turbare, moleſtare, aut tibi, vel illis violentiam inferre præſumat, et in omnes qui contra hanc noſtram inhibitionem facere vel venire tentaverint, excommunicationis ſententiam promulgamus, abſolutionem eorum qui ſententiam eamdem incurrerint ſoli Romano Pontifici, et Legato ejusdem in regno Franciæ refervantes. Nulli igitur, &c.

‘ Datum Viterbi xiii. Kal. Jun. Pontif. noſtri anno tertio.’

(cxxv) *Which inſtructions.* Claude Menard has inſerted them at length in his obſervations; and they are to be found in ſeveral MSS. in the chamber of accounts in Paris. In one of them is as follows :

‘ The original of theſe inſtructions, written in a large, though not a very good hand, was found by me, Gerard de Montagu, ſecretary to the king, and keeper of the king’s charters, &c. and which I gave to the king in his tower in the foreſt of Vincennes in the year 1374. The king gave it to the duke of Bourbon, brother to the queen, who was deſcended from king ſaint Louis; and the king ordered me to preſerve as many more as I ſhould find in his treaſury. He gave to the duke of Bourbon the original of the following inſtructions, which were alſo found among the old records.’

(cxxvi) *To joke.* In Henry of Knighton: ‘ In tantum erat affabilis domino regi, quod burdando petebat a rege nundinas ſibi concedi pro leporariis et canibus emendis.’ Hence is derived the word *bourdeurs*, who were drolls or jeſters that amused princes by reciting tales or ſtories from romances.

In the MS. statutes of the order of the Crown of Thorns, ch. 22. ‘At this holy dinner no jester or droll will be permitted to interrupt it; but at the collation of the king, and in the presence of the knights, they may recite, accompanied with low-toned instruments, some ditties to the praise of God.’

This word has likewise been derived from *behourds*, which was a sort of tournament or tilt, performed solely for amusement. But Joseph Scaliger, in his notes on Aufonius, thinks it comes from *burra*, from what the poet says in the following verses:

‘At nos illepidum rudem libellum,
Burras, quifquillasque, ineptiasque
Credemus gremio cui fovendum.’

Scaliger, writing on this subject, says, that Aufonius has made use of this expression, which had lately been imported from Guyenne, where, at this day, jokes are called *bourres*.

(cxxxvii) *To mock*. Guillelmus Brito in Vocabul. ‘Nuga dicitur trufa, unde nugor, aris, nugas facere.’ The romance of the chevalier au Barifel,

‘Mais que gi vois pour aus trufer.’

Trufari in Cæsar Heisterbach, l. 5. c. 29. and in the life of the B. Angela de Fulginio, c. 23. apud Boland. Willelm. Thorn. p. 2064, &c. Guill. Guiart.

‘Et ne cuit pas emplir mes pages
De trufes, ne de fanfeluës,
Dont les histoires font veluës.’

(cxxxviii) *The count d’Alençon*. Pierre count d’Alençon, who died at Salerno, in Italy, in 1283. M. d’Herouval, auditor of accounts at Paris, possessed a copy of the will of this prince, dated in the month of June 1282, by which, after an infinite number of pious legacies to the churches and hospitals in France, he wills that his body be buried in the church of the friars mineurs at Paris, and his heart in that of the preaching friars. He appoints for his executors his brother king Philip, master Peter de Châlons,

dean of St Martins at Tours, the keeper of the king's signet, or whoever may be the keeper at the time of his death, master Hemery, archdeacon of Monfort in the church of Mans, father Simon Duval of the order of preaching friars, master Guillaume de Châtelairaut, prior of St Radegonde of Poitiers, his chaplain, master Estienne de Malle his chaplain alto, an canon of Laon, father Laurence, confessor to the king of France, father John de Samois, of the order of friars mineurs, and Oudart de Val, his chamberlain.

(cxxxix) *Gave up the ghost.* On the morrow of the feast of Saint Bartholomew, 25th day of August, at the hour of noon, in the year 1270.

See Giov. Villani, l. 7. ch. 37. 39. Nangis, &c.

Pachymeres, in the 5th book of his history, writes, that Michael Paleologus, emperor of Constantinople, sent ambassadors to the king Saint Louis to endeavour to prevail on him to interest himself in procuring a peace with his brother the king of Sicily; and that when the ambassadors followed him to Tunis, on their arrival they found the king at the last extremity, and his troops in the utmost disorder. The king dying while they were there, they returned without having effected any thing.

(cxxx) *A pitiful fight.* We cannot better express all the excellent qualities of this holy king, than in the words of Thomas de Cantimpré, who lived in his time, in the 2d book, 57th chapter and note 63.

‘ Testor Deum, testor Sanctos, testor et fideles omnes, quod nunquam aliquis regum, nunquam aliquis principum tam necessario, quantum ad salutem et pacem fidelium, protexit ecclesiam, dotavit muneribus, et veris honoribus exaltavit.’

In particular, pope Alexander IV. shews very clearly, in the letter he wrote to him in the year 1258, what were then the sentiments of the church and persons of honour respecting the virtues and excellent qualities of this great monarch. As I believe it has never appeared in print, I think it very important that the public should have laid before it new matter of praise to this great saint in the words of a sovereign pontiff.

‘ Alexander fervus fervorem Dei, regi Francorum, &c. Sic ille Lucifer matutinus, qui nescit occasum, et qui humano generi ferenus illuxit, in tui claustra pectoris luminis sui gratiam, quod referimus gaudentes, infundit. Quod enim ex inde obscuritatis depulsa caligine tuum ferenavit animum claritate virtutum, tuamque mentem luce justitiæ ac rectitudinis fulgore illustravit, hinc procedit, fili carissime, quod juxta tui status magnitudinem studuisti semper, et studes opera exercere magnifica, teque lucidis et placidis actibus gratum reddere apud Deum, qui te apud homines opibus et honoribus magnificentius sublimavit. Hinc procedit quod ex istis in augmentatione ac defensione cultus fidei orthodoxæ sollicitus, in conservatione libertatis ecclesiasticæ strenuus, in ecclesiarum aliorumque piorum locorum constructione benevolus et benignus, in eorum dotatione ac dotatione largifluus, in gratiis ac beneficiis erga personas ecclesiasticas, regulares et seculares, et in eleemosynarum erga pauperes largitione valde munificus, et in devotione ad nos, et ecclesiam stabilis et accensus. Hinc etiam provenit quod conscientiae puritatem et bonitatem per quam altissimo placeas, totis votis amplecteris, et in ea delitiosum extimans et suave intendere ac vacare virtutibus firmatis ad condignum et honestam affectibus maxime delectaris, ut odore grato de tuis processibus ad dominum ascendente merearis sua potenti dextera ab omni nocumento corporis, et animæ præservari. Digne igitur super his ei gratias deferentes, supplici apud eum deprecatione insistimus, ut tuum in his animum regat et firmat, ac perficiendi ad melius tibi gratiam largiatur. Ex parte fane tua fuit a nobis petatum, ut cum tu quædam bona quæ ad te diversis modis pervenisse noscuntur, personis quarum restituere tenearis, et scias te teneri ad restitutionem bonorum hujusmodi faciendam, ac personæ quibus eorum restitutio fieri debeat, scire et invenire non possint, quanquam super his per viros discretos et idoneos feceris diligenter inquire, providere in hac parte tibi apostolica sollicitudine curaremus. Nos igitur qui salutem in te utriusque hominis totis desideriis affectamus, volentes super hoc conscientie tuæ ad removendum ex inde omne scrupulum remedio consulere opportuno, tuis precibus grato concurrentes assensu, excellentiæ tuæ auctoritate præsentium indulgemus, ut liceat tibi hujusmodi bona pauperibus in

eleemosynam erogare; ac de his quæ taliter erogaveris, liberationem et absolutionem plenarium consequaris. Verum tamen scire te volumus quod si personas, &c. Nulli igitur, &c. Si quis, &c. Dat. Viterbii 3 Id. April. Pontif. nostri anno quarto.'

(cxxxix) *His body was carried.* His entrails were brought to Monte Reale, which is an abbey of the order of St Benedict near to Salerno in the kingdom of Naples, where they were deposited in a marble tomb, with this inscription :

' Hic condita sunt viscera sancti Ludovici regis Francorum.'

The author of *La Mer des Histoires* says the same thing; but Guillaume Guiart says, they were first carried to Palermo in Sicily, confounding, perhaps, Salerno with Palermo :

' Les entrailles de lui ostées
Furent à Palerme apportées,
Où par eles puisque là vindrent,
Plusieurs beaux miracles avindrent;
En un escrin fort et ferré
Refurent ses os enferrez
Desquies a or grant partie,
A Saint Denys en l'abbaye.'

(cxxxix) *Many celebrated miracles.* Guill. de Nangis, Guillaume de Chartres, of the order of preaching friars, 'de vita et mirac. S. Ludovici,' and Louis Lasseré, recount several of them. There is also a collection of many facts that happened in the church of the Jacobins of Evreux inserted in the 5th volume of the historians of France, page 447.

(cxxxix) *Archbishop of Rouen.* The archbishop of Rouen, the bishop of Auxerre, and Rolando de Palma, bishop of Spoleto, were commissioned by the pope to make inquiry into the miracles of St Louis; and they employed twelve years in their researches. When they made their report, pope Martin IV. appointed three cardinals to examine it; but he dying

shortly after, the cardinals delivered it to pope Honorius IV. and as the matter was on the point of being decided, this pope died also; so that the canonization was reserved for pope Boniface VIII. who placed him in the number of saints the 11th day of August, in the 3d year of his pontificate, and in the year of our Lord 1297.

This we learn from a sermon which the pope preached at Orvieto on his canonization of St Louis, and from his bull for that ceremony. It follows, therefore, that the archbishop of Rouen and two other bishops received their commission of inquiry about the year 1273; in which year Gregory X. was pope, Odo Rigaud archbishop of Rouen, and Erard bishop of Auxerre.

After this canonization, Robert count of Clermont, son to this holy king, began to stile himself ‘Robertus, filius sanctissimi confessoris regis Ludovici, comes Clarimontis,’ as we see in a charter of the month of January 1300, which is preserved in the cartulary of Saint Genevieve at Paris.

It is worth remarking, that our kings were accustomed to fast on the eve of the feast of St Louis, as we learn from an account of the expenses of the household of the duke of Normandy and Guyenne in the year 1349, as follows: ‘My lord the duke gave in alms to several poor, on the eve of St Louis’s day, a golden crown, because he did not fast.’

See the chronicle of Rouen in the year 1282, to. 1. Bibl. Labbie, and Odoricus Raynaldus, in his ecclesiastical annals, in the year 1278, n. 38. in the year 1281, n. 19. in the year 1297, n. 18. Wadding. Bzovius, &c

(cxxxiv) *To raise his holy body.* The body of St Louis was taken from its tomb in the church of St Denis, and transferred to the holy chapel in Paris in the year 1298, pope Boniface having granted indulgences to all who should assist at this elevation by his bull, given at Rome the first day of June, in the fourth year of his pontificate.

This translation was performed on the morrow of the feast of Saint Bartholomew, not in the year 1299, as Walsingham writes, but in the preceding year. A manuscript chronicle, which ends at the year 1322, has these words: ‘In this year, king Philip had the fair body of Saint Louis, formerly king of France, brought from the church of St Denis with great

solemnity, and attended by multitudes of people, on the morrow of Saint Bartholomew, which was just eighteen years after he had departed this life.'

Guillaume Guiart likewise remarks, that this translation was attended by all the prelates and grandees of the realm.

“ L'an. M. fans laisser rien ne vuit
 CCIIII^{xx}. XVIII.
 Fu le cors S. Louys levés
 Présens, entendre le devez,
 Le roi qui poi s'en fist requerre,
 Et les prelates de par sa terre
 La baronie nul n'en doute,
 I refu aussi come toute,
 Sus personnes brunes et fores,
 Fist Diex mains biaux miracles lores
 Par cel Saint, et pour ses desertes
 Bien monstra qu'il l'amoit à certes."

Stephen, archbishop of Sens, performed the service on the day of this translation, in the church of St Denis, in the presence of the prelates. The expenses of this ceremony were very great, as may be collected from a journal of the king's treasury, beginning the first of January 1297, to the last day of December 1301, which is in the chamber of accounts at Paris. It informs us that there were public festivals attended with great pomp; that Raoul de Beaumont, director of the kitchen, spent 100 livres parisis; Robert de Meudon, pantler, 1500 l. for table-cloths; Alain Breton, horse-fergeant to the Châtelet, 10 livres for setting to music the history of Saint Louis; master Guillaume, the silversmith, 300 l. for the workmanship of the shrine or bier; Guillaume de Flavacourt, knight, 60 l. for the expenses of divers works that were made for this festival; the king's fruiterers 2000 l. tournois for lights; Raoul de Beaumont, king's cook, 1500 l. parisis for plate; Geoffry Coquatrix different sums, as for wine delivered, and other things. In short there were given to the proprietors of houses and stalls, which were pulled down at Saint Denis for this feast, 255 l. 13 s. 6 deniers parisis.

The king commanded several persons to write the life of this holy king, namely, monsieur Geoffroy, chaplain to the lord James de St Paul, whose history is in print, and master Peter de la Croix of Amiens. Geoffroy received 30 l. and Peter de la Croix 10 l.

There is likewise mention made, under the date of the 16th March 1299, of Arthur of Florence, notary-public, to whom was given the sum of 200 l. tournois.

‘ Pro expensis scripturarum in examinatione pro canonizatione B. Ludovici regis in curia Romana, et apud sanctum Dyonisium in Francia.’ See the annals of Odoric. Raynaldus an. 1305, n. 14. and in the year 1317, n. 18.

(cxxxv) *Friar John de Seymours*. The Poitiers-edition has *Semoins*; but I believe it must be read ‘ Friar John de Samois, of the order of freres-mineurs,’ who is named among the executors of Peter of France, count d’Alençon, as has been before mentioned.

(cxxxvi) *Carried the body*. His head was afterwards separated and carried to the holy chapel in Paris. Guillaume Guiart, as well as Louis Lafféré, says, that this translation took place in the year 1306.

‘ L’an mil et trois cens et six ans,
Ot à Paris joie nouvele,
Car li rois mit en sa chapele
Que S. Loys fist tele faire,
Qu’a tout le monde devoit plaire
Le chief de lui si richement,
Et si très-honorablement,
Que par raison de la bel euvre,
Que li dous saintuaire queuvre,
Le vessel où l’en l’a mis present
Toutes personnes qui l’avisent.’

The MS. chronicle, before quoted, which ends with the year 1322, says: this translation took place the preceding year. ‘ In this year, the head and

one of the ribs of St Louis were brought to Paris, without the chin and gums, by king Philip, attended by numbers of prelates and barons, with the permission of the sovereign pontiff. The rib was placed in the church of Nôtre Dame, in Paris, and the head in the king's chapel, on the Tuesday preceding Japhe.'

The day of this translation is more clearly pointed out by an ancient poet, quoted by A. du Chefne in his history of the house of Dreux, book the second, chapter third, who, after saying that Guillaume l'Archevesque, lord of Partenay, died on the Tuesday of Whitsuntide, which fell on the 15th May, in the year 1407, adds these verses :

' Le jour de son trepassement
Fut icelui jour proprement,
Que le chief du glorieux Rois
Saint Loys, prince des François,
Que l'on dit Saint en Paradis,
Se fu translaté à Paris.
Je ne dis pas aquau propre jour,
Que mourut le noble seignour,
Fut faite sa translation
En l'an et incarnation,
Du chef de ce glorieux corps
(Car il estoit jà pièçà mors),
Mais à celle propre journée,
Que cele feste est honnorée,
Par chascun an en fainte eglise,
Au mois de Mai, si com j'avise.'

A confirmation of the antiquity of this festival is to be seen in an account of the king's treasury from the term of St John the Baptist, in the year 1306, in these words :

' Fratres Sancti Augustini pro pitancia in vigilia et festo translationis capitis benedicti Ludovici anno præsentis qui fuerunt, et in celebratione officii, in vesperis, et in missa 27 d. pro quolibet, 16 lib. 17. fol. 6 den. per 28 Junii.'

Among the chattels which had personally belonged to St Louis, and which our kings most carefully preserved as relics, were his missal and his cup of gold, out of which, from respect to him, no one afterward drank.

In the account of the disbursements of the queen's household from the 25th December 1329, to the 8th of April 1330, is the following :

‘Expenses of the chapels. To the almoner, for having bound and cased the missal that had belonged to our lord St Louis, 20 l.’

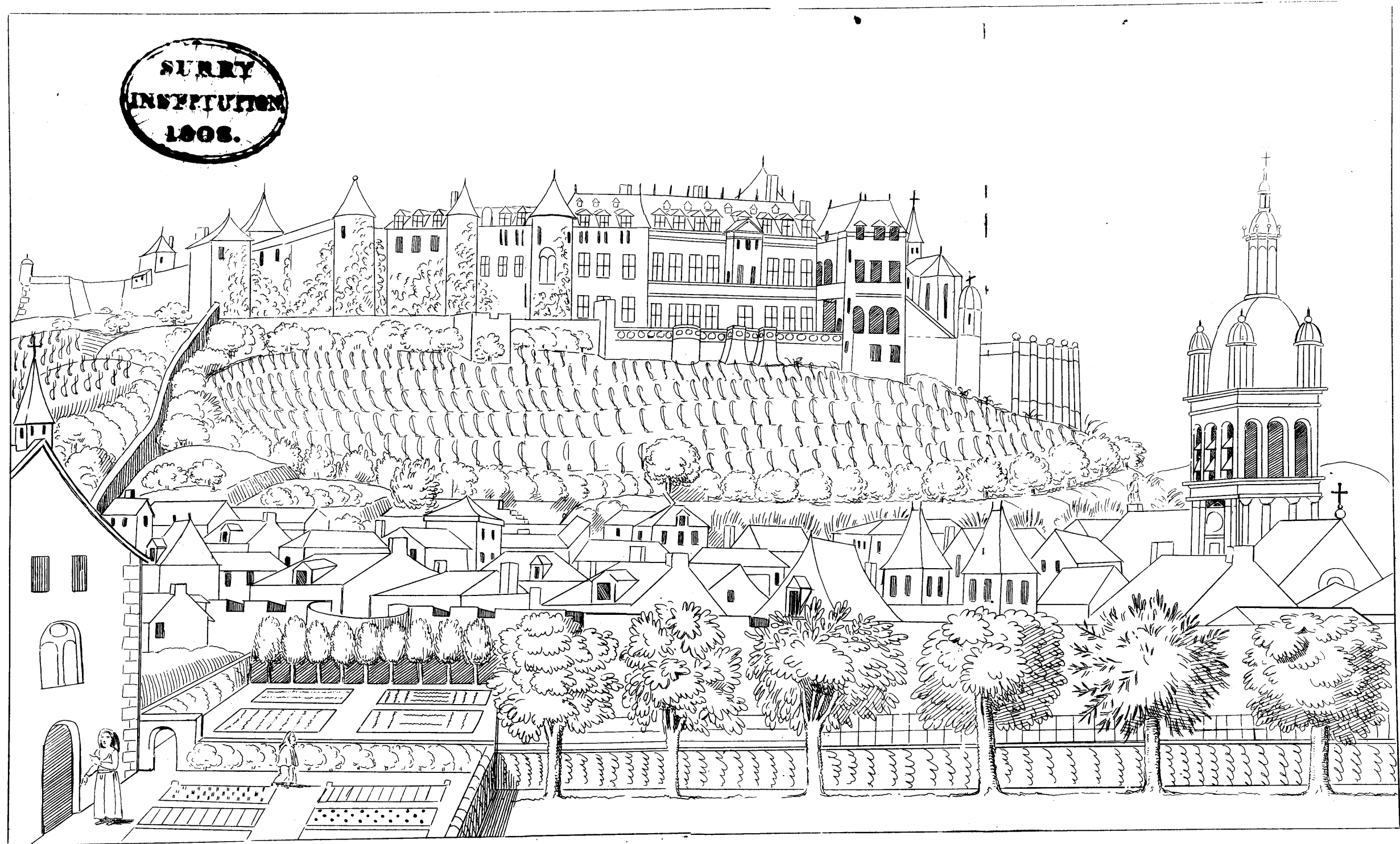
In the inventory of the furniture of king Louis Hutin, which is in a roll in the chamber of accounts. ‘This is the inventory of the butlery, &c. Item, the golden cup of St Louis, out of which no one drinks.’

It is to be remarked, that from the time this great monarch was enrolled among the faints, our kings, his successors, have chosen him for the protector of their sacred persons, and their kingdom. This is the title which Charles VIII. gives him, in letters of mortmain issued at Pont de Cé in the month of April 1487, the original of which was communicated to me by M. d'Herouval. ‘By and at the request and prayer of his uncle and cousin, the duke of Bourbonnois and Auvergne, constable of France, explaining, that in the year 1450, being then lieutenant-general of the county and duchy of Normandy, for king Charles VII. he had an engagement with the English, the ancient enemies of the crown of France, in a field near to the village of Formigny, in the diocese of Bayeux, in which engagement God gave him the victory, so that the English were defeated, which occasioned the reduction of the whole duchy and county of Normandy to the obedience of the said king. For this victory the duke, willing to render his thanks to God, vowed to erect and dedicate, in the aforeaid field where the victory was won, a chapel to the honour of *my lord St Louis, our ancient progenitor and protector of the crown of France,*’ (it is the king who speaks) ‘and to establish two chaplains as vicars, to celebrate a mass daily, and perform such other services as may be thought adviseable for the salvation of the souls of those nobles and others who perished in that combat. For the purpose of this foundation he had bought of Robert de Mannéville, esquire, lord de la Vigne, the lands and lordship of Colombiers, in the county

and viscounty of Bayeux, held from his majesty at 20 l. yearly, as a fief noble, the whole valued at the sum of one hundred livres annual rent, together with a piece of land, containing about three roods, to build and erect the said chapel, which fiefs and land the king, by these letters, grants in mortmain,' &c.

END OF THE FIRST VOLUME.

AT THE HAFOD PRESS, }
BY JA. HENDERSON. }



A View of the Town Castle of Joinville.

MEMOIRS

OF

JOHN LORD DE JOINVILLE,

GRAND SENESCHAL OF CHAMPAGNE, &c.



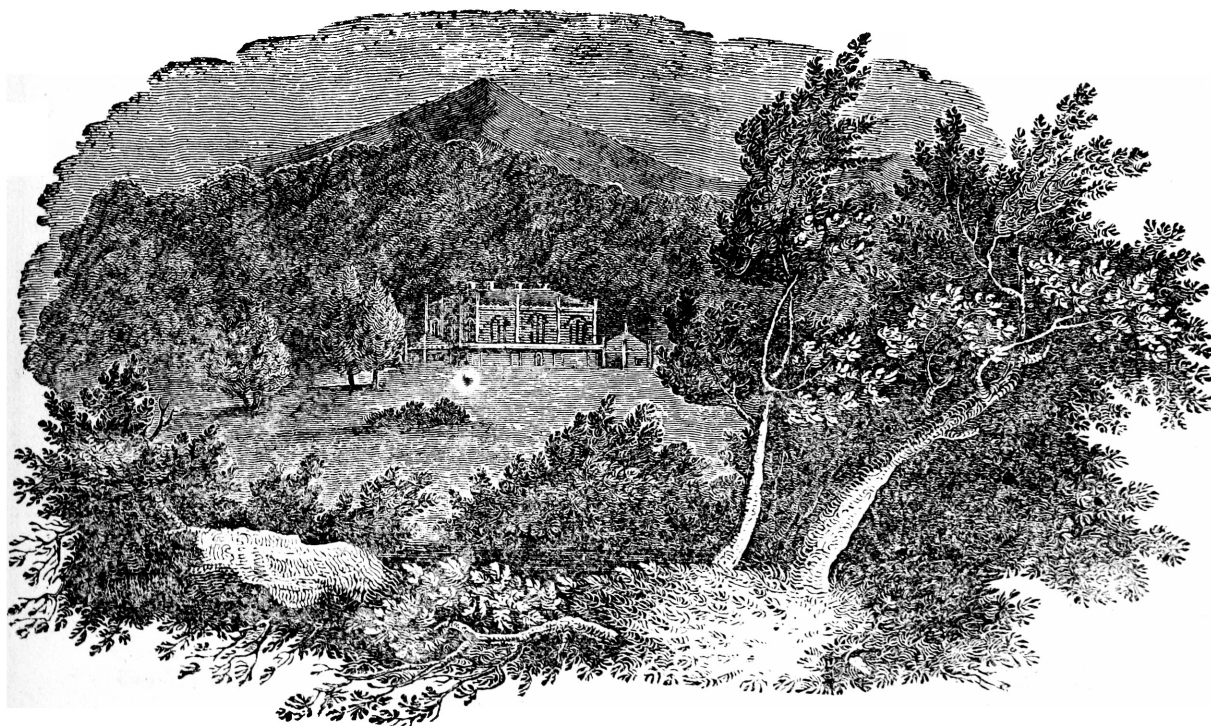
MEMOIRS
OF
JOHN LORD DE JOINVILLE,
GRAND SENESCHAL OF CHAMPAGNE,
WRITTEN BY HIMSELF;
CONTAINING
A HISTORY OF PART OF THE LIFE OF LOUIS IX.
KING OF FRANCE, SURNAMED SAINT LOUIS,
INCLUDING AN ACCOUNT OF THAT KING'S EXPEDITION TO EGYPT IN THE YEAR MCCXLVIII.

To which are added,—the
NOTES & DISSERTATIONS OF M. DU CANGE ON THE ABOVE; TOGETHER WITH
THE DISSERTATIONS OF M. LE BARON DE LA BASTIE ON THE LIFE OF ST LOUIS,
M. L'EVEQUE DE LA RAVALIERE AND M. FALCONET
ON THE ASSASSINS OF SYRIA;

From the 'Memoires de l'Académie de Belles Lettres et Inscriptions de France.'

THE WHOLE TRANSLATED
BY THOMAS JOHNES, ESQ.

VOL. II.



At the balod press,
BY JAMES HENDERSON,

MDCCCVII.

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DISSERTATIONS

OR

REFLECTIONS

ON

THE HISTORY OF SAINT LOUIS.

ON COATS OF ARMS, AND INCIDENTALLY ON THE ORIGIN OF COLOURS
AND METALS USED IN BLAZONRY.

DISSERTATION I.

THE cotte d'armes was the most usual dress of the ancient Gauls : it was called by them 'Sagum *,' whence comes the french word 'Saye,' or 'Sayon.' Its shape was like the tunics of our deacons, and some of our authors even call it by that name. It did not commonly reach below the knees, as Martial has remarked,

'Dimidiaſque nates Gallica palla tegit.' †

* Bayff. de Re veſt.

† L. 1. Epigr. 97.

They wore this dress in time of war over the cuirass, as our french knights wear their coats of arms, which have retained this name because they were also worn over the armour. The ancient Greeks wore a similar dress over the cuirass, called for this reason, in Plutarch *, *ἐπιθωρακιδιον* and *περιθωρακιδιον*. From him we learn that the chief use of it was to distinguish the persons of each party.

These coats of arms are mentioned by some greek writers of the middle age, who call them, by a barbarous greek word, sometimes *ἐπιθωρακιον*, at other times *ἐπανοκλιζανον* †, from being worn over the cuirass. Tretzes represents them as being slit down in like manner to the coats of arms ‡.

The French at first used a dress, or mantle, that was peculiar to them : it was worn on the shoulders, and fell to the ground before and behind, but at the sides scarcely touched the knees, which is the shape of the royal mantle worn by our kings on the day of their coronation ; but when they came into Gaul they quitted this dress, and adopted the coat of arms, or *sayon* of the Gauls, from its being better adapted to their warlike profession, and less embarrassing in battle. ‘ Quia bellicis rebus aptior videretur ille habitus,’ are the words of the monk of St Gal §. However, as novelty pleases, and as the French naturally love change, they sometimes wore their coats of arms of a greater length, and it came half-way down the leg, and even at times to the heels. It is thus that Nicetas represents the coat of arms of the prince of Antioch (a french lord) at the time of the tournament held at Antioch, in honour of the arrival of the emperor Manuel Comnenes. ‘ He was mounted,’ says he, ‘ on a beautiful horse, whiter than snow, clothed in a coat of arms, open on both sides, and which fell to his heels :’ *ἀμπισχομενος χιτωνὰ διασχιστον ποδηνεκη* ||. Froissart describes sir John Chandos ¶ as ‘ dressed in a long robe which fell to the ground, blazoned with his arms on white farsenet, argent a pile gules, one on his breast, and another on his back.’

* Plut. in Artax.

† Tretz. ad Hesiod. opera.

‡ Nicet. in Man. l. 3.

† Rigalt. et Meurs. in Gloss.

§ Monach. Sangal. l. 1. ch. 36.

¶ Froissart, vol. 2. ch. 9. 4to.

The chronicle of Flanders speaks of the emperor Henry de Luxembourg as follows: 'He was mounted on a great war-horse, clothed in a tunic of cloth of gold, having the black eagle embroidered thereon: the sleeves of the tunic were tied near to his wrists, and hung half way down his leg *.'

This long shape of the coat of arms is often seen on old seals. Saint Bernard thus notices those of the knights templars: 'Operitis equos sericis, et pendulos nescio quos panniculos loricis superinduitis, depingitis hastas, clypeos, et fellas †,' &c.

Because this sort of dress was almost the only one in which the lords, knights and barons, could display their magnificence, and because it covered all their other clothing and armour, they had it usually made of cloths of gold or silver, of rich skins, furs of ermine, fables, minever, and others of the like sort. It is therefore such coats of arms we must understand Albert, canon of Aix-la-Chapelle, to mean, when he thus describes the dresses of Godfrey of Bouillon and the other French barons, when they presented themselves before the emperor Alexis Comnenes, 'In splendore et ornatu pretiosarum vestium, tam ex ostro, quam aurifrigio, et in niveo opere Harmellino, et ex Mardrino, Grifioque et Vario, quibus Gallorum principes præcipue utuntur ‡.' And when he afterwards relates a defeat of the French, he says the infidels made an immense booty, and carried away 'Molles vestes, pelliceos Varios, Grifios, Harmellinos, Mardrinos, ostrâ innumerabilia auro texta miri decoris, operis, et coloris §.'

In time the abuse of these dresses of cloths of gold and silver and furs came to such an excess, especially during a war, or in preparing for an expedition to the holy land, that their use was forbidden, as a superfluous and foolish expense. In the croisade undertaken in the year 1190, by Richard, king of England, and Philip Augustus king of France, among the regulations that were made for the establishment of order in the army, it was resolved, that in future they were to abstain from wearing scarlet, or

* Chr. de Fl. ch. 51.

† S. Bernard. in exhort. ad Milit. Templi, c. 2.

‡ Albert. Aq. l. 2. c. 16.

§ Ibid. l. 5. c. 20.

the skins of vair, ermines or gris, the cost of which was enormous, and more vain than useful *. ‘Statutum est etiam quod nullus Vario, vel Grifio, vel Sabellinis, vel Escarletis utatur.’

It seems that this regulation was observed in the reign of St Louis, who, in his expeditions to the holy land, abstained from wearing scarlet, vair, or ermine: ‘ab illo enim tempore unquam indutus est scarleto, vel panno viridi, feu bruneto, nec pellibus variis, sed veste nigri coloris, vel camelini, feu Perfei.’ The lord de Joinville, in the foregoing history, gives a similar testimony of the king’s simplicity in his dress. He also assures us, that during the whole time he was attending the king on his croisade, he never once saw an embroidered coat of arms.

This abuse still continued to increase to such a degree, that there were but few who did not injure their fortunes by dressing themselves in the most expensive furs; so that in two parliaments holden at London in the years 1334 and 1363 †, all persons who could not expend one hundred pounds a-year were forbidden to wear furs. It was this subject which caused two german writers to complain of a similar rage in their time: ‘Ad Marturinam vestem anhelamus quasi ad summam beatitudinem.’ ‡

It was particularly in times of war that the great lords took the opportunity of displaying their magnificence in the splendour of their dresses, and in their coats of arms. Guillaume de Guigneulle, monk of Chaillis, sings,

‘Ou font banniers desployées,
Ou font hyaumes et bachinets,
Tymbres, et vestus veluës,
A or batu et à argent.
Et à autre convitoient.’ §

I do not, however, believe, that the wearing of rich furs began with the croisades, it being too well known that the French wore them from the

* Guill. Neubr. l. 3. c. 22. Guil de Nangis, p. 346. Gauffr. de Bellolèco, c. 8.

† Walsingham, 3d edit.

‡ Helmod. l. 1. c. 1. Adam Brem. c. 227.

§ Guill. de Guign. in his MS. romance, du Pelerinage de l’Humaine Lignée.

commencement of the monarchy. Eguinard writes, that Charlemagne was usually dressed in the french fashion: ‘Vestitu patrio, hoc est Francico utibatur,’ and that during the winter, ‘ex pellibus lutrinis thorace confecto humeros ac pectus tegebat.’* Hence we learn, that the French, like other northern nations made use of furs in their dress. Rutilius Numatiatus †, Clodian ‡ and Sidonius § describe the Goths and their kings as covered with furs, calling them ‘pelliti reges.’ Sidonius also says the same thing of the Burgundians ||. Odo de Cluniac writes, that Gerald count d’Aurillac ‘vestimentis pelliceis super vestibus utebatur, quia genus istud indumenti solent clerici vicissim et laici in usum habere.’ ¶

To this custom we must refer a passage of Ives bishop of Chartres, when he writes, that Stephen being desirous of keeping his bishoprick of Beauvais had brought over the majority of the canons to his party, by a present he had made to each of a rich suit of fur: ‘Quos sibi pelliculis peregrinorum murium, atque aliis hujusmodi vanitatum aucupius inescaverat.’**

Roger Hoveden says, the bishop of Lincoln was bound by his tenure to present to the king, as an acknowledgement, a mantle of fables ††.

Several learned men believe, and on sufficient grounds, that the heralds have borrowed from these coats of arms, the metals, colours and furs which form part of the art of blazonry. The learned Mark Welfer was one of the first who advanced this opinion, in the following words: ‘Atque ego compertum habeo pleraque insignia, quorum meri colores, ex militari primo habitu manasse: seu (quod hactenus eodem recidit) in militum sagamigraffe ex clypeis.’ ‡‡

Sir Henry Spelman has also touched upon it, in his *Aspilogia*, when he writes, that these rich skins have given to gentlemen the idea of borrowing their colours, to put on their shields and in their arms: ‘Sæpenumero

* Eguin in Car. M.

‡ Itin. Claud. in Ruf.

|| Sidon. l. 5. ep. 7.

** Ivo Carn. ep. 104.

‡‡ Welfer, lib. 4. Rerum Aug.

† Rutil. l. 1.

§ Sidon. l. 7.

¶ Odo Clun. l. 2. c. 3. de vita S. Geraldii

†† Hoveden, an. 1195.

pelles quædam, quibus alias ad honorem et insignia induebantur proceres, colorem clypeis subministrant Armellinorum et Zebellinorum *.'

After these great men, one of our french authors has advanced the same thing, but without proving it more than the others. 'That the dresses of former times served to introduce the metals, colours, furs, and the terms and rules into heraldry, particularly for the bearings in arms, observed by heralds to this day †.' This opinion is so plausible, that I have no difficulty to affirm that, in fact, these coats of arms have been the source whence have originated the metals, colours and furs, that are now employed in heraldry. But as this may at first appear surprising, if not accompanied by authentic proofs, I intend continuing this dissertation, to prove that what are commonly called colour, in terms of heraldry, are not simply colours, as has been hitherto believed, but a skin, or fur, neither more nor less than ermine and vair, which have been called by this name. With regard to the two metals used in heraldry, it is not difficult to conceive that they have been taken from coats of arms made of cloths of gold or silver.

Among the skins, and rich furs, which are mentioned by the writers of the middle ages, are those of vair, ermine, gris, martins, fables, and others that may be collected from the old ordinances respecting the tolls of Paris, and under the title of 'Pelleterie' in the Coûtume de Normandie ‡, and in the account of Stephen de la Fontaine, master of the robes to the king, for the year 1351, which is in the chamber of accounts at Paris, and in various other writers. All these furs are generally known under the name of 'Pannes,' which is an old french word, but still used to signify furs, or the lining of mantles, made of a particular sort of filk, that has a shaggy look, to resemble the skin linings, to which they have succeeded. This word very frequently occurs in Froissart, Monstrelet, and in different authors of those times, when they make a recital of the most precious articles of household stuff. It was also employed by our poets, in the Roman de la Rose, by Guillaume Guiart, and by Martial d'Auvergne in his Arrests de l'Amour,

* Spelm. Aspilog. p. 76.

† Charles Segoing en son tresor heraldique.

‡ Coust. de Normand. ch. 602.

the Reclus de Moliens, and others. Some writers in Latin have translated it by the word 'Pannus,' and, among others, Geoffry prior of Vigemois, in his chronicle, at this passage, chapter 74: 'Barones tempore prisco munifici largitores vilibus utebantur pannis, adeo ut Eustorgius Episcopus, Vicecomes Lemovicensis, et Vicecomes Combornensis arietinis ac vulpinis pellibus aliquoties uterentur, quas post illos, mediocres deferre erubescunt.'

I shall not pretend to describe all the rich furs the great lords were dressed in, but confine my remarks to those which make part of heraldic terms, of which there are two known under the name of Pannes, such as ermine and vair, and the five others called Colours, although in fact they be pannes like the vair and ermine; which is what I propose to prove, after I shall have said a few words on the two first, which heralds have always called Pannes and Furs, perhaps on account of the skins of gris, gules, vert, sable, purple: being in their nature single, and unmixed with other colours or figures, they have, in process of time, passed for single colours, to express the shield of arms, which could not be done with ermine and vair, because they are compound colours, or at least diversified by the colour of their hair, and their names have been for this reason forced to be retained on the shields of heraldry.

The ermine is a small animal of the size and form of a large rat, and is so called by the greek and roman naturalists. Its muzzle is pointed and furred: its skin of a perfect white, except the end of the tail, which is black. Pliny * writes, that these animals, during winter, hide themselves in their holes, and when eaten have a fine flavour. Ælian says† they have a knowledge of futurity, and that when they foresee the falling of any building they retire from it. He adds, that in an island of the Euxine sea, called Heraclea, from having been dedicated to Hercules, there were numbers of those rats, which had so great a respect for his divinity, that they never touched any thing that was consecrated to him.

A herald at arms, who lived during the reigns of the emperor Frederic of Austria and of Henry king of England, notices, in a treatise which he

* Pliny, l. 8. c. 37.

† Ælian, l. 6. de Anim. c. 40, 41. Var. hist. l. 1. ch. 11.

wrote on the duties of heralds, another propensity of this animal, namely his constant attempts to appease the quarrels of other beasts; and that when he cannot succeed in it, he preierves an exact neutrality. St Jerome mentions the pleafant fmell of the fkins of thefe rats: ‘*Odoris autem fuffitus, et diverfa thymiamata amonum, cyphi, œnanthe, mufcus, et peregrini muris pellicula* *.’ Sigifmond de Herberftin tells us, in his defcription of Mufcovy †, that there are feafons when the ermines are not fo white; and as they are commonly offered the wrong fide outward, it is only from the head and tail that merchants can judge whether they have been taken in the proper feafon.

The fkin of ermines has been employed time immemorial as a fur for drefs, and has been greatly efteemed by all nations for its extreme whitenefs. Kings and princes have ufed it as one of the moft costly, and have worn it on the annual feftivals: the great barons made coats of arms of it, which they put on when they joined the armies. They were at firft fatified with joining thefe fmall fkins, by fewing them together, allowing the tails to hang down, the extremities of which being black, formed that diverfity of colours that is feen in the representations of ermine fkins.

Thefe fkins, thus arranged, are called by Ammianus, in the paffage which follows, ‘*Pelles filveftrium murium confarcinatæ* ‡.’ This has caufed heralds to blazon the ermine with a fingle name, without expreffing the black and white, the form of the animal being fuch, that his fkin is naturally diverfified by thefe two colours. In procefs of time, to render the fur more fimple, they have retrenched the tails, and fpotted the white furface with fmall bits of the tails of Lombardy lambs, which are very black, and keeping proper diftances, fo that by this intermixture of black, the natural whitenefs of the animal’s fkin was greatly heightened.

Among the nations who made the moft ufe of thefe fkins were the Armenians, who, according to the authority of Julius Pollux, had a particular drefs called by the Greeks *μυωτος*, from being made of the fkins

* S. Hieron. l. 2. contra Jovin.

† Page 44.

‡ Ammianus, l. 31.

of rats, natives of that country. Ἀρμενίων δὲ ὁ μῦθος, ἡ ἐκ μύθων τῶν παρ αὐτοῖς συνυφασμένος *. Alcuinus seems to have expressed the sense of this word, in his poem on Charlemagne, where speaking of Bertha, his daughter, he says, she had round her neck a fur tippet, that he calls ‘Murina,’ that is to say, the skin of an ermine, or rat of Pontus :

‘Lactea quippe ferunt pretiosam colla murinam †.’

It is from Armenia that these little animals have taken the name they bear to this day, for they were first called rats of Pontus, ‘Mures Pontici,’ not from being sea rats, as Colombiere states in the 43d & 46th pages of his ‘Science Heroique,’ but because these skins were brought to Europe from that island mentioned by Ælian, in the parts I have quoted, and which elsewhere he seems to have placed near the mouth of the Danube; or rather, and which is more probable, they were brought from the province of Pontus in Asia: so in later times they have been called rats of Armenia, or at least this adjective has been added to their skins, from the sale of them being carried on in that province, and likewise from their being natives of it. These skins were called by the vulgar ‘Peaux des Hermins,’ or ‘d’Hermins,’ in the old french language, which means ‘des Armeniens,’ from these people being usually clad in them, according to the authority of Pollux.

In old French, Armenia was called ‘Hermenie,’ and Armenians ‘Hermins.’ Villehardouin, speaking of Léon, first king of Armenia or Cilicia, styles him ‘Sire des Hermines;’ and the prince, in some epistles now extant among those of pope Innocent III ‡, calls himself ‘Dominus omnium Armeniorum.’ Tudebodius § uses the word ‘Herminii’ instead of ‘Armenii.’ The author of the life of Louis le Gros, ‘Venerunt in auxilium Soldani Iconiensis Turci duarum Herminiarum ||.’

* Pollux, l. 7. c. 13.

† Alcuin. to. 2. Hist. Fran. p. 192.

‡ Apud Odor. Raynal.

§ Tudebod. l. 2. pp. 783, 784, 785, &c.

|| Gesta Ludovic. vi. c. 6.

Froissart very frequently writes 'Hermenie' for Armenia, as also the author of the romance of Garin de Loherans :

' Ge te donrai mon peliçon Hermin,
Et de mon col le mantel febelin.'

And in another place,

' Sire, affis l'ont Sarazin et Perfent,
Et Rox et Hongre, et Hermin et Tirant.'

Some latin authors who have spoken of ermine skins, call them 'Hermelline,' such as Petrus Damianus *, Albertus of Aix †, but more recently Paulus Jovius and Alexander Guaguin, in their descriptions of Muscovy, make use of an italian expression, which signifies any thing coming from Armenia. In like manner as they call an apricot tree, in Latin, Malus Armeniaca, 'd'Armellino.' The Spaniards call the ermines 'Arminos,' which is nearer to the Latin 'Armenia.'

There are various examples of rich furs, worn by the nobility, having been called by the names of the countries they were brought from, or where they were sold, without specifying the name or species of animal they belonged to, which I shall more fully shew when I come to speak of fables ; and this has not been a custom of late date, but has been followed in the remotest antiquity.

These skins of ermine were formerly called 'skins of Babylon,' from having been sold in that capital of Assyria which borders on Armenia. The lawyer Martian ‡ mentions it, as does St Jerome in one of his epistles §. The greek and latin glossary says that 'Beneventanum' was a sort of skin from Babylon ||. *Βαβυλωνικη δερματος ειδος.*

The MS. history of Bertrand du Guesclin speaks of the cloth of Beneventum as follows :

' Et getta-on fur lui un drap de Bonnivent.'

A greek author, who has written an abridgement of the history of the world, says that the traffic of skins from Babylon was carried on in

* Lib. 2. ep. 2.

† Albert. Aq. l. 2.

‡ L. Interdum 16. § 7. D. de Public.

§ S. Hieros. ep. ad Lætam.

|| Gloss. Gr. Lat.

Cappadocia. Εμπορίας δὲ ταύτας βελτίστας πανθᾶχε περμεῖν αὐτὴν λεγέσι δασυπόδεισιν ἐσθῆσιν, καὶ Βαβυλωνικὸν πελλιον *. And Ælian, in his books on the nature of animals†, shews clearly that these skins were the same with those of Armenia, writing, that the skins of Babylon were skins of rats which were sold to the Persians, who prized them greatly, and made of them robes or coverlids called καννακας, mentioned likewise by Pollux‡ and Ammianus §.

The modern Greeks call ermines ποντικιν ||, without adding the species of animal; and not only ermines are thus named by them, but all sorts of rats indifferently. The ermine is a native of the northern countries as well as of the provinces of the east. Justin, in the second book of his history, says, that the Scythians, who inhabited the countries now occupied by the Tartars and Muscovites, made use of the skins of rats for clothing, being ignorant of the value of wool: ‘Lanæ ufus, ac vestium ignotus; et quamquam frigoribus continuis utantur, pellibus tamen ferinis, aut murinis vestiuntur ¶.’ I make no doubt but he was speaking of ermines, since it is well known that Muscovy and the adjoining countries abound in these animals. This is also confirmed by Ammianus Marcellinus, when mentioning the Huns, whom some writers call Scythians: ‘Indumentis operiuntur linteis, vel ex pellibus silvestrium murium confarcinatis **.’ Martin Cromer †† says, that the polish merchants carry on a great trade in them. Paulus Jovius and Alexander Guaguin say the same thing of the Laplanders, and other nations tributary to the grand duke of Muscovy. Benjamin B. Tudela in his itinerary ‡‡, and John d’Oronville, in his life of Louis III. duke of Bourbon §§, mention that great numbers of these animals are found in the forests of Prussia. Alderisius notices, in his arabian geography, that they are met with also in some forests of Africa |||.

* Alipii Antioch. Georg.

† L. 17. c. 17.

‡ Jul. Paul. l. 7. c. 13.

§ Ammian. l. 13.

|| Moscopul. περι σχεδαν.

¶ Corona pretiosa. Justin, l. 2.

** Ammian. l. 31.

†† Cromer, l. 1. Polon.

‡‡ Benjamin in itiner. extremo.

§§ D’Oronville, c. 23.

||| Geogr. Nubienf. p. 9.

The MS. chronicle of Bertrand du Guesclin speaks in several places of ermine skins that were brought from countries under the Saracens :

‘ Vestus moult noblement de fendaure et d’orfrois,
Et de beaus dras ouvers d’Hermins Sarazinois.’

I will not say more respecting the blazonry of ermine, for beside that it does not belong to my subject, it is particularly treated of by all who have written on heraldry. I shall only remark, that as ermine constituted the arms of Brittany, it was likewise the device of its dukes. Brittany, king at arms, describing the interment of the heart of Anne duchess of Brittany, says, that at the entrance of the church of the Carmelites, where it was deposited, was a large shield quartered with the arms of France and Brittany, surmounted by two crowns, and encircled with a golden cord *. ‘ On the top of the aforesaid shield was an ermine painted from the life, passant, having a fanon of ermine round its neck, on a mound vert, (which Colombiere has mistaken for water), and a label from its mouth, with *à ma vie* imprinted on it, which is the ancient war-cry of the noble county and duchy of Brittany.’ These words had not any connection with the ermine, but were the war-cry of the dukes of Brittany, although I am not ignorant they used also ‘ St Yves,’ or ‘ St Malo.’

It may have taken its rise from a count or duke of Brittany, who, finding himself in great danger in battle, had implored the assistance of his people, by crying out that they were aiming at his life : this, however, is pure conjecture.

Chifflet remarks, that Frederic of Arragon instituted the order of the ermine in the year 1497, and that the figure of this animal hung from a golden chain †. This is all I have to say respecting the ermine : I must now speak of the Vair, before I notice the colours that are used in heraldry.

All authors agree that vair was one of the richest furs with which princes were clothed : our heralds are sensible of this, and admit it in blazonry with ermine, representing it like small bells scattered over the field, some in their natural form, and others reversed, but united together.

* Cérémonial de France, p. 139. first edition.

† Chifflet in Anast. Child. c. 21.

Cesare Vecellio, describing the dress and robes of Ordelafo Faliero, doge of Venice, in the year 1085, and whose figure, in mosaic, is to be seen over the door of the treasury of St Marco, says that his robe was lined with skins of vair, which he represents like the *papelonne*. The following are the words of this author, and will shew the great value that was formerly set on these skins :

‘ Il manto Dunge era di feta frigiato d'oro, et fodrato di Vari pelli, che in quei tempi erano di grandissima stima, et di qui nasce che l'armi et l'insigne di molte famiglie nobili, fanno oltre le altre cose queste pelli, che chiamano Vari, et perciò si vede, che l'Antichi Pittori qualunque volta volevano ritrar qualche gran personaggio di autorità; lo dipingevano ordinariamente con un manto fodrato di queste pelli *.’

Most authors write, that the vair is nothing more than a fur, made up of small bits of the skins of ermine, and of a small beast called a gris, which being cut triangular-wise, in a masterlike manner, represent small bells, some upright, others reversed, the upright ones being of ermine, the others of gris, by which means, as the triangles become broader towards the bottom, the hair takes the form of a bell or wine glass, and some have from this imagined, that the word vair was derived from ‘ Verre,’ and have inferred from it, that in the blazonry of vair there was no more solidity than in that of ermine; that is to say, there is no piece charged or besprinkled. Argent is used to signify the whiteness of ermine, and azure the blue of vair, which is the colour most resembling it, however it may be at this day improperly employed, substituting azure for vair, as black spots are made to represent ermines.

Many authors suppose the name of vair has been given to this fur on account of its variety, being intermixed with different colours, in the same manner to the expressions of some latin writers: ‘ Vestis varia dicebatur, quæ

* Cesare Vecellio de gli abiti antichi et moderni del mondo, p. 42.

This quotation does not seem correct: for in my edition of Vecellio, Venice 1598, at page 42, is a representation of ‘ Venetiane nobili antichi,’ and at page 28. underneath is all that is said of ‘ Ordelafo Faliero Doge, homo prudente nel governo della Rep. il corno era simile a quello usato da alcuni imperatori Greci cerchiato di gioie, et oro, et le veste arricchite di fregi d'oro, et sotto pelle finissima.’

erat discolor, diversisque coloribus confuta *;’ for, according to Cicero †, ‘ Varietas, verbum Latinum est, idque proprie quidem in disparibus coloribus dicitur.’

The Babylonians seem to have been the first inventors of these sorts of intermixed furs. Zonaras relates, that when Sapor king of Persia, who reigned at the time of Constantine the great, shewed his son Adanarſes, then a young child, a superb tent that had been sent him from Babylon, beautifully made of the skins of animals which were natives of that country, and asked what he thought of so rich a present; he replied, that when he should be king, he would make a tent, without comparison, more exquisite, of the skins of men. The author cites this as a preface of the cruelty of this young prince, which in course of time made him lose his kingdom.

This passage shews, that the skins from Babylon were of divers colours, like marquetry work: *σκηνη ποτε τῷ πατρὶ διεκομισθῆ εκ Βαβυλωνος δερμασιν εγχωρισις ποικιλωτερον εργασμενη ‡.*

St Jerome, if we may believe some authors, in writing to Læta, speaks thus of these mixed furs of Babylon: ‘ Pro geminis et serico divinos codices amet, in quibus non auri et pellis Babylonicæ vermiculata pictura, sed ad fidem placeat emendata et erudita distinctio.’ § But I suspect this passage must mean parchment or vellum of such books as were ornamented with figures, paintings and miniatures; for, according to Pliny, ‘ Colores diversos picturæ intexere Babylon maxime celebravit et nomen imposuit.’ ||

However this may be, having before proved that the skins of which the Babylonians made robes and coverlids, were from rats; and Zonaras writing that the tent of Sapor was formed of the skins from that country; it may readily be supposed, that they were the inventors of vair, which they composed of the skins of ermine and gris, animals which are commonly natives of the same climates.

Some learned men apply to this subject a passage of Callixenes, in Athenæus ¶; but, according to my opinion, this author seems to speak of

* Ant. Thyleſius de Colorib. c. 13. Alciat. l. 2. Parerg. c. 1

† Cicer. l. 2. de finib.

‡ Zonar. to. 3. p. 11.

§ S. Hieron. ep. ad Lætam.

|| Plin. l. 8. c. 48.

¶ L. 4.

the carpets of Persia, diversified with colours and the figures of animals, called by Plutarch *δαπιδες*. *

Monet, in his 'Inventaire des deux Langues,' writes, that 'vair is a sort of squirrel, whose fur on the upper part of his body is of a dove colour, and under the belly white: his skin,' he says, 'serves for a lining to the mantles of kings, and is spotted with squares of dove colour and white, some smaller, some less, and these are called great vair and little vair.'

An author of these times †, speaking of the Muscovites, says, they are for the most part merchants, who traffic in the skins of fables and musk rats, which is, as he says, our ancient minever, whose fur kings and great lords formerly wore. In the accounts of Stephen de la Fontaine, master of the robes to the king for the years 1349, 1350, 1351, under the article of Pannes, mention is often made of the 'bellies of minever.' Du Pinat, in his translation of Pliny, seems to give the name of Rosereaux to the minevers; but, with regard to myself, I am of opinion, that the small animals of which all these authors speak, are nothing else but the Gris, which the Jew Benjamin, according to the translation of Arias Montanus, names in one word 'Veergares,' or Vairs-gris, saying that numbers of them are found in the forests of Bohemia: 'Regio omnis montosa est, silvisque frequentissima, in quibus animalia illa inveniuntur, quæ Veergares dicuntur, eademque Zibellinæ dictæ.' ‡ The translation of the emperor Constantine has, 'Veergares, alias Martes Scyticæ,' which last words seem to have been the translator's, for fables or martins are different from Gris.

Rolandin, in his chronicle of Padua §, praises the vairs of Slavonia: nevertheless, the skins of the gris have never been valued so high as those of vair. The 'Ceremonial Romain,' speaking of the copes of the cardinals, says, that 'a quarta feria Majoris hebdomadæ usque ad Sabbatum sanctum, solebant uti Cappis suis obscuris cum pellibus de Griseis, et non de Variis,' &c. ||

* Plutarch, in Agefil.

† Jean le Laboureur, in his relation of the journey of the queen of Portugal.

‡ Benjamin in itiner. p. 114. edit. Plant.

§ Roland. l. 2. c. 14.

|| L. 3. p. 323. b.

Our late heralds *, (it is thus I term the writers of our time who have treated on blazonry) speaking on the subject of vair, say, that there is a sort of vair in heraldry, called ‘ beffroy de vair;’ that is, when the vair is represented by larger lozenges, and fewer strokes in it. I wish they had quoted some writer of weight as their authority for thinking this expression erroneous. I shall with difficulty receive it. I know well, that Claude de Saint Julien, in his *Melanges Historiques* †, speaking of the family of Bauffremont, says, that it bears arms that speak for themselves, meaning ‘ Beffroyfont;’ that is to say, many Beffroys: ‘ Upon which, it is to be remarked,’ adds this writer, ‘ that those who blazon the arms of Bauffremont, vairée or and gules, are mistaken; for their real arms are sprinkled with beffroys, that is, beffroys without number.’ These terms sufficiently shew that beffroys are different from vair, which is a panne, and the other a bell, for he thus continues, ‘ The word Beffroy signified formerly a large bell, which on being struck gave great alarm; that is to say, great fright.’ I am unwilling, however, to admit this definition of beffroy, not remembering to have read any where, that the bell of the belfry was called beffroy: this name was commonly given to wooden towers that were made use of by besiegers in their approaches to any town, as I have fully proved in my observations. It is, nevertheless, true, that Dominici ‡ has used the expression to strike the belfry, meaning to say, ‘ ring the bell of the belfry;’ and Estienne Pasquier says, that the word beffroy is corrupted from ‘ d’effroy,’ and that ‘ sonner le beffroy’ of a town, is nothing more than ‘ sonner l’effroy.’ However this may be, it is very probable the vair was not distinct from the gris, inasmuch as the vair was composed of whole skins of the gris, which are naturally diversified with white and grey, these small animals having the back grey and belly white, so that being sown together, without any art, they formed a variety of two colours; but they have since been treated like the ermines, and have been speckled with small pieces of black skins, instead of tails, which had the same effect. The vair has been

* Gilbert de Varennes, La Colombiere.

† Page 355.

‡ Au Traité de Franc aleu, c. 22.

composed with the backs of the gris, and the skins of ermines, which have been introduced, as I have said, in triangles at equal distances. To express, therefore, the colours of vair, in blazonry, azure is used to signify the gris, and argent for the ermine. Thus to figure the gris which was in the coats of arms, azure was employed on the shields and bucklers, which colour was borrowed from the back of the animal, being a colour between black and white, called by the Greeks * φαῖος, which a greek grammarian thus defines : φαῖος ὁ μεσον λευκοῦ καὶ μελανοῦ, whence has been formed the word λευκοφαῖος, which is a colour between white and brown, that is to say, grey. Pliny and Martial have both used this word latinised †. There are even some who think, and with good grounds, that the colour called ‘Pseudo factinus,’ in the life of pope St Gregory the great ‡, was nothing else than grey, not being quite white, and inclining to brown : in like manner as in Marcellus Empiricus, the colour of the hair of the lion is called ‘Pseudo flavus,’ because it is not absolutely yellow : ‘Colore pseudo-flavo, quasi leonino.’ This author takes pleasure in the use of this expression ‘Pseudo-calidus, Pseudo-liquidus,’ which means half hot, and half liquid.

The second colour that enters into the composition of arms is ‘Gules.’ Those who have not felt the real signification of this word have persuaded themselves that it came from ‘Gula,’ or the gullet of animals, which commonly appearing bloody, naturally expresses red. But whatever probability this idea may have, it is certain that gules was a sort of fur tinged of a red colour. St Bernard, in his epistle to the archbishop of Sens, formally tells us so in these words : ‘Horreant et murium rubricatas pelliculas, quas Gulas vocant, manibus circumdare sacratibus § :’ meaning it to be understood, by this manner of speaking, that these furs were from rats, that is to say, rats of Pontus, or ermines artificially tinged.

Brunon, who lived sometime before St Bernard, thus mentions these sorts of furs in his history of the war of Saxony : ‘Unus ex illis cujusdam Nobilis ex curia crufinam gulis ornatam, quasi furtim præcidit ||.’ The

* Bafil. de exercit. gramm.

† Plin. l. 32. c. 10. Martial. l. 1. ep. 97.

‡ Jo. Diac. l. 4. c. 83.

§ Epist. 42.

|| To. 1. Rer. Germ. Freheri, p. 135.

word 'Crufina,' which Ditman uſes likewise in the 5th book of his hiſtory, ſignifies a fort of drefs made of furs, and is a word of the ancient Saxons. In the gloſſary of Ælfrit, 'Maſtruca, vel Maſtruga, Crufne.' In that of Somner, 'Crufene, tunica ex ferinis pellibus, Maſtruca.'

Anaſtaſius Bibliothecarius, in his eccleſiaſtical hiſtory*, ſeems, after Theophanes†, to mention theſe ſcarlet furs ποκκινα δερματια, 'pelles coccineæ,' which are, perhaps, thoſe that the emperor Conſtantine Porphyrogenetes calls δερματια αληθινα‡, and may be thoſe tanned ſkins, and dyed ſcarlet, which Roger Hoveden calls 'Cordoüan vermeil §;' and of theſe Corippus ſpeaks, when he deſcribes the ſhoe-dreſſes of the emperors of Conſtantinople ||.

* Cruraque puniceis induxit regia vinclis,
Parthica campano dederant quæ tergora fuco.*

Guillaume de la Prouille ſpeaking of the imperial buſkins ¶ :

————— 'Affumitur imperialis
Purpura, pes dexter decoratur pelle rubenti,
Qua ſolet, imperii qui curam ſuſcipit, uti.'

In ſhort, 'Le Reclus de Moliens,' in his manuſcript Pater Noſter, ſeems to ſay, in the following verſes, that the ſkins of martins were made uſe of tinged red, and were called 'Sobelines engoulées,' or enguled ſables.

* En tels euvres regnent Deables,
Au regne noſtre Creatour,
Ne gardent mie chu Seignour,
Qui tant ont dras outre raiſon,
Cote, furcot, blanchet, plichon,
Houches, mantaus, chappes fourrées,
De Sobelines engoulées.'

This may indeed allude to white martins, of which Adam de Breme** ſpeaks as natives of Norway in his hiſtory The romance of Garin applies

* Page 178.

† Theophan. p. 422.

‡ Conſtantin. de Adm. Imp. c. 6.

§ Hoveden, p. 715.

|| Corrip. l. 2. de Laud. Juſt.

¶ Guil. Apul. l. 1. Rer. Norman.

** Adam Brem. c. 239.

the same epithet to ermines, which proves that those skins were usually dyed red.

‘ Si ot vestu un Hermin engolé.’

And elsewhere,

‘ Et pardeffus un Hermin engolé.’

In the life of the abbot of St Wolphelme, dyed ram skins are mentioned, ‘ *Pelles rubricatæ arietum* *.’ Since that time, to express this sort of skin on the shields and bucklers, they have used vermilion; for in John of Salisbury, ‘ *Si autem minium, colorve alius quocumque ictu, casuve a clypeo excidit, hoc garrula lingua, si licuerit, memoriale faciet in sæculum sæculi* †.’

The third colour used in heraldry is Sable. Guill. Guiart sings in the year 1304,

‘ Es pennonciaus et és bannieres,
Dont li vent tient maintes enverfés,
Reluifent les couleurs diverses,
Comme or, azur, argent et fable.’

Those who have sought the derivation of this word in the ‘fable noir,’ of which Vetruvius ‡, Palladius §, and Thwroc ‖, in his history of Hungary have spoken, have been shamefully mistaken, for it is a certain fact that fable is a sort of fur. Philippes Mouskes, in his life of Louis VIII. confirms this, in the following verses:

‘ S’il y avoit assés encor
De rices dras battus à or,
De dras tains, et d’escarlate,
Detranciés à grans barates,
Sables, ermins, et vairs et gris,
As jovenciaus, et as vious gris.’

* Conrad. Monach. in vita Wolphelmi Abb. apud Sur. 20. April.

† Jo. de Sarisb. l. 6. Polchr. c. 2.

‡ Vitruv. l. 2. c. 4.

§ Pallad. l. 1. de Re Rust. c. 10.

‖ Thwroc. part. 2. c. 3.

A judicious author of those times has supposed, with some foundation, that the word 'Sable' has been formed from Martin 'zebelines,' which are black * : 'Sabulum vero quod est nigrum, non a sabulo deflexum, sed a muribus Ponticis nigri coloris, quod vocant Martres Sabelinas, vel Sabulinas.'

But our author has advanced this opinion on mere conjecture, without the authority of any passage in his support; and he is mistaken in confounding the rats of Pontus with martins, which is clearly shewn from all that I have before quoted. With regard to the origin of this word, I think that martins were surnamed Zebelines, or Sabelines, from Zibel, or Zibelet, a town on the sea-coast of Palestine, called by the ancients 'Biblum †,' situated between the town of Antioch and the castle of Archas, where they were sold, and whence they were brought to Europe. As the rats of Pontus were called simply ermines, because the skins of these animals were sold in Armenia, it has happened, in like manner to the martins, whose skins have been called Zebelines from the town of Zebel, and, by a short corruption, Zeble or Sable. William of Neufbourg, in book 2. chapter 22. calls them simply 'Sabellinæ,' as does Arnold de Lubeck, in this passage: 'Regina cuilibet Militi addidit pelles varias, et pelliculam Zobellinam.'

The romance of Garin has,

' Or te donrai mon peliçon Hermîn
Et de mon col le Mantel Sabelin '

Jacques Millet, in his poem on the destruction of Troy, has,

' Si est le champ fait de broudure
De fine Marte fabeline.'

This skin is called by Petrus Damianus 'Pellis Gibellinica,' at the part where he speaks of the ecclesiastic beau: 'Hic itaque nitidulus et semper ornatus incedebat, ita ut caput ejus nunquam nisi Gibellinica pellis obtegeret ‡.' He means the aumusse, with which he covered his head.

* Dadin. de Altaferra, l. 3. de Duc. et Com. Provin. c. 3.

† Saguto.

‡ Petr. Dam. l. 5. ep. 16. and l. 2. ep. 2.

It is not easy to discover the origin of the term Sinople (called vert by english heralds), which heralds use to signify the colour of green in blazonry. La Colombiere is grossly mistaken, in saying that Sinople was a sort of chalk or mineral, proper for dying green, and was found in the environs of Sinopis, a town in Asia, for the sinopis which he means is a red chalk, found in the mountains of Sinopis, as we learn from Auger. Busbecquius, in the itinerary of his journey to Constantinople and Amasia, although Dioscorides * and Eustathius † do not agree with him; for they remark, that it is not found near Sinopis, but is brought from Cappadocia, where Pliny and Strabo say it grows, and is sold there ‡. In this, however, all writers agree, that sinopis was a sort of vermilion.

It is called Ασσυριη μιλτος, by Dionysius §, and by Dioscorides μιλτος Σινωπικη. Terentianus Maurus uses indiscriminately vermilion with sinopis; for in one place he says ||, ‘Instar tituli fulgidula notabo milto;’ and in another, ‘Ex ordine fulgens cui dat locum Sinopis;’ and further on, ‘Titulus præscribet iste discolor sinopide.’

Marcellus Empiricus ¶, in like manner, uses the term sinopis with minium, or vermilion. It is true, indeed, that Vitruvius, in l. 7. c. 7. mentions a green chalk that is found in various places, and particularly at Smyrna, but this has no connection with sinopis. I must own that I have been unable to discover the reason why the name of sinople is given to furs dyed of a green colour; for I dare not assert, that it was on account of there being a market for them at a maritime town of Cappadocia, called by Albert of Aix, in two different passages, ‘Sinoplum **,’ and by Matteo Villani ‘Sinopoli ††;’ and that from the name of this town, where the Europeans carried on this traffic, they were named ‘Sinople,’ as the martins and rats of Pontus took their appellations from the places where such furs were sold.

* Dioscor. l. 6. c. 61.

† Eustath. ad Dion.

‡ Plin. l. 35. c. 6. Strabo, l. 12.

§ Dionys: εν περιηγ.

|| Terent. Maur. Eguinart. in Carolo M. p. 104.

¶ Marcel. Emp. c. 14.

** Albert. Aq. l. 8. c. 18. 22.

†† Matt. Vill. l. 10. c. 63.

In the epitaph of Gilles de Chin, slain at the battle of Agincourt, the word Sinople is used to signify green :

‘ Puis la mort à lui s’ajousta
En un camp couvert de Sinoble,
Ou maint Prince, et maint homme noble
Finirent en affaire militant *.’

There now remains the fifth colour, Purple, to be discussed. Although this colour is but rarely used in blazonry, it is, however, admitted by Jacques de Guise †, the author of the ‘ *Songe du Verger* ‡;’ by Sicily, herald at arms to the king of Arragon, in his blazonry of colours; and by others.

I shall report what they say, but simply remark, that in regard to blazonry, purple is a panne and sort of peltry, thus named from its well known colour in the account of Estienne de la Fontaine, master of the robes to the king, from the 26th day of April, in the year 1350, to the 28th of August in the same year, inclusive, under the article of ‘ *Pennes et fourrures*.’ ‘ To the lining of a robe with four skins of furs, for the said William Poquaire on the day of his knighthood: for the two furcoats, two fur linings *de grosses pourpres*, 4 liv. 10 s. &c.’

Under the same article,—‘ To the lining of a robe for the wife of Michelet Gentil, which the king gave her on her marriage, and a trimming of furs of *menues pourpres*, 6 liv. parif.

They are also frequently mentioned in the following accounts, and in the customs or tolls of Paris, inserted in a register in the chamber of accounts docketed ‘ *Noster*,’ where, under the title of ‘ *Mercerie*, are these words: ‘ *Item, la piece de Porpre et de Mesmiaus, 4 den.*’ And as this fur has never been considered as one of the most valuable, without perhaps any other reason than because the coarser skins were usually dyed of this colour, they have been but seldom employed in heraldry.

* In the proofs to the hist. of the house of Guines, p. 689.

† Jacques de Guise en ses Ann. de Hain. 1st vol. p. 24.

‡ *Songe du Verger*, c. 148.

The foregoing remarks sufficiently prove, as I shall hope, that what heralds have hitherto denominated colours in blazonry, are pannes and furs, and nothing more than ermines and vairs, to which they have applied their name. It is shewn that the names given to them, have no other origin than these sorts of furs; and therefore there is no need of giving credit to the ridiculous derivations that have been made for them, or laying any stress on the unknown names for these colours, to prevent the science of heraldry from becoming too common: ‘*Mirum quam stulta sapientia in istis astrologicantur, philosophantur etiam, ac theologissant paludati isti Heraldii* *.’

But to return to coats of arms: in public meetings, and in times of war the lords and knights were distinguished by their coats of arms; and when they were spoken of, or when any one wished to point them out by any exterior mark, it was sufficient to say, that he wears a coat of or, argent, gules, sinople, sable, gris, ermine or vair; or still shorter, he bears or, gules, &c. the word coat of arms being understood. Whence it is, that at this day, when we are desirous to emblazon the arms of any gentleman, we say, he bears or, argent, in such part. But as these marks were not sufficient to distinguish in solemn assemblies, or in times of war, every lord, where all were clothed in coats of arms of gold, silver or rich furs; they, in process of time, thought proper to cut the cloths of gold and silver, and furs, which they wore over their armour, into various shapes of different colours, observing, however, as a rule, never to put fur on fur, nor cloths of gold on those of silver, nor those of silver on gold, for that would not have given sufficient relief, intermixing the cloths with the furs. If any coats of arms were seen otherwise, they were styled *pour enquerre*, as affording reasons to inquire why they were thus worn contrary to the established custom, and if there were any cause for so wearing them. This reminds me of what was said by one, addressing a statue that a magistrate had ordered to be erected, and dressed like a woman, to him who had slain the tyrant under this dress, ‘*Statua, ergo, tua non transibitur, habitus faciet, ut interrogent transcurrentes* †.’

* Cornel. Agrippa de Vanit. Scient.

† Quintil, Decl. 282.

When they had cut out these pieces of fur and cloth, they formed of them into bends, barrys, chiefs, labels, and other pieces which the heralds style charges. The prior du Vigeois thus writes in his chronicle : ‘ Dehinc repertæ sunt pretiosæ ac variæ vestes, designantes varias omnium mentes, quas quidem in sphæruleis et lingulis minutissime frepantes, picti diaboli formam assumunt.’

This was carried to such an excess of expense, that at a council held at Gedington, near to Northampton, in the year 1188, under king Henry II. of England, the wearing any dresses of scarlet, rich furs, or slit coats, was strictly prohibited : ‘ Ibi statutum fuit — in Anglorum gente ne quis escarleto, fabelino, vario, vel griseo, aut vestibus laqueatis, aut in prandio de cibis ex empto ultra duo fercula uteretur, eo quod Rex Angliæ cum omnibus fere Angliæ magnatibus ad terram sanctam cum expensis erat non minimis profecturus.’ Such are the words of John Brompton.

Gervasius Dorobernensis says, ‘ Et quod nullus habeat pannos decisos ac laceatos vel laqueatos.’ Now the word ‘ pannos’ shews clearly that he means skins and furs.

The author of the life of St Gerlacius tells us that this holy hermit was accustomed to inveigh against this abuse, ‘ Milites de percussione et scissura vestium, de oppressione pauperum, de vanitate alearum — arguebat*.’ Philippes Mouskes calls the above ‘ Des dras teins, et d’escarlade, dètrantiès à grans barates,’ in the verses before quoted ; and as young men are fond of novelties, to distinguish themselves from their parents, who wore the same coats of arms, they slit them into pieces, which, by way of distinction, they hung down from the neck, or elsewhere ; and it is from these that the ‘ Labels,’ in heraldry, have had their origin, they not being *rateaux*, as an Englishman, Edward Bisse, writes†. Frequent mention is made of them in the accounts of Estienne de la Fontaine, and particularly in those for the year 1350, in these words : ‘ Pour 7 quartiers de Zatouin d’Inde, et 7 quartiers de fort Velluiau vermeil, pour faire deux cottes à armer, — pour un marc 5 esterlins, de perles blanches à ferner le champ des dittes

* Vita S. Gerlaci, c. 9. apud Boland.

† Bisseus in Not. ad Upton.

cottes, faire les coppons des labeaux pour 160 grosses perles à champoier le dit champ.'

Further on ; ' Pour 24 aunes de velluiaux indes fors pour faire 2 couvertures à chevaux pour le dit seigneur, et pour 2 aunes de Velluiau vermeil et blanc à faire les labeaux de l'armoirie.'

Under the same article ; ' Pour 4 pieces de cendaux indes et jaunes à faire bannieres et pannonneaux pour le dit seigneur, pour 2. aunes et demie de cendal blanc et vermeil à faire les Labeaux.'

After some time, the knights had painted on their shields not only the colours of the cloths of gold and silver, and the rich furs of their coats of arms, but also the figures of the cuttings out, which they had formed into bends, bar-gemels, barrys, saltiers, chiefs, and other pieces. They have even sometimes added to their coats of arms figures, whether of terrestrial animals, or birds, or such like things, which they have had impressed on their shields, or perhaps may have borrowed them from their shields, to decorate their coats of arms, for it is certain that bucklers were so adorned in the remotest antiquity ; and this is the opinion of Welfer, in the passage I have quoted from him.

* Sometimes, among those who thus diversified their coats of arms, there were others contented to bear them quite plain, without being charged with any thing, and to preserve on their shields the same colour they bore on their coats of arms. This explains why the counts and dukes of Brittany bear simple ermine on their shields, having only that colour on their coats of arms. Thus the lords d'Albert bear gules; the captals of Buch in Guienne, and the family of Puy-paulin, or plain : the lords de St Chaumont, gris, or azure, because in their coats of arms they bore the pannes of gules, of gris, and cloth of gold.

From what I have transcribed from the accounts of Estienne de la Fontaine, it is evident that the coats of arms were not only embroidered, but enriched with pearls ; and to such coats the expression of ' cottes brodées' of the lord de Joinville must refer. This embroidery was not to mark the arms of the knight, which were impressed in relief (probably like the Tabards of our heralds), on his coat, and were similar to those that were painted on his shield.

Guillaume le Breton says, in his *Philippidis* * :

‘ Quæque armaturæ vestis confuta supremo
Serica, cuique facit certis distinctio notis.’

And Guillaume de Nangis, in his life of Philip III. of France, ‘ Franci vero subita turbatione commoti, mira celeritate ad arma profiliunt, loricas induunt, et desuper picturis variis, secundum diversas armorum differentias se distinguunt.’

From the coats of arms being covered with the devices of the knights, they were called ‘habits en devises.’ Thus Mafuer, speaking of the proofs of nobility, says this is one; ‘ Si ipse et alii prædecessores sui consueverint portare vestes (en devise) vel alias quas nobiles portare consueverunt †.’ It is in that sense that Froissart must be understood, when he describes the earl of Derby coming to Westminster: ‘ Accompagné de grand nombre de seigneurs, et leurs gens vestus chascun de sa livrée en devise ‡;’ that is to say, each having his coat of arms emblazoned with his arms.

Monstrelet, in the year 1410, speaking of the election of pope John XXII. says, that in the procession ‘ se trouvèrent le marquis de Ferrare, le seigneur de Malatesta, le sire de Gaucourt, et des autres quarante quatre, tant ducs, comtes, comme chevaliers, de la terre d’Italie, vestus de paremens de leurs livrées §.’

Georges Chastellain ||, ‘ armez et vestus de cottes d’armes, devises et couleurs.’ And Alain Chartier, in his poem entitled ‘ La Dame sans Mercy,’ describing a knight in love, and ill treated by the rigour of his mistress, represents him clothed in black, ‘ sans devise;’ that is to say, with a plain coat of arms, not emblazoned, which was a mark of grief.

‘ Le noir portoit, et sans devise.’

It was these devices, on the coats of arms, that Sanuto, book 2. part 4. chap. 8. calls ‘super insignia.’

Coats of arms thus emblazoned were, as Mafuer observes, one of the principal marks of nobility, because the nobles had the sole right to wear

* L. 11.

† Mafuer. tit. de tallis, n. 19.

‡ Froissart, vol. 4. c. 114. (not Denys Sauvage’s edition)—translation, c. 136.

§ Monstrelet, vol. 1. c. 62.

|| Hist. de Jacques de Lalain.

the hauberk or coat of mail, they alone had a right to wear the coat of arms, which was simply to cover their armour: and as commonly knights only wore either the one or the other in the wars, historians have thence been accustomed to distinguish a knight, by using the single word of coat of arms.

Froissart relates, that the lord de Merode* lost in the battle against the Friezlanders, in which William earl of Hainault was killed, three-and-thirty of his relations, bearing his arms on their coats†.

Monstrelet, speaking of the victory gained by the French over the English at Formigny, near Bayeux, in the year 1450, says, ‘qu’ à cette bataille furent prins prisonniers meffire Antoine Kiriell, &c. et plusieurs autres capitaines et gentilshommes Anglois portans cottes d’armes‡.’

It is an expression borrowed from our french authors by Anna Comnena, in her Alexiade§, when relating the preliminaries that took place previous to the interview between the emperor Alexis, her father, and Boëmond prince of Antioch, she says, that this prince insisted that he should meet the emperor attended by two coats of arms, *μετα δυο χλαμυδων*, that is to say, by two knights. This princess thus expressed the coat of arms by the word ‘Chlamys||,’ which was a dress peculiarly appropriated to knights, and those engaged in war. Whence it comes, that to mark a knight, in a title-deed¶ of Philip I. king of France in the year 1068, these words are used: ‘Aimericus, quem occultabat militaris habitus et clamydis obumbrabat aspectus.’ Words taken from St Ambrose, in the life of St Sebastian**, if, however, he be the author of it, which some of the learned seem to doubt.

* He is called the lord of Merebbede in Froissart.

† Froissart, vol. 4. c. 77.—translation, c. 99.

‡ Monst. vol. 3. p. 27.

§ L. 10. p. 401.

|| L. 1. Cod. Th. de habitu quo uti oportet. Nonius. Pauljn. ep. 7.

¶ In the proofs to the hist. des Chasseign. p. 179.

** Vita St Sebast. c. 3. apud Bol.

Georges Châtellain, in his history of Jacques de Lalain, knight of the golden fleece, very often gives emblazoned coats of arms to esquires, so that we may conjecture they had in later times this privilege, which was formerly confined to knights alone.

I have noticed that the furs on the coats of arms were cut into different shapes, to distinguish the wearers from each other. These shapes and figures are in present use in the emblazoning of arms, but in terms scarcely intelligible, which will occasion me to attempt the explanation of some of the most difficult. I have said what was meant for labels, when I first spoke of these cut dresses. Fafce or Barry, according to my opinion, is what latin authors of the middle ages, have called 'Fasciola,' which was a sort of garter to tie up the hose. It is frequently mentioned in the constitutions of monasteries. The name of 'Fascia,' is also given to the small rochets worn by the canons regular of St Austin, when they go into the country, which are not more than four fingers wide, like to the scapulary of the monks.

The Patū, or the Pal, is nothing more than the Palus of the Latins; that is to say, a stake, whence comes our word 'palisade.' The Sautoir, or Saltier, is the stirrup to mount and dismount from a horse. The Latins of the middle age call it 'Strepa' and 'Stapha,' and the modern Greeks *σταλά*. The 'Ceremonial' in MS. says, that an esquire at a tournament ought not to have a 'fautoir' to his saddle. In the account of Estienne de la Fontaine for the year 1352, under the article of harness, is as follows: 'Pour six livres de foye de plusieurs couleurs pour faire las tissus, et aiguillettes ausdits harnois, faire Sautoüers, et conyeres, et tresses à garnir la selle.' The learned have remarked, that stirrups were first used about the reign of Constantine the great.

Macles, or lozenges, have derived their name from 'Macula,' which Johannes de Janua interprets, 'Squamma loricæ,' which was a small flat piece of iron, square and with a hole through it, of which hauberks were composed, and is what we call a coat of mail. These mails or methes were worked one on the other, so that there were not any openings left between them.

Nicholas de Braya, in his life of Louis VIII. *

‘ Nexilibus maclis vestis distincta notatur.’

And Guillaume le Breton,

_____ ‘ inter

‘ Pectus et ora fidit maculas toracis,’ &c. †

And further on,

‘ Reftitit uncino maculis hærente plicatis.’

Our authors have given this name to the mails of hauberks from them having the form of meshes of fisherman’s nets, called ‘ Maculæ ‡,’ by the Latins.

Heralds represent ‘ Rustres’ of the same shape, excepting that they were cut round. I know not if this be the instrument called by the Latins ‘ Rutrum,’ which is a sort of ‘ Fossorium, unde arenæ moventur, ubi fal efficitur,’ as Johannes de Janua writes.

With regard to lozenges, Joseph Scaliger thinks they were so called, ‘ quasi Laurengiæ,’ because they bore some resemblance to the leaves of the laurel tree.

Indented, has been borrowed from those parchment title-deeds called ‘ chartæ indentatæ,’ of which, as two copies were made, the parchment was irregularly cut through denticularly, to prevent their being falsified, as they would not then unite in the indentures. Those who had occasion to produce them were forced to shew that the denticulations agreed. These deeds are called to this day, ‘ chartæ partitæ,’ but more commonly ‘ Chirographes.’ I reserve for another place a more particular discussion about them.

‘ Les Billetes,’ which we called Billets, have the figure of a folded letter. The english historians frequently use the word Billa for a petition. William Thorn writes, ‘ porrectæ fuerunt billæ et petitiones domino regi.’ Spelman supposes this word to have been derived from ‘ Libellus;’ others.

* Page 300.

† W. Brito, l. 2. Phil.

‡ Cicero, 7. in Verr. Stat. l. 2. Theb..

from Βιλλετον. However this may be, the word 'Billeta' is used in the same signification. In the first volume, page 654. of the *Monasticon Anglicanum*, is as follows: 'Secundum quod continetur in quadam billetta inter figillum et scriptum ante consignationem affixa.'

But I perceive I am now entering on matter foreign to my subject.

DISSERTATION II.

ON THE PLEADINGS AT THE GATE, AND ON THE FORMS WHICH THE
KINGS OF FRANCE OBSERVED WHEN THEY SAT
PERSONALLY IN JUDGMENT.

IF kings have always been jealous of their authority, and if they have affected to display their power on their subjects as well as on their enemies, they have been as anxious to testify the kindness and moderation of their government, by the equal distribution of justice, in the establishment of governors and judges throughout their kingdoms, to administer it in their name. But as it often happens that the subject is oppressed by those very persons who have been appointed to defend him, and who having authority delegated to them for this only purpose, have turned it to their own personal advantage, recourse has been perpetually had to kings, and the injured have been forced to lay their complaints before their thrones to obtain that redress from their equity, which the injustice of their judges seemed to have refused them. It was this which gave occasion to our kings to establish courts of justice in their palaces, and to preside in them personally, to hear and decide on the complaints of their subjects.

When the more essential business of the state was so increased that they could not always attend to such painful tasks, they deputed in their stead Counts, who gave judgments in the king's name, which were in all cases final. They sometimes sent these Counts, as I shall prove hereafter, into the

distant provinces of their realm, to inquire into the complaints of their subjects, and to spare them long and expensive journeys to the court. Sometimes, to keep the common judges to their duty, and to watch over their actions, they sent to all parts of their kingdom commissioners of justice, called ‘*Missi Dominici*,’ who examined the sentences which had been passed, reformed any abuses which might have slipped into the distribution of justice, and received all complaints from the subjects of the prince.

The emperors of the east, knowing that it would not be easy for their subjects to approach their palaces, or to present petitions to their sacred persons, as they were usually surrounded by guards and courtiers*, for this reason ordered a public office to be established in Constantinople, whither it was lawful for any one to carry his petitions and complaints, which were daily examined by the emperor, and justice duly rendered; whence this office was called ‘*Pittacium*,’ that is to say ‘*Billet*.’

But our kings have conducted themselves more generously, and have governed their subjects with greater liberality and freedom: they were willing, personally, to receive their petitions; and that they might have uncontrolled access to them, they, in some sort, laid aside their pomp and the purple, and seated themselves at the gates of their palace, to render justice indifferently to all who should come and ask it from them. This they did in imitation of the Hebrews, who held their courts of justice at the gates of their towns, palaces, or temples, as well to facilitate the distribution of justice, and to give access to the parties, as to deliver their sentences in public, that they might be submitted to the censure of all who assisted at them.

It is for this reason we so often read in our histories, and ancient charters, of judges in the provinces holding their assizes and pleadings in the fields, streets, public places, before the doors, and in the burying grounds of churches; and as far as concerned the consecrated places, such meetings were forbidden by our kings in their capitularies†, when, afterward, they were held before the gates of castles and towns, as may be collected from the cartulary of the abbey de Vendôme: ‘*Perrexit illud Prior noster, ivitque*

* Codin. de Orig. C. P. p. 22. edit. Reg.

† Capit. Car. c. tit. 39.

placitum in castro Raynaldi ante portam ipsius castri quæ est a meridie, ubi interrogatus ille quare falsisset plaixitium nostrum, respondit *, &c.

This is what St Louis, and our kings, usually practised, when inclined to hear the complaints of their subjects, and do them justice. They then descended from their thrones and apartments, and went to the gates of their palace, or to some public place, where access to them was free to all, and there, assisted by some of their most faithful counsellors, they heard petitions, and received complaints, and speedily decided on the disputes brought before them, so that the parties retired satisfied with the strict justice that had been administered. The great facility with which St Louis allowed his subjects to approach him has been before well expressed by the lord de Joinville in the preceding history; and, a little before, the illustrious author informs us, that this justice, truly royal, since it was exercised personally by the king, was well known under the name of ‘Pleadings at the gate,’ because these pleadings were held at the gate of the palace, where it was free for any one to come and plead his own cause, to urge his interest, and address his complaints.

Since our kings have established parliaments, to administer justice to their subjects, they have divided them into different courts, or chambers, according to the variety and nature of the business brought before them. Such as could not be terminated by pleadings at the gate were decided in the court of pleas, which is the ‘grande chambre;’ the others in the courts of inquests. The decisions given by these sovereign courts were different; for some were denominated ‘Arrest,’ ‘Arresta,’ which were such as were publicly given by the judges on the pleadings of the advocates, the formula of which was, ‘Quibus rationibus utriusque partis hinc inde auditis, dictum fuit per arrestum curiæ,’ &c.

The others were called ‘Judicia,’ judgments, and were those given in causes which were reduced to writing, and in those of inquests or ‘apprises,’ made by a judge commissioned to this effect, who gave in his report thereon to his court: the formula of this was, ‘Visa inquestia, et diligenter inspecta, &c. pronunciatum fuit per curiæ judicium,’ &c.

* Tabul. Vindoc. Thuani, c. 52.

There were other decisions called ‘*Confilia*,’ which were delays afforded to the parties, to consider on their dispute with their advocate, as it was not yet in a proper state to be brought before the court: the formula of this was, ‘*Dies concilii assignata est tali, super tali lite, ad aliud parlamentum proximum, aut ad alios Dies trecentos,*’ &c.

This has been the origin of the form of pronouncing ‘*les appointez au conseil,*’ and of written evidence. There were also other judgments, called ‘*Præcepta,*’ or ‘*Mandata,*’ which were orders sent by the judges of the parliament, to bailiffs, seneschals, or to inferior judges, by which they were enjoined to observe at their assizes, and there to have proclaimed such ordinances as had been made by the parliament, or to make such inquests as had been addressed to them, or returned, and generally to obey whatever orders might have been promulgated by the judges of the parliament. The formula of these orders was, ‘*Injunctum est baillivo tali,*’ &c.

There were likewise other affairs, not of the consequence of the preceding ones, that might be terminated by a single exposition or petition. This gave occasion to establish the court of requests, composed of a certain number of counsellors, from whom the king nominated two to attend his person, one of whom was an ecclesiastic, and the other a layman. They were called ‘*Poursuivans le roy,*’ and were bound to attend daily for two hours, at the usual time and place, to receive whatever requests were addressed to them. They made oath not to forward any letters contrary to the regulations, nor to deliver any petitions, the cognizance of which belonged to the parliament, to the chamber of accounts, or to the treasury, but to refer them to those judges, according to the subject-matter of such petitions.

They were obliged to give notice to the king of all petitions of consequence before they decided upon them, such as recompenses for service, restitution for damages, graces, and appeals against decisions of parliament. In this their quality they were lodged, and their expenses defrayed by the king, as is shewn from the ordinances of Philip le Bel in the year 1289, and of Philip le long in the years 1317 and 1320. The ordinance respecting the household of the king and queen, signed at Vincennes in the month of January 1285, which is in an ancient register that has never yet

been made public, proves the same in the following words : ‘ Clercs du conseil, maistre Gautier de Chambly, maistre Guillaume de Pouilly, maistre Jean de Puseus, M. Jean de Morencies, M. Gilles Camelin, M. Jacques de Bouloigne, M. Guy de Boy, M. Robert de Harrecourt, M. Laurens de Vezins, M. Jean li Duc, M. Philippes Suars, M. Gilles Lambert, M. Robert de Senlis : tuit cist nommez me mangeront point à court, et prendront chascun cinq fols de gaiges, quant ils seront à court, ou en parlement, et leurs manteaus, quant ilz seront aux Festes. Monseigneur Pierre de Sargines, Gilles de Compiengne, Jean Malliere : ces trois auront les Plez de la Porte, et aura ledit Gilles autant de gaiges, comme maistre Pierre de Sargines, et menagera avec le chambellan.’

The regulations for the household of king Philippes le long, made at Lorris in the Gâtinois, on Thursday the 17th November, in the year 1317, more particularly specify the deliveries that were to be made by the officers of the household to each of those who followed the court, to hear and receive petitions. ‘ De ceux qui suivront le roy pour les requestes, aura toujours à court, un clerc et un lay, et se ils sont plus, ils ne prendront riens, se ils ne sont mandez et mangeront à court, et seront herbergiez ensemble. Et s’ils ne viennent manger à court, ils n’auront nulle livroison, et prandront chascun trois provendes d’avoine, et trente-deux deniers de gaiges chascun pour leurs varlets, et pour toutes autres choses, fors que chascun aura coustes et feurre à l’avenant. Et se les deux gisent en un hostel, ils auront une mole de busche, et livroison de chandelle chascun deux quayers, et douze menuës : et ou temps qu’ils seront en parlement, auront douze fols de gaiges par jour, et ne prendront nulle autre chose à court. Maistre Philippes le Convers clerc des requestes pourra venir à court toutes les foiz qu’il lui plaira, non contrestant la clause dessusditte d’endroit ceux des requestes, et mangera son clerc en falle, et son escuier aura trois provendes d’avoine, pour toutes chose, et n’aura rien plus, ne gaiges ne autrement.’

From these ordinances and regulations, we learn, first, why the masters of requests who succeeded to these judges at the gate, have still what is called ‘ le droit de manteau ;’ which was nothing more than what belonged

to all the officers of the king's household, to whom liveries as well as mantles were given on the solemn feasts, and at the four seasons of the year.

In the second place, it results that these judges at the gate, were daily guests of the king, and, in this quality, eat with the other officers of his household, having a right to a delivery of wood and other things.

This rank of king's guests is as ancient as the monarchy, our kings having always acknowledged the officers of their households under the illustrious appellation of '*Convivæ regis*.' The salique law proves it in these words: '*Si quis hominem romanum convivam regis occideret,*' &c. And the law of the Burgundians: '*Quicumque hospiti venienti tectum aut focum negaverit, 3 solidorum in latrone mulctetur. Si conviva regis est 6 solidos mulctæ nomine solvat.*'

In the life of the abbot St Agilles, written by a contemporary author, is as follows: '*Fuit quidam ex primis palatii optimatibus——nobilissimis natalibus oriundus, ejusdemque regis (Childeberti) conviva et consiliarius, nomine Anohaldus.*'

Jonas, in the life of St Columban '*Chanericus*,' writes, '*Theodeberti regis conviva.*' In short, Fortunatus, speaking of '*Coudon domestique*,'

'*Juffit et egregios inter residere Potentes,*

Convivam reddens proficiente gradu.'

I nevertheless acknowledge that this title is not the invention of our kings, but think it probable that they may have borrowed it from the roman emperors, since Claudian seems to have pointed it out in the following verses:

'*——— claro quod nobilis ortu,*

Conviva et domini.'

So that it may be supposed the ensuing extract from the theodosian code refers to them: '*qui et divinis epulis adhibentur, et adorandi principis facultatem antiquitus meruerunt.*'

But laying aside all that may be said relative to this quality of guests or servants of the king's household, I observe, that our princes continued this custom of hearing and judging complaints in person, which had for a long time been introduced into their courts, and in particular by St Louis.

Charles V. when regent, confirms this by an edict of the 27th February, in the year 1359, and lays down a regulation for the observing it, as follows: ' Nous tiendrons requestes en la presence de nostre grant conseil, chascue semaine deux fois. Nul de nos officiers de quelque estat qu' ils soient ne nous feront requestes, si ce n'est par leur personnes, sinon nostre chancelier, et nos conseillers du grant conseil, nos chambellans, nos maistres de requestes de nostre hostel, nostre confesseurs, et nostre aumosnier.'

Charles VI. by his ordinance of the 7th January 1407, commands, ' que le vendredy soit adonné à lui séant en un conseil pour repondre les requestes des dons, graces, et autrement, que seront rapportés par les maistres des requestes.'

So that we see by these edicts, our kings have always affected to render justice in person to their subjects; and that the masters of requests have been first taken from the members of the court of requests of the parliament; that their first function was to make a report to the king of the petitions made to them, to decide upon them with him, and sometimes without the king, as the lord de Joinville very eloquently proves, as follows:

' St Louis, on coming out of church, asked the lord de Neele, the count de Soissons and myself, how things went on, and if there were not some petitioners that might be dispatched without his presence. When there were any, they informed him of it, and the king sending for them, asked why they could not be satisfied with the decisions of his officers?'

This evidently shews, that the masters of requests had, at the beginning of this institution, jurisdictions of their own, in the absence of the kings, who in time grew tired of this painful business, and dispensed themselves from attending to it, being besides overwhelmed with the weight and multiplicity of public affairs. This occasioned their number to be increased; but Philip de Valois by an edict of the 8th April 1342, reduced them to six; three clerks and three laymen. As they still increased, Charles V. when regent, by an ordinance of the 27th February 1358, reduced them to eight; four clerks and four laymen; as did also Charles VIII. by his declaration of the 5th February 1488. From that period, the number of masters of requests, as well as their powers, have been remarkably augmented, more especially since the venality of offices has been introduced in France.

With regard to the salaries of the first masters of requests, I have noticed them in the account of taxes imposed for the deliverance of king John, beginning the first day of April 1368, in these terms: ‘ Maître Pierre Bournefeu, clerc et maître des requestes de l’hostel du roy, lequel icelui seigneur a retenu son conf. et maître des requestes de son hostel, au lieu de maître Anceau Chotart, et lui a ottroyé le roy que il ait tel gaiges, comme prenoit ledit feu Anceau en son vivant, c’est à favoir six cent francs par an, et iceux gaiges luy a assigné à prenre des deniers des aides *.’

As judges readily take every opportunity to augment or extend their jurisdictions, it has been thought proper, from time to time, to limit and restrain those of the masters of requests. Philippes de Valois, at the conclusion of the states general, holden at Nôtre Dame des Champs, near Paris, issued the following ordinance on this subject, the 15th February 1345: ‘ Comme plusieurs de nos sujets se soient dolus de ce qu’ils sont travaillez par devant les maîtres de nos requestes, nous ordonnons que les dits maîtres des requestes de nostre hostel n’ aient pouvoir de nul faire adjourner par devant eux, ne tenir court, ne cognoissance, si ce n’est pour cause d’aucun office donné pour nous, duquel soit debat entre parties, ou que l’en feist aucune demande pure personelle contre aucun de nostre hostel. Item, par tele maniere ordonnons que les maîtres de nostre hostel, de nostre dite Compagne, et de nos dits enfans n’ ayent aucune connoissance, si ce n’est des personnes de nostre hostel, ou cas que l’on feroit quelque demande pure personelle.’

And further on: ‘ Item, pource que plusieurs se doulent des dits maîtres de nostre hostel, de ce qu’ils taxent plusieurs amendes excessivement, et en prenans grans profits, nous ordonnons que nule amende ne soit taxée par eux, se ce n’est en nostre presence, quant nous orrons nos requestes.’

I shall pass over, in this place, what might have been said respecting the jurisdiction of the masters of requests, as it would carry me farther than I intend. I shall only observe that many suppose the words in both editions of our author, respecting the pleadings at the gate, ‘ at present called the requests of the palace,’ are not his own, but have been added to the text by

* In the chamber of accounts at Paris.

way of explanation. This is probable, not because the establishment of the requests of the palace was posterior to the times of the lord de Joinville, as is pretended, but because the requests of the palace, and the requests of the hôtel were different, although those of the hôtel were originally part of the parliament, as I have noticed.

The ancient ordinances, respecting the establishment of parliaments, fully prove, that there were judges named and deputed to the requests. One of the year 1261, drawn from a register of the chancery of France, ‘*Per totum parlamentum pro requestis audiendis qualibet Die sedeant tres personæ de consilio nostro,*’ &c. Another, without date, but of the same period, has, ‘*A oïr les requestes feront deux clerks et deux-lais, et deux notaires qui neant ne recevront par leur serment, et ce que ils delivreront li chancelier sera tenu à seeler si comme il est dessus dit, et ce qu’il ne pourront delivrer, il rapporteront à ceux de la chambre.*’

The ordinance of Philip le long, in 1300, speaks as fully of the masters and judges of requests of the parliament, which Charles VII. reduced into a separate body, composed of presidents and counsellors, by his edict of the 15th of April 1453.

Such, then, has been the form observed by our kings, particularly of the last race, to administer justice in person to their subjects; for with regard to what was done by those of the first and second race, I shall reserve what I have to say, until I come to treat, hereafter, of the counts of the palace: but as the government of that great and august king, St. Louis, was full of justice, truth and fidelity, our kings have always held him up as a pattern for their good acts, and a rare example to follow; inasmuch, that they imitated him in attending to the complaints their subjects made during the assembling of the states, as well as on other occasions: when the coin was debased, they granted that it should be restored to the same state as it was during the reign of this holy king.

Thus Charles VIII. having intentions to labour at the reformation of his kingdom, and well knowing that it behoved a great prince, like him, to hear himself the complaints of his people, and to grant them audiences on pressing occasions, when they could not obtain justice from the usual judges, made exact inquiry, as to the manner in which St. Louis acted when he sat

in judgment, and wrote a letter on this subject to the chamber of accounts at Paris, the original of which was communicated to me by monsieur d'Herouval, of whom I have so often spoken; and as it deserves being made public, I shall close this dissertation with a copy of it.

‘ A nos amez et feaux les gens des nos comptes a Paris, de par le roy. Nos amez et feaux parce que nous voulons bien sçavoir la forme que ont tenu nos predecesseurs rois a donner audience au pauvre peuple, et mesmes comme monseigneur S. Loys y procedoit : Nous voulons et vous mandons qu'en toute diligence, faites rechercher par les registres et papiers de nostre chambre des comptes ce qui s'en pourra trouver, et en faites faire un extrait, et incontinent après, le nous envoyez. Donné a Amboise le 22 jour de Decembre.’

(Signed) ‘ CHARLES.’

And lower down, ‘ Morelot.’

This paper was docketed, ‘ Reported the 30th day of December, 1497.’

DISSERTATION III.

ON FRERAGE AND PARAGE.

OUR ancient laws give the name of ‘Frerage,’ or of ‘Frarefche,’ to the division of property, after a decease, among brothers* ; whence it comes that the words ‘Frarefcheurs,’ and ‘Co-heirs’ are commonly used as synonymous terms ; and in the regulations of St Louis, ‘freragier’ is to make a partition among co-heirs. But the word ‘frerage’ was particularly used to denote a division of things which in themselves seemed indivisible : for example, a fee-farm rent, of which the possessors of the land, though many in number, are bound to pay the whole amount as brethren, and representatives of the first possessor, their benefactor. This expression is often used for the division of fiefs, the homages for which were formerly indivisible, because they only paid to the lord paramount for one, which comprehended the whole of the fiefs they held under them ; so that when they were divided, and some portion of them fell to the younger children by right of Frerage ; that is to say, by a division among brothers ; the youngest did homage to the elder, who paid homage for the whole to the lord paramount.

There are many title-deeds which use the word Frerage in this sense.

Choppin reports an arrêt of the parliament in the year 1269, in the preamble of which it appears, that a countess of Leicester, ‘petebat ratione

* Coust. d’Anjou, du Maine, de Poictou, &c.

*Freragii partem suam,** in the county of Angoulême. The count maintained, on the contrary, that his county, ‘*non erat partabilis, nisi per apanamentum;*’ that is to say, that he was only bound to grant her from it an annuity for her life, for that neither Frerage nor Parage could be claimed from baronies. Matthew lord of Montmorency, when treating of the marriage of his brother Erard with Jane de Longueval, in the year 1296, promises to give his said brother Erard five hundred livres yearly in Frerage, by settlement on his estate of Montmorency.

In a register of the ‘*Trésor des Chartes du Roi,*’ ‘*Domina Margareta, vicecomitissa quondam Thoarcensis est foemina ligia domini comitis, et tenet ab eo castellaneum de Bridiers. Item, quidquid habet in honore de Coperniaco, ratione Frarefchiæ suæ.*’ There are other similar titles in the proofs of the history of Auvergne by M. Justel, which make use of the word de ‘*Frayrefchia,*’ in this sense.

In regard to what I have advanced, that the younger brethren did homage to the elder for the dismembered portions of the fief, I am justified in it by a homage, done at Paris the 19th of October of the year 1317, to William de Melun, archbishop of Sens, by John, Robert and Louis de Melun, his brethren, ‘*Tanquam primogenito, causa Fratriagii, et prout Fratriagium de consuetudine patriæ requirebat, ratione Castri de S. Mauricio *.*’

This took place, not only when a single fief was dismembered, but when there were many that were held under one lord; for when a division was made of all the fiefs between the elder and younger children, such as fell to the youngest were held by them under the elder by right of Frerage, and they were obliged to do him homage for them, who in his turn paid homage for himself and brothers to the lord paramount: for example, William de Nangis† writes that the lands of Boves near Amiens, of which much is said in the history of Philip Auguste, and that of Gournay, had been dismembered from the lordship of Coucy; ‘*Terra de Bovis, et de Gornaio a terra de Couciaco per Fraternitatis partitionem decisa fuerat:*’ and for this.

* Reg. du Parlem. commençant en 1316. fol. 340.

† Nangius in S. Lud. an. 1256.

cause the lands of Boves are at this day held under the lordship of Coucy, although they are very distant from it, and have no other connection with the lordship but solely because they had been divided among the younger children of Coucy, to the elders of whom the youngers did homage, according to the usage received time immemorial in France, as we learn from Otho de Frisinghen :

‘ Mos in illa, qui pene in omnibus Galliæ provinciis servatur, remanfit, quod semper seniori fratri, ejusque liberis, seu maribus, seu fœminis, paternæ hereditatis cedat auctoritas, cæteris ad illum, tamquam ad dominum respicientibus *.’

The reason of this usage was, according to my opinion, that as several lands were held by vassals under the same lord, one homage alone was paid, as if all these fiefs were united in the homager and in his sole possession ; for it was a truth, that since there was but one vassal for all these fiefs, there ought not to be more than one homage paid, provided the tenures of these different lands were not held on separate conditions.

In this case, then, the homager did homage for all these fiefs, specifying the conditions on which each fief separately was held, and the homage annexed to them. This custom was beside first introduced for the advantage of the lord paramount, who was unwilling that his homages should be divided : so far, therefore, was his fief from being dismembered, or its services diminished, that it was increased ; for in times of war all the younger branches who held under the elder ranged themselves under his banner with their sub-vassals, and added considerably to his strength.

On the other hand, the possessors of fiefs were much interested in preserving the homages of their younger branches, and not diminishing such fiefs by any dismemberment, which would to them have been very prejudicial ; for the service due to them from their fiefs would have been transferred to the lord paramount, who indeed would not have been so much advantaged himself as the vassal would have suffered loss.

It was in right of frerages that the counts de Blois and de Sancerre held their counties from the count of Champagne, their elder, for they had

* Oth. Frif. l. 2. de Gest. Frid. c. 29.

had them in partition, or ‘*freresche* ;’ and these fiefs were originally held under one and the same lord, namely, the king of France. The letter of Geoffry de Ville-hardouin, marshal, and of Miles de Braibans, grand bouteiller de Romanie, to Blanche, countess of Champagne, quoted in the observations on the history of Ville-hardouin, has, ‘*Sciatis quod Comes Theobaldus Blefensis, et Comes Sacricæfaris sunt vestri homines ligii, et quidquid possident, est de feodo vestro: et Sacrumcæfaris est vestrum prædium, sed eum Comes tenet in feodum de Campaniæ Comitatu.*’

These counts were not only vassals of Champagne for these two fiefs, or counties, but likewise for several other lands, specified in the register of the fiefs of Champagne, which they also held by right of frerage. I have made the following extract to shew what was the acquisition St Louis made in the county of Champagne, mentioned by the lord de Joinville. ‘*Comes Carnotensis et Blefensis tenet Comitatum cum omnibus feodis appendentibus a Comite Campaniæ, et est suus homo ligius, et Chasteldun, et la Ferté de Vilenuel cum feodis eisdem appendentibus: et Blefium, et Castrum Renardi, et le Maantiz, et Marchaifnay, et Alueel, et Galardun, quæ sunt de feodo Carnoti, cum omnibus feodis appendentibus: et Beaugenci, et Braceaux, et Vierfin: Comes Andegaviæ tenet Turonum a Ludovico Comite Carnoti, Ludovicus Comes a Domino Campaniæ cum feodis appendentibus. Dominus de Ambasia tenet Calvum montem a Ludovico Comite de feodo de Blefio, Ludovicus Comes a Domino Campaniæ cum feodis appendentibus. Dominus de Virfun tenet Virfun a Ludovico Comite, Comes Ludovicus a Domino Campaniæ. Item, Dominus de Virfun tenet Maneftont a Com. Lud. Comes Ludov. a domino Camp. Dominus de S. Aniano tenet sanctum Anianum, et Celum, et Remorentin, et Vestam a Ludovico comite de honore de Blefio: et Comes Lud. tenet hoc a Domino Camp. et Nogentum le Rotrou similiter, et Brai.*

‘*Comes de Sacro-Cæfaris tenet Sacrum-Cæfaris cum omnibus feodis appendentibus a Domino Camp. et omnia quæ Dominus Erchambaudus de Soilliacò tenet in Bituria de feodo Sacri-Cæfaris, et omnia quæ Comes Sacri-Cæfaris habet apud Cercium, et quidquid habet apud Concorceaut, et quidquid habet apud S. Briccium in feodo et in Domanio, et quidquid habet apud Chastillun super Loiein, tenet Comes Sacri-Cæfaris a Domino*

Campaniæ, et quidquid tenet est Alodum præter S. Briccium, et ——— quod Comes Campaniæ tenet a Domino Rege, et ipse a Comite.'

Since it appears, for the reasons before given, that the barons had no great interest that younger brothers should hold under their elders those parts of fiefs that had fallen to them by partition, many, therefore, during the reign of Philip Auguste, made efforts to extinguish this usage. In fact, Eudes duke of Burgundy, Renaud count de Boulogne, the count de St Paul, Guy de Dampierre, and several great lords of France assembled, and unanimously agreed, ' Ut a primo die Maii quidquid tenetur de domino Ligie, vel alio modo si contigerit per successionem hæredum, vel quocumque alio modo divisionem inde fieri, quocumque modo fiat, omnes qui de illo feodo tenebunt, de domino feodi principaliter, et nullo medio tenebunt, sicut unus antea tenebat, priusquam divisio facta esset, et quando cumque contigit pro illo totali feodo servitium domino fieri, quilibet eorum, secundum quod de feodo ille tenebat, servitium tenebitur exhibere, et illi domino deservire, et reddere rachatum et omnem iustitiam.'

A memorandum is added to the above, that this resolution only respected futurity, and was to take place from the first of May next ensuing. These barons obtained the authority of king Philip Auguste for what they had done, who issued his letters accordingly, the first day of May, from Villeneuve le Roi, near Sens, in the year 1209. They are inserted in a register of this king, now belonging to M. d'Herouval; also in the commentaries of M. Pithou on the ' Coûtume of Troyes; ' in the ' Contredits ' of M. de la Guesle, procureur général du parlement for the county of St Paul; and in Choppin.

I believe it is this ordinance to which the bishop of Beauvais refers, in an ancient arrêt, of the year 1254, in these terms: ' Episcopus Belvacensis dicebat quod rex Philippus tempore suo statuerat, quod de partibus terræ, quas fratres fratribus vel fororibus faciebant, non ad ipsos fratres, qui partes faciebant fratribus vel fororibus suis, homagia dictarum partium veniebant, sed ad dominos, de quorum feodo ipsi fratres annati tenebant dictas partes, quas faciebant.'

I have copied this extract from the arrêt to shew, that the resolution of the barons was made with the authority of the king, and in form of an

ordinance; but as it was done without the participation of the vassals, who were not consulted, it had not any effect, at least only a partial one, which may be conjectured from the spirit of the arrêt, of the year 1317, in favour of the archbishop of Sens, of which I have spoken.

It seems, however, that in process of time some qualifying amendment was added to this ordinance, by giving liberty to younger children to hold fiefs of their elder, or of the lord paramount of their elder's fiefs, in which case they were said to hold lands as nobly as their elder brother. This liberty is expressed in the coutumes of Mante, of Senlis, of Troyes, of Anjou, and others. There are, however, some who insist, that the younger branches can in this case hold only for the first time of their elders. The tenure in 'Parage' greatly resembles the tenure in 'Frerage.' The tenure of parage, according to Bouteiller *, is when the elder making a partition with his younger brothers or sisters, gives up to them a part of his fief; for example, a third, or less, according to the established usage, then the younger branches hold in parage from their elder, that part which has fallen to them, 'par la raison de parage et de succession.' The elders do homage to 'the lords paramount for themselves and the younger branches, who hold from their elders by parage without homage.' Such are the terms in the Coutume de Normandie †.

The tenure by parage differs from that of frerage in this, that by the last the younger brother is bounden to do homage to his elder, from the moment he takes possession of part of the fief, which was not the case with regard to the possessor of the fief in parage, for he was only bound to do homage to his elder in three cases; first, when the relationship was so extended, that the two parties might marry without a dispensation: by the Custom of Normandy, this was reduced to the sixth degree; by those of Tours and Anjou, to the fourth. Secondly, when the partition to the younger children was transferred to strangers. Thirdly, when the 'Parageau' should do homage to the lord paramount, without the consent of his elder, who might, in this case, force the younger to do him homage. Bouteiller

* Bout. en la forme rurale, tit. 84.

† Coust. de Norm. ch. 9. art. 128.

adds, that the ‘Puiné tient son Parage aussi noblement que l’ainé fait le gros.’

This is also expressed in the Coûtume of Anjou: ‘et qu’ en tenure de parage l’ainné, a sus celluy, qu’ ainsi tient, la justice et contrainte de ses rentes, et des services qui appartiennent au seigneur souverain, de tort fait a luy, ou a ses gens, et de non plus de chose.’

By the Custom of Orleans, he who holds lands in parage has the same right of justice with his elder, and is only bound to do suit and service to the lord paramount. The Custom of Anjou says, that this is the case in which the vassal may dismember his fief to the prejudice of the lord paramount. That of Poitou says the same in these words:

‘Et est un cas, auquel le vassal peut empirer le fief de son seigneur. Car ce qui estoit directement en son fief, n’est plus qu’ en son arriere-fief.’

In this Coûtume, the elder ‘Parager’ is called ‘Chemier,’ a word misunderstood by the interpreters. But it ought to be written ‘Chemiez;’ that is say, ‘Chef de mez,’ ‘Caput mansi,’ the elder or head of the house. In the cartulary of the church at Amiens is, ‘Cum vero Caput mansi obierit, debet 7 fol. pro revelatione.’

I pass over the other circumstances regarding Parages, because these matters have been amply treated of by the commentators on such Coûtumes as speak of them.

Bouteiller says, that lands are supposed to be held in parage, because the elder, as well as the younger children, ‘font paraux de lignage;’ that is to say, equal, and sprung from the same family. And as parage only took place between nobles, and for things subject to homage, as is specified in the Coûtume of Anjou, the word parage has been in time used synonymously for nobility; not for the reason Choppin gives, ‘quod *Parium* dignitate soli honestentur nobiles, natalibusque generosi;’ but because those who held lands in parage were noble, and of equal birth and rank with their elders. Whence the constitutions of Sicily ordain, that the barons are bound to marry the daughters of such knights and citizens as they may have in wardship, ‘pro modo facultatum, et secundum paragium;’ that is to say, according to the rank and quality of their families; inasmuch that if a baron acted otherwise,,

it was said, that he 'déparageoit' his ward, which latin writers express by the word 'disparagare,' as we shall see hereafter *.

The laws of France, according to the usages of the chastelet of Paris, of Orleans, and of the baronage, say, that if any one should cause himself to be created a knight, 'et ne fust pas gentilhomme de parage, tout le fust-il de par sa mere,' he could not claim that honour by right, and the king or his lord, in whose castlewick he might be, could cut off his spurs on the dunghill, and seize on all his moveables to his profit, 'Car usage n'est mie que femme affranchisse homme, mais li hom franchist la femme.'

It results then from these words, that a gentleman of parage meant a gentleman of noble birth by the father's side; for, according to the lord de Beaumanoir, 'gentillese si est tousjours rapportée de par les peres, et non de par les meres †,' which must be understood to mean nobility by blood, and not nobility by renown and arms, which will be hereafter treated of.

In fact, I observe, that the word parage is employed by writers for nobility by blood; and to be issue of 'haut parage,' is to be descended from an illustrious family.

The romance of Garin has,

'Jà es tu riche, et trop de haut parage,
Quatorze Comtes as tu de ton lignage.'

In William Guiart,

'Pris i fu Mahieu de Mailly,
Comment quant roy de France annue,
Et messire Pierre de la Truye,
Et maint autre de haut parage.'

On the contrary, 'bas parage' is from a family less noble. In the 'Doctrinal,' MS.

'Celui qui vaillans est, et bel le fet avoir,
S'il est de bas parage, ne vos en puet caloir.'

So that Parage is nothing more than Parentage, and may perhaps have been an abridgement of Parentage, as Barnage is for Baronage.

* Differt. X.

† Beaumanoir, ch. 45.

In the same romance of Garin,

‘ Ne me laissez vergonder et honnir,
Toz nos parage en esteroit plus vil.’

And in another place,

‘ Maugré en aient Fromond et si ami,
Et li parage, quanques vos estes ici.’

There was in Catalonia a sort of gentlemen called ‘ Homens de paratge,’ who were different from other knights. The Spanish historians deduce their origin from Raymond Borel, count of Barcelona, who being in want of knights and soldiers to expel the Moors from Barcelona, granted certain franchises and military honours to such, and to their descendants, as were willing to follow him on horseback in this war; and those who came, amounting to nine hundred, were called ‘ hommes de parage,’ from being equal among themselves in honour and rank. The kings of Arragon, in after times, created others, with prerogatives similar to those of the knights above mentioned, from whom they differ only in name. I should, however, imagine they were thus called, from having in course of time passed for persons of the highest nobility.

The bishop of Madaura says, that the town of Metz was formerly governed by nobles, who were divided into five bodies, called, ‘ Parages,’ or ‘ Paraiges,’ and who were so many families, in whose privileges their children participated *. This has caused M. Pithou to say, ‘ qu’ à Mets, la mere part au patriciat de Mets, dit Parage, id est, liberos pares gignit †.’

* Hist. des Evêques de Metz en la preface, p. 17.

† Pithou sur la Coust. de Troies, art. 1.

DISSERTATION IV.

ON THE SOLEMN ASSEMBLIES OF THE KINGS OF FRANCE.

ON the first establishment of the french monarchy, our kings chose one particular season of the year for a general assembly of their subjects, to hear their complaints, to make new regulations and laws, which required, for their promulgation, to have the consent of all. They, at the same time, reviewed their troops and armies, for which reason some writers have asserted, that these meetings were called ‘Champs de Mars,’ from the name of the deity that presided over war. Gregory of Tours, speaking of Clovis, says, ‘Transacto vero anno iussit omnem cum armorum apparatu advenire Phalangam, ostensuram in Campo Martio fuorum armorum nitorem*.’ In truth, it seems that our countrymen gave this name to the general reviews of the troops, copying the Romans, who were accustomed to hold them in the Campus Martius, near the city of Rome, and likewise to exercise their soldiers there. We read that the greater part of the principal towns in the provinces dependant on Rome had, in imitation of that city, their Campi Martii close to the walls†. This is noticed in the life of St Eleutherius in respect to Tournay, of which he was bishop‡. Girolamo della Corte says the same in regard to Verona§, and Welfer, of several other towns||.

* Greg. Tur. l. 2. Hist. c. 27.

† Aimoin. L. 1. c. 12. Gesta Fran. c. 10. V. Autor. cit. a Rosino, L. 6. c. 11.

‡ Vita. S. Eleuther. c. 2. § 5.

§ Hist. de Verona, L. 7. p. 415.

|| Welfer, L. 5. Rer. Vend.

Pollio, in his life of the emperor Claudius, shews clearly that these military exercises were performed in the open country : ‘ *Fecerat hoc etiam adolescens in militia, cum ludicro martiali in campo luctamen inter fortissimos quosque monstraret **.’

It is, however, more probable, that these assemblies were thus named from their taking place in the beginning of the month of March. The chronicle of Fredegaire, speaking of Pepin, says, ‘ *Evoluto anno præfatus rex a Kal. Mart. omnes Francos, sicut mos Francorum est, Bernaco villa ad se venire præcepit †*.’ A charter of Dagobert is signed ‘ *Die calendarum Martiarum in compendio Palatio ‡*,’ which was the day on which these assemblies commenced. There is even reason to believe that our ancestors dated their year from this period, which may be collected from the decree of Tassilio duke of Bavaria, ‘ *Nec in publico mallo transactis tribus kalendis Martiis post hæc ancilla permaneat §*.’ For what is here called ‘ *Mallum publicum*,’ is named ‘ *Placitum*’ in the chronicle of Fredegaire ||. ‘ *Conventus* (in this passage of Aimoin) *Bituricam veniens, conventum, more Francico, in campo egit ¶*.’ Elsewhere he calls it ‘ *Conventus generalis*.’

This custom of assembling the people, on the first day of March, was regularly continued under the first race of our kings ; but Pepin, judging this season improper for the review of his troops, and still more so for their taking the field, changed it to the first day of May. This we learn also from Fredegaire : ‘ *Ibi placitum suum campo Madio, quod ipse primus pro campo Martio pro utilitate Francorum instituit, tenens, multis muneribus a Francis et proceribus suis ditatus est ***.’ Some annalists relate that this change took place in the year 755 ; and the author of the life of St Remy, archbishop of Rheims, plainly affirms that it was for the reason I have just said : ‘ *Quem conventum posteriores Franci Maii campum, quando reges ad bella solent procedere, vocari instituerunt*.’

* Trebel. Poll. in Claudio.

† Chr. Fred.

‡ In Chr. Fontanell. c. 1.

§ Decret. Tassil. c. 2. § 12.

|| Anno 766.

¶ Aimoin. L. 4. c. 67.

** Anno 766.

From this time these assemblies have had different names given them by different authors, who have called them ‘Campi Magii,’ or Madii. Some have written that the town of Maienfeld, in the diocese of Coire, in the canton of the Grisons, was thus called from the assemblies that were held there in the month of May, for Maienfeld signifies ‘Champ-de May.’ It was not warlike affairs alone that were then discussed, but in general every thing that related to the public weal. Fredegair says*, ‘Omnes optimates Francorum ad Dura in Pago Riguerinse ad campo Madio pro salute patriæ et utilitate Francorum tractanda, placito instituto, ad se venire præcepit.’ This is likewise touched upon by the monk Aigrad, in the life of Saint Ansbert, archbishop of Rouen.

The kings at these assemblies received presents from their subjects, which circumstance is particularly noticed in the same passage from which I have quoted above, in Fredegair; and by every author who has treated on the great authority of the mayors of the palace, when they say, that they governed the realm with such extensive powers that little was left to the kings but the name, who were contented to lead an indolent domestic life in their palaces, and shewed themselves once a year to their subjects, when they received presents from them. ‘In die autem Martis campo, secundum antiquam consuetudinem, dona illis regibus a populo offerebantur.’ These are the words of Hildesheim, in his chronicle, at the year 750.

The same is expressed by Theophanes, page 337, speaking of the kings of the first race: ἔθος γὰρ ἦν αὐτοῖς τὸν κυρίον αὐτῶν, ἡτοῖ τον Ρηγὰ, κατὰ γένος ἀρχεῖν, καὶ μηδὲν πραττεῖν, ἢ διοικεῖν, πλην αἰλογως ἐσθιεῖν καὶ πινεῖν, οἱκοὶ τε διατρίβειν, καὶ κατὰ Μάϊον μῆνα πρώτη τῇ μυνος προκαθεζέται ἐπὶ πάντος τοῦ ἐθνους, καὶ προσκυνεῖν αὐτοὺς καὶ προσκυνεῖσθαι ὑπ’ αὐτῶν καὶ δωροφορεῖσθαι κατὰ συνήθειαν, καὶ ἀντιδαναι αὐτοῖς καὶ οὕτως ἕως τοῦ ἄλλου Μαιου καθ’ ἑαυτὸν διαγεῖν.

The annals of France, taken from the church of Mets, more particularly mention what was done in the assemblies, as well in regard to the business discussed, as to the presents that were made to the kings. It is in that part where Pepin the elder, mayor of the palace, is spoken of: ‘singulis vero annis in kalendis Martii generale cum omnibus Francis, secundum priscorum

* An. 761.

consuetudinem, concilium agebat. In quo ob Regii nominis reverentiam, quem sibi ipse propter humilitatis et mansuetudinis magnitudinem præfecerat, præsidere jubebat: donec ab omnibus optimatibus Francorum donariis acceptis, verboque pro pace et defensione ecclesiarum Dei et pupillorum, et viduarum facto, raptuque foeminarum et incendio solito decreto interdicto, exercitui quoque præcepto dato, ut quacumque die illis denuntiaretur, parati essent in partem, quam ipse disponderet, proficisci.'

We learn from the above passage the reason why Pepin the son of Martel transferred these assemblies to the first of May, the season not being in March sufficiently advanced for his troops to take the field; so that another day must have been fixed on for the people to assemble under arms and march against the enemy, which would oblige them to assemble twice in the same year. Hincmar, archbishop of Rheims, says, that these presents were made to the kings to enable them to provide for their own defence, as well as for that of the state, '*Causa suæ defensionis**.' With regard to what he calls annual gifts, it is confirmed by many passages in our annals, which are couched in the same terms.

I have extracted from the annals of the abbey of St Bertin, an. 826. as follows: '*Ibique habito generali conventu, et oblata sibi annua dona* solemni more suscepit, et legationes plurimas, quæ tam de Roma et Benevento, quam et de aliis longinquis terris ad eum venerant, audivit atque absolvit.'

This likewise shews, that these occasions were reserved for the reception of ambassadors, that they might witness the magnificence and splendour of these royal assemblies.

These gifts and presents were often called '*annualia dona*, or '*annua*,' because they were annually made; and from this ceremony taking place at the commencement of the year, authors † have sometimes given them the name of New-years-gifts, our kings having followed the example of the ancient roman kings, who invented the name and custom. A poet of the middle ages writes:

* Hincmar. in *Quatern.* p. 405. apud Cellot.

† Lup. Ferrar. ep. 32. Hincmar. *Quatern.*

‘ Strenæ præterea nitent.
 Plures aureolæ munere regio,
 Olim principibus probis
 Jani principiis auspicio datæ,
 Fausto temporis omine :
 Ut ferret ducibus strenua strenuis.
 Annus gesta recentior.
 Illas nobilitas Cæsaribus piis,
 Rex dignis procerum dabat,
 Urbis quas latix, tum juveni dedit
 Rex Titus Tatius prior,
 Festas accipiens, paupere munere,
 Verbenas, studio patrum
 Solers posteritas quas creat aureas.
 Servant dona tamen
 A luco veteri nomine strenuæ *.’

I observe that these presents are called ‘ Xenia’ by Flodoardus, in the History of the church of Rheims, which shews that the custom was followed in France under Clovis and our first kings ; and I believe, for the same reason, the tribute which the Dalmatians paid to the kings of Hungary, and to the republic of Venice, when subjects to them, were called ‘ Strinæ,’ or ‘ Strinnæ,’ from the latin word ‘ Strena,’ being voluntary gifts paid through gratitude. And this seems to have been intimated in a charter of Sebastiano Ziani, doge of Venice, in the year 1174, to the inhabitants of Trau : ‘ Nolumus ut aliquo modo offendantur, neque tollatur eis aliqua inconfueta strinna, nisi quam ipsi sponte dare voluerint †.’

This is conformable to what Constantine Porphyrogenetes writes ‡, that his uncle, the emperor Basil, persuaded the Dalmatians to pay the Sclavonians a similar sum of money, to purchase peace from them, as they

* Metellus in Quirinal. To. 1. Canisii, pp. 44, 45.

† Statuta Ragusii, l. 7. c. 56.

‡ Const. Porph. de Adm. Imp. ch. 29.

were accustomed to give their governors, and to pay those governors some trifling sum, as a mark of dependance, and of their submission to the empire.

I have no doubt but that it was after the example of our kings that private lords have borrowed this expression of gifts, for the taxes they raised on their vassals, having, from time immemorial, sought for gentle and plausible terms to cover their unjust exactions. A deed of William the bastard, in the first vol. of the *Monasticon Anglicanum*, page 351, has as follows: ‘*Ut liber sit ab omni consuetudine, Geldo, Scoto, et auxilio, et dono, et Danegeldo.*’ In the cartulary of the church of Amiens is, ‘*In omni territorio Nigellæ habent canonici tres partes terragii, et medietatem doni, et in terra Vavassorum medietatem terragii, et medietatem doni**.’ Mention is so frequently made in this cartulary of the word ‘Don,’ that the name has continued down to our own times, to signify the tax imposed on all merchandise that is brought into the town of Amiens by water. This proves that these dons, at first gratuitous, became in time forced, and ended by being the ordinary taxes.

The presents made to the kings were not always in money, but in kind, and often in horses. This we gather from some additions that were made to the *salique* law, which order that such horses must be marked with the names of the givers: ‘*Et hoc nobis præcipiendum est, ut quicumque in dono regio caballos detulerint, in unum quemque suum nomen habeant scriptum,*’ in order to know who had complied with this duty of gratitude, and who had not. These presents were called royal, as we learn from an epistle of Frothaire, bishop of Toul, which also confirms what I have said, that these gifts frequently consisted of horses: ‘*Nam ad horum itinerum incommoda, quæ vel nunc egimus, vel acturi sumus, seu ad dona regalia, quæ ad Palatium dirigimus, pene quidquid ex optimis equis habuimus, distribuere compulsi sumus.*’

Our annals say, that king Pepin, having defeated the Saxons, obliged them to present to him every year, at the holding of these general assemblies,

* *Tabul. Eccl. Amb. fol. 2. 19, 20. 27.*

three hundred horses: ‘ Et tunc demum polliciti sunt regis Pipini voluntatem facere, et honores, five *dona*, in suo placito præsentandos, id est, per annos singulos equos trecentos.’

The word ‘ honores’ deserves a moment’s consideration; for it apprizes us, that the gifts made on these occasions were presents of honour and gratitude, as the annals of Eginhard, in the year 758, declare in these words: ‘ Et singulis annis honoris causa ad generalem conventum equos trecentos pro munere daturus.’ These horses, given to kings as a sort of tribute or annual duty, are called in the theodosian code, ‘ Equi Canonici.’

Monasteries were not exempted from this tribute; for as it was paid solely to relieve the necessities of government, and to support the expenses which kings were obliged to incur for the preservation of their subjects’ lives and fortunes, ecclesiastics were in the same manner bounden to pay it for their domains, which the greater part held under the liberality of their princes. This made Hincmar say, ‘ Per jura regum ecclesia possidet possessiones.’ The same writer continues on this subject, ‘ Causa suæ defensionis, regi ac reipublicæ vectigalia quæ nobis *annua dona* vocantur, præstat ecclesia servans quod jubet Apostolus, cui honorem, honorem, cui vectigal vectigal, subauditur præstare regi ac defensoribus vestris,’ &c..

The epistles of Frothaire bishop of Toul, and de Loup abbot of Ferrieres, which I have before quoted, confirm the above.

Of these monasteries, some were bounden not only to make the presents before mentioned, but also to furnish soldiers: others offered only these gifts. There were also some who did neither, but were solely obliged to pray for the health of the princes, and of the royal family, and for the welfare of public affairs.

There exists a deed of the emperor Louis le debonnaire, which enumerates the monasteries in his realms, ‘ quæ dona et militiam facere debent, quæ sola dona sine militia, et quæ nec dona nec militiam, sed solas orationes pro salute imperatoris vel filiorum ejus, ac stabilitate imperii *.’ I believe that from

* To. 2. Hist. Franc. p. 323.

that period, the origin of the pecuniary assistance our kings have from time to time drawn from the clergy of France may be dated, particularly since military service from fiefs have been abolished; for during their existence, and when all vassals were bound personally to attend kings or lords in their wars, ecclesiastics were obliged to serve in person from the tenure of the lands, their lordships or fiefs; not indeed by bearing arms themselves, like the seculars, but by conducting their vassals to the armies, and afterward offering up their prayers for the prosperity of the arms of their lord.

It was the duty of the 'camerier,' that is to say, the keeper of the king's treasure, to receive these presents, but under the directions of the queen, to whom this office belonged as her right. Hincmar, describing the arrangements in the palaces of our kings, says, 'De honestate vero Palatii, feu specialiter ornamento regali, nec non et de *donis annuis* militum, abique cibo et potu, vel equis, ad reginam præcipue, et sub ipsa ad Camerarium pertinebat *.'

He then adds, that it was likewise the duty of the camerier to receive the presents from foreign ambassadors, that is to say, he was to have them under his care, as forming part of the royal treasury. These gifts, made by the subjects, were presented, in the first instance, to the king himself, who received them from the givers, while his ministers, or principal counsellors, were regulating public affairs. 'Interim vero, quo hæc in regis absentia agebantur, ipse princeps reliquæ multitudini in suscipiendis muneribus, salutandis proceribus, ——— occupatus erat.'

These general assemblies were, at their commencement, held on the first day of March annually, but, as I have noticed, were afterward adjourned to the first of May. Under the second race of our princes, as their realms, and consequently their labours, were considerably increased, they were obliged to multiply these assemblies, to attend to the affairs of government, and to regulate the disputes which from time to time arose among their people; so that they held two assemblies, one at the beginning of the year, and another towards the end, about the months of August or September.

* Hincmar. de Ord. Palat. n. 22. opusc. 14.

Hincmar says, ‘*Consuetudo autem tunc temporis erat, ut non sæpius, sed bis in anno, placita duo tenerentur.*’

In order that the public might be assured for certain on what days these assemblies were to be holden, they gave notice, at the conclusion of the first assembly, when the ensuing one was to be held. In the annals of France, in the years 832 and 835, you will find, ‘*Ubi etiam denuo annunciatum est placitum generale kalendas Septembris Aurelianis habendum.*’ And in another place, ‘*Ad placitum suum generale, quod in Strimniaco prope Lugdunum civitatem se habiturum indixerat, profectus est.*’

Hincmar says, that the first assembly was much more solemn than the second, because in that the whole of the public business for the year was arranged; and it was not common for any thing that had been then settled to be repealed, without the utmost necessity. ‘*Ordinabatur status totius regni ad anni vertentis spatium: quod ordinatum nullus eventus rerum, nisi summa necessitas, quæ similiter toti regno incumberebat, mutabatur.*’ And as affairs of the greatest importance were there treated of, all the states of the kingdom were obliged to attend. ‘*In quo placito generalitas universorum majorum, tam clericorum quam laicorum, conveniebat.*’

With regard to the second assembly, held at the end of the year, it was only attended by the principal barons and the king’s counsellors, where all projects for the ensuing year were first deliberated upon; and it was at this second assembly that the kings received the gifts from their subjects. ‘*Cæterum autem propter dona generaliter danda aliud placitum cum senioribus tantum, et præcipuis consiliaris habebatur. In quo jam futuri anni status tractari incipiebatur, si forte talia aliqua se præmonstrabant, præ quibus necesse erat præmeditando ordinare.*’

What is above said respecting the time for making these gifts is confirmed by our authors, who inform us that it was deferred to the second assembly, in order that the roads and season for travelling might be more convenient, for the subjects came from the most distant parts of the realm to offer presents. In the annals of the abbey of Fulda, of the year 870, is as follows: ‘*Rastizen gravi catena ligatum sibi præsentari jussit, eumque Francorum judicio, et Bajoariorum, nec non et Sclavorum, qui de diversis*

regni provinciis regi munera deferentes aderant, morte damnatum, luminibus tantum oculorum privari præcepit.

This passage shews, that in these general assemblies of our ancestors, not only the affairs of state and of war were determined upon, but that the disputes between princes and lords of the court were decided; inasmuch, that when any duke, count, or governor, was accused of treason or conspiracy against the king, or of cowardice, he was summoned to appear at these assemblies, and forced to answer the charges brought against him. If he was found guilty, he was condemned by the sentence of the sovereign prince, assisted by his great barons. This gave rise, in process of time, to the court of peers, in which the barons, and other great lords, who held immediately under the king, were judged, by their equals and peers. There are in our annals an infinite number of sentences passed in the general assemblies for crimes against the state: they were for this reason called ‘*Placita*,’ because affairs of consequence were there decided; and to distinguish them from common courts of justice, they are often named by writers ‘*Placita magna et generalia*.’

I shall have elsewhere occasion to speak of the origin of this word ‘*Placitum*,’ which is synonymous to that of ‘*Mallum*,’ as I have before remarked. These general assemblies began to fall into disuse toward the end of the second race, when all France was plunged into intestine divisions. During the third race, other assemblies were formed under the names of Parliaments, or States-general, where public business was arranged, and where it was resolved what aids the different orders of people should give to the king for his wars or his necessities.

The ancient English seem to have borrowed from us the usage of these assemblies, and these ‘*Champs de May*,’ for we read in the laws of Edward the confessor, that the people were obliged to assemble yearly, ‘*in Capite Kalendarum Maii*,’ when they renewed their oaths of obedience to the prince, and for the defence of the state. It is to this custom we must refer what Simeon of Durham and other English writers say, in the year 1194. ‘*Denuo in Campo Martii convenere, ubi illi qui sacramentis inter illos pacem confirmavere, regi omnem culpam imposuere.*’

This shews, that although these assemblies were held in the month of May, they nevertheless preserved the name of Champ de Mars, and that they were continued during the reigns of the first norman kings. Presents were there made in like manner as to our kings. Odericus Vitalis, speaking of William the conqueror, says, ‘*Ipsi vero regi, ut fertur, mille et sexaginta libræ sterilenfis monetæ, solidique triginta, et tres oboli ex justis redditibus Angliæ per singulos dies redduntur: exceptis muneribus regiis, et reatum redemptionibus, aliisque multiplicibus negotiis, quæ regis ærarium quotidie adaugent.*’

Perhaps, by the term of Royal Presents, the author understands duties in kind, which the subject was bound to pay daily for the support of the prince’s household; for ‘*in primitivo regni statu post conquestionem regibus de fundis suis non auri vel argenti pondera, sed sola victualia solvebantur,*’ as Gervais of Tilbury writes, page 216.

It is well known, that these gifts made by subjects to their prince were customary at the time of William the bastard; for we read, that in the kingdom of Sicily when the norman race of kings ruled it, the people made them gifts on the first of January. Whence Falcandus remarks, that the admiral Majon having been killed under pretext that he wished to seize the kingdom, in evidence of which it was alledged, that several crowns of gold had been found in his house, his friends exculpated him by saying that he had only ordered them to be made, to offer them as presents to the king on the day when such gifts were usually made to him: ‘*Falsum enim quidquid ipse cædisque factæ focii adversus admiratum confixerant; nec illum inventa in thesauris ejus diademata sibi præparasse, sed regi, ut eodem in kalendis Januarii Strenarum nomine, juxta consuetudinem ei transmitteret* *.’

* Hugo Falcandus de Sicil. Calam. p. 657.

DISSERTATION V.

ON THE COURTS AND SOLEMN FESTIVALS OF THE KINGS OF FRANCE.

BESIDES these general assemblies, which the french kings called together in March or May on public affairs, there were likewise other assemblies on the principal festivals in the calendar, where they shewed themselves to their own subjects, and to strangers, with a pomp worthy of royal magnificence. This was also practised from the beginning of the Christian monarchy; for we read in the fifth book of the history of France, by Gregory of Tours, chapter second, that Chilperic, on his arrival at Tours, celebrated with pomp the feast of Easter: ‘*Chilpericus Toronis venit, ibique et dies sanctos Paschæ tenuit.*’ Eginhard, in his annals for the year 759, says that Pepin observed the like ceremonies at the festivals of Easter and Christmas during the course of his reign, and that they were continued by his successors. The same author writes, that Charlemagne was accustomed to appear on these grand festivals, clothed in cloth of gold, with buskins embroidered with pearls. and other royal magnificence, with the crown on his head: ‘*In festivitibus veste auro texta, et calciamentis gemmatis, et fibula aurea sagum astringente, diademate quoque ex auro, et gemmis ornatus incedebat.*’

Thegan makes the same remark on Louis le debonnaire: ‘*Nunquam aureo resplenduit indumento, nisi tantum in summis festivitibus, sicut patres ejus solebant agere. Nihil illis diebus se induit præter camisiam, et*

femīnalia nisi cum auro texta, Lembo aureo, bāltheo præcinctus, et ense auro fulgente, ocreas aureas, et clamydem auro textam, et coronam auream, auro fulgentem in capite gestans, et baculum auream in manu tenens *.

I imagine these two french emperors wished in this to imitate the greek emperors of Constantinople, who were accustomed to attend the churches on all the principal festivals of the year, dressed in their imperial robes, with the crown on their heads, as Theophanes informs us in his life of Justinian the great. It is certain, however, that Charles le chauve, son to Louis le debonnaire, affected particularly to copy them; for the annals of Fulda relate, ‘Karolus rex de Italia in Galliam rediens, novos et insolitos habitus assumpsisse perhibetur. Nam talari Dalmatica indutus, et Baltheo desuper accinctus pendente usque ad pedes, nec non capite involuto serico velamine, ac diademate desuper imposito, Dominicis et festis diebus ad ecclesiam procedere solebat. Omnem enim consuetudinem regum Francorum contemnens, Græcas glorias optimas arbitrabatur.’

These terms, however, concern the form of the clothing, and that of the crown; for with respect to the dress of the French in these ages, the monk of St Gal describes it, and shews that it was very different from that of the Greeks. Our princes at that period wore over their dress and girdle a blue or white mantle of a square cut, short at the sides, but long before and behind: ‘Ultimum habitus eorum erat pallium canum, vel saphirinum quadrangulum, duplex, sic formatum, ut cum imponeretur humeris, ante et retro, pedes tangeret, de lateribus vero vix genua contegeret.’

Tertullian speaks of these square mantles †, which the Greeks called τετραγωνα. It is thus that Charlemagne is represented in a mosaic, in the church dedicated to Santa Sufanna at Rome, where he is on his knees before St Peter, who puts into his hands a blue standard, besprinkled with red roses, and this inscription above it, ‘†. D. N. CARULO REX:’ on the other side is pope Leon with these words, ‘†. SCISSIMUS D. N. LEO PP.’ Over the head of St Peter is, ‘SCS. PETRVS,’ and under his feet is this fragment

* Thegan. c. 19 Annal. Met. anno 837.

† Tertull. de Pallio. et ibi Salmasius, p. 56.

of an inscription, ‘ . . . DONAS . . . BICTO . . . IA.’ This form of a mantle has ever since been preserved and used in France.

Manuel Comnenes, emperor of Constantinople, being at Antioch, and desirous of shewing to the French that he was not less adroit than themselves in the management of the lance at tournaments, made his appearance dressed in the french fashion, and clothed in a mantle which was open on the right side, and fastened with a clasp, that he might have the free use of his right arm to fight with: *χλαμυδα ησθημενος αστειοτεραν περι τον δεξιον ὄμων περονουμενην, και αφιεϊσαν ελευθεραν την χειρα κατα το πορπημα* *. This is the sort of mantle spoken of in the last will of St Everard, duke of Friulia, ‘ Mantellum unum de auro paratum, cum fibula aurea.’

In an account of Stephen de la Fontaine, master of the robes to the king, for the year 1351, he thus describes the mantles of our kings, of our princes of the blood, and of the knights: ‘ pour xx aulnes et demie de fin velluiau vermeil de fors, pour faire une garnache, un long mantel fendu à un costé, et chaperon de meismes tout fourré d’Ermines pour le Roy à la derniere fête de l’Estaille, &c. Pour fourrer un furcot, un mantel long fendu à un costé, et chaperon de meismes, que le roy ot d’une escarlate vermeille, pour cause de la dite fête.’ In another part of the same account, ‘ pour le duc d’Orliens, pour fourrer un grand furcot, un mantel fendu à un costé, et chaperon de meismes, que le dit seigneur ot d’une escarlate vermeille.’

This mantle represented the Paludamentum of the Romans, and now constitutes part of the royal habiliments of our princes, which the Presidents à Mortier in the parliaments have imitated in their robes. I make this observation by the way in regard to the mantles of the ancient French, because the lord de Joinville writes, that the king of Navarre appeared ‘ en cotte et en mantel,’ at the solemn court the king St Louis held at Saumur in the year 1242.

It is certain, that not only the kings of the second race celebrated these solemnities with much pomp, but the third race followed their example.

Helgaud† mentions the solemn courts which king Robert held in his palace in Paris on the feasts of Easter, where he gave public festivals.

* Nicet. Chon. in Man. l. 3. § 3.

† Helgald. in Rob. pp. 66. 70.

Odericus Vitalis writes, that king Philip I. having been excommunicated on account of his marriage with Bertrade de Montfort, ceased from that time to wear his crown or to appear at any of these grand festivals: ‘Nunquam diadema portavit, nec purpuram induit, neque solennitatem aliquam regiorum celebravit.’

And although St Louis affected great modesty in his dress, he nevertheless observed on these occasions that decorum requisite to support the royal dignity; as he also did in the court and open table he kept at Saumur; where, according to the recital of the lord de Joinville, he was most superbly dressed, and where he saw a greater number of dresses of cloth of gold than he had ever before witnessed. He does not particularise that he wore the crown on his head: it is, however, to be presumed that he did, since the king of Navarre was present, ‘moult paré, et aourné, de drap d’or, en cotte et mantel, la çainture, fermail, et chappel d’or fin.’ Nangis confirms this magnificence of St Louis in the following words: ‘In solemnitatibus regiis, et tam in quotidianis sumptibus domus suæ, quam in parlamentis et congregationibus militum et baronum, sicut decebat regiam dignitatem, liberaliter, ac largiter se habebat,’ &c. This he seems to have taken from our author, who specifies, that when the great lords and knights attended his councils or the assemblies of the states, he entertained them at court more splendidly and sumptuously than ever any of his predecessors had done.

But what proves that on these occasions our kings wore their crowns is the last will of Philip de Valois, which he made at the castle of Vincennes the 2d July 1350, by which he bequeaths to his queen, Blanche of Navarre, all his jewels, ‘exceptée tant seulement nostre couronne royale, de laquelle nous avons usé, ou accoustumé à user en grands festes, ou en solennitez, et de laquelle nous usâmes, et la portâmes à chevalerie de Jean nostre ainné fils.’ These are the words of the testament. And it was from the king’s wearing their crowns on such solemn feasts, that these grand festivals were called ‘Curie coronatæ,’ in a title-deed of the commonalty granted to the town of Laon by king Louis le jeune, in the year 1138, as follows:

‘Pro his igitur, et aliis beneficiis quæ prædictis civibus regali benignitate contulimus, ipsius pacis homines hanc nobis conventionem habuerunt, quod excepta curia coronata, sive expeditione, vel equitatu, tribus vicibus in anno

lingulas procurationes, si in civitatem venerimus, pro eis xx^m. libr. nobis perfolvent.'

The courts of princes are always filled with courtiers, whence it may be inferred that kings are surrounded by great numbers of persons, which gives occasion to Guntherus to say *,

' Non est magnorum cum paucis vivere regum.
Quotlibet emittat, plures tamen aula reservat.
Nec princeps latebras, nec sol desiderat umbras;
Abscondat solem, qui vult abscondere regem.
Sive novi veniant, seu qui venere recedant,
Semper inexhausta celebratur Curia turba.'

Kings made choice of these occasions to display their magnificence in dress, and in the numbers of barons and prelates that came from all quarters to attend their court, in the splendid dresses of the officers of their households, by the sumptuous feasts, their gifts and liberalities: in short, by striking ceremonies, such as the creation of knights, which was reserved for these days. It was not, therefore, without reason that different authors have called them, ' Cours plenieres, solennelles, publiques, generales, ouvertes.' The two following verses are taken from the chronicle of Bertrand du Guesclin:

' Et toute sa vaisselle fasse amener droit la,
Pour ce que Cour plainiere ce dit tenir voudra.'

They selected for this purpose one of their palaces, or some large town capable of lodging their whole attendants, as the annals of Eginhard, and other authors mention. Among them is the same Guntherus, who, speaking of the emperor Frederick I. says,

' Instabat veneranda dies, qua Christus in una
Æqualis Deitate Patri, sine temporis ortu,
Natus ab æterno, sub tempore, temporis auctor
Coelitus infusa voluit de virgine nasci, &c.
Hunc celebrare diem digno meditatus honore
Cæsar, ubi illustrem legeret sibi Curia fedem,

* Gunther. l. 4. Ligur. p. 97.

Quæ posset pleno tot millia passere cornu,
Wormatium petiit,' &c.

I observe that it seldom happened that any other feasts but those of Christmas and Easter were celebrated by these grand assemblies under the reign of the second race of our kings: during that of the third, others were added. In a charter from king Robert to the monastery of St Denis, which exempts these monks from attending those solemn courts, he likewise includes the feasts of Twelfth-day and Whitsuntide. Another of king Louis le gros, of the year 1133, is thus subscribed: 'Actum Sueffioni Generali Curia Pentecostes coram Archiepiscopis et Episcopis, et coram optimatibus regni nostri.'

Ives bishop of Chartres, in one of his epistles, speaks of the court, 'quæ Aurelianis in Natali Domini congreganda erat,' and where he mentions that public business was discussed.

But that the princes of the blood, the whole royal family, the great officers of the crown, and those of the king's household, might appear with splendour, the kings gave to each, according to his rank, dresses suited to the seasons in which these grand courts were held. These dresses were called 'livrées,' because they were delivered and given from the money in the king's coffers, and in the latin writers were named, 'liberatæ,' and 'liberationes,' and frequently 'les nouvelles robes.'

Matthew Paris writes, in the year 1243, 'Appropinquante vero et imminente præclaræ Dominicæ Nativitatis festivitate, qua mutatoria recentia, quæ vulgariter novas robas appellamus, Magnates suis domesticis distribuere, consueverunt,' &c. He speaks in many other places of the Christmas robes. Hence it happens, that whoever wears the livery or robes of any one is supposed to belong to his household.

In the laws of the barons of Scotland, 'dummodo non sit persona suspecta, utpote si fuerit tenens suus, vel de familia sua, vel portans robas suas,' &c. * To this day we call Liveries the dresses of servants, which are all commonly uniform, in like manner as Corippus describes those of the attendants of Justin †:

* Quoniam attach. c. 13. § 2.

† Coripp. -l. 4. de Laud. Justin, p. 57.

‘ ————— ætas quibus omnibus una,
 Par habitus, par forma fuit, vestisque rubebat
 Concolor, atque auro lucebant cingula mundo.’

The monk of St Gal says, that the emperor Louis le debonnaire made presents to his domestics, and gave to each dresses fuitable to their ranks: ‘ Cunctis in palatio ministrantibus, et in curia regia servientibus, juxta singulorum personas donativa largitus est: ita ut nobilioribus quibuscumque aut baltheos, aut fascilones, preciosissimaque vestimenta a latissimo imperio perlata, distribui juberet; inferioribus vero saga Frefonica omnimodo coloris darentur.’

The accounts of Stephen de la Fontaine for the year 1351 mention the liveries that were given to the king’s household on the feasts of Christmas, Candlemas, Whitsuntide, that of our Lady in the middle of August, and of All-faints; and they inform us such were likewise given to the queen’s, the princes of the blood, to the officers of the crown, to the knights of the household, who are vulgarly called, ‘ les chevaliers du roy,’ and in general to all the officers of the king’s household, as well as to such as were, on these solemn festivals, created knights by the king. These liveries were also named ‘ mantles,’ in Latin ‘ pallia,’ because to some were given mantles, and to others robes.

In an account of the treasury for the year 1300, is, ‘ Pallia militum determino Pentecost. &c. Pallia Clericorum, &c. Robæ Valletorum et aliorum hospitii,’ &c. And in an ordinance of Charles V. in the year 1364, respecting the parliament, ‘ Wadia et Pallia.’ Another of Charles VII. respecting the officers of the parliament, in the year 1439, enacts, that the presidents, counsellors, clerks and notaries of the parliament, shall be paid their wages, and for their mantles by debentures. This right to mantles belonged equally to the masters of requests, the masters of accounts, and to the treasurers of France, as may be collected from the perusal of the ancient ordinances. This was not peculiar to the French, for we read in the theodosian code, that this usage was practised by the emperors of the east, who gave dresses to their officers of the palace: ‘ Olim statuimus, ut ultra definitas dignitates nullus nec annonas, nec strenas perciperet. Sed quia plerisque de diversis palatinis officiis sub occasione indepti honoris strenas et

vestes, cæteraque solemnities ultra statutum numerum percepisse cognovimus, et id ex quo superfluo præbitum est exigi facias, et deinceps ultra statutas dignitates nihil præberi permittas.' These gifts made to the officers were afterwards called 'Rogæ.'

Helgaud, the lord de Joinville, and other authors remark, that at these solemn feasts there were public festivals, when the kings eat in presence of their court, and were waited on by the great officers of the crown and of the household, each according to the duties of his place. There were also added the amusements of minstrels, under which name were comprehended those who played on 'naquaires, du demy canon, du cornet, de la guiterne latine, de la flûte behaigne, de la trompette, de la guiterne morefche, et de la vieille,' which are named in a household-account of the duke of Normandy and Guienne for the year 1348. There were likewise drolls and jugglers ('joculatores') and merry Andrews, who diverted the company by their witticisms and farces. The expense of kings and princes, and of simple gentlemen, in their households, was so prodigious that it gave occasion to Lambert of Ardres, and to the cardinal Jacques de Vitry, to lavish invectives on the superfluous extravagance of their times, which was carried so far as frequently to ruin whole families. St Austin had before reprobated them, in the following words: 'Donare res suas histrionibus, vitium est immane, non virtus. Illa fanies Romæ recepta, et favoribus aucta, tandem collabefecit bonos mores, et civitates perdidit, coegitque imperatores sæpius eos expellere.'

The annals of France prove, that minstrels and farcers attended these solemn courts, when they mention Louis le debonnaire: 'Nunquam in risu exaltavit vocem suam, nec quando in summis festivitibus ad lætitiā procedebant Thymelici, scurræ et mimi, cum Coraulis et Citharistis ad mensam coram eo,' &c. They are called 'ministrels,' or 'ministrelli, quasi parvi ministri;' that is to say, petty officers of the king's household.

But the magnificence of princes, on these occasions, was shewn in a particular manner by their generosity towards their principal officers, giving them divers rich jewels, more especially such as they wore on their dress for those days. Matthew Paris says, in the year 1251, 'Eodem celeberrimo

festis (Natalis Dominici) licet omnes prædecessores sui indumenta regalia, et jocalia pretiosa consuevissent ab antiquo distribuere, ipse tamen rex — nulla penitus militibus distribuit, vel familiaribus.’

Like the ancient emperors of Rome and Constantinople, who, when they took possession of their dignities, scattered among the crowds assembled on the occasion a quantity of coined gold and silver, which the latin writers name ‘ Missilia,’ and the greek *υπάτια*; so our kings had ‘ Largeffe,’ cried by their heralds at arms during the feast, each holding in his hands large ‘ hanaps,’ or great cups filled with all sorts of coin, which they flung among the people. The accounts of William Charrier, receiver-general of the finances, which begin at the year 1422, and are in the chamber of accounts in Paris, confirm the above in these words: ‘ A Touraine et Pontoise, heraux du roy, la somme de 41 livres, 6 sols, en 30 escus d’or donnée par le dit seigneur au mois de May 1448, tant pour eux, que pour autres heraux, poursuivans, menestrels et trompettes, pour avoir le jour de la Pentecoste au dit an, crié *Largeffe* devant sa personne, ainsi qu’ il est accoustumé.’ In the fourth account of Matthew Beauvarlet, receiver-general of the finances of Languedoc, beginning at the first of October 1452, ‘ A Pontoise, Berry et Guyenne, heraux du roy, pour avoir crié *Largeffe* au dîner du dit seigneur le jour et feste de Touffaints, ainsi qu’ il est accoustumé de faire.’

The form and manner of proclaiming these largesses is thus described by a herald, who lived during the reign of Henry VI. king of England, in a manuscript treatise on the duty and office of heralds and pursuivants at arms: ‘ Après heraulx et poursuivans doivent cognoistre quand ils sont devers les princes et grands seigneurs, comme ils doivent crier leur largesse, lesquelles se crient aux grans festes; et se doit la largesse crier quand ils sont à dîner, quand le second cours et entremets sont servis. Et doit le grand maistre d’hostel en une aumuche ou sachet honorable appeller le roy d’armes, mareschal, ou herauld, ou poursuivant le plus notable en l’absence du herauld, et lui dire, vecy que monseigneur ou le prince vous presente. Et devant sa table doit crier *Largeffe*, *largesse*, *largesse*, et prendre de quel estat il est, et selon les salutations cy-dessus escrites, selon l’estat de quoy est celui qui fait la feste en la maniere de la salutation qui luy est dueë, doit nommer après, *largesse*

de très, &c. avec les titres de la seigneurie dont les heraux au devant doivent estre informez, et par prenant garde en cette maniere, apaine peuvent faillir. Et après quant il a crié, tous heraux et poursuivans doivent crier après lui, Largeffe, sans dire autre chose, et en plusieurs lieux, au long de la salle, ou palais doit estre fait en telle maniere que chascun l'oe, &c.

‘ Et pour mieux faire entendre cris de Largeffe, en fera mis deux cy-aprés, l'un pour l'empereur l'autre pour le roy, &c. Largeffe de Ferry le très-haut des haults de tous princes, empereur Auguste, roy des Romains, et duc en Autriche, Largeffe, largeffe, largeffe. Et au premier se doit crier trois fois, et en la fin tous les herauds le doivent crier et poursuivre tous ensemble seulement Largeffe, &c.

‘ Largeffe, largeffe, largeffe de Henry par la grace de Dieu très-haut, et très Chretien, et très puissant roy Franc des François et Anglois, seigneur d'Irlande, Largeffe, largeffe, largeffe.’

Thomas Mills writes, that in England the proclamations of Largeffs are to this day made in French, which is likewise confirmed in the Ceremonial of France, tom. 2. p. 742. when it speaks of the interview of Henry VIII. and Francis I. between Guines and Ardres, in the year 1520.

The usage of those royal festivals, for it is thus Matthew Paris calls them (*regalia festa*), was introduced into England by William the bastard, after he had conquered that kingdom.

Ordericus Vitalis says, ‘ Inter bella Gulielmus ex civitate Guenta jubet afferri Coronam, aliaque ornamenta regalia et vasa, et dimisso exercitu in castris, Eboracum venit, ibique Natale Salvatoris nostri concelebrat.’

William of Malmesbury writes to the same effect in these words: ‘ Convivia in præcipuis festivitibus sumptuosa et magnifica inibat. Natale Domini apud Glocestriam, Pascha apud Wintoniam, Pentecostem apud Westmonasterium agens quotannis, quibus in Anglia morari liceret: omnes eo cujuscumque possessionis magnates regium edictum accersebat, ut exterarum gentium legati speciem multitudinis, apparatusque deliciarum mirarentur, nec ullo tempore comior, aut indulgendi facilius erat, ut qui advenerant largitatem ejus cum divitiis conquadrare ubique gentium jactitarent.’ The annals of France apprize us likewise, in several places,

that our kings of the second race chose similar occasions for the reception of foreign ambassadors.

William Rufus, son and successor to William the bastard continued the usage of the solemn festivals. King Henry I. celebrated them in like manner with great magnificence. Eadmer, who mentions this, calls these festivals ‘the king’s crown days,’ because he then wore his crown. ‘In subsequenti festivitate Pentecostes rex Henricus Curiam suam Lundoniæ in magna gloria, et divite apparatu celebravit, qui transactis *coronæ* suæ festivioribus diebus, cæpit agere cum episcopis et regni principibus, quid esset agendum*.’ He also informs us, that the kings had the crown placed on their heads by the archbishop, or in his absence by the highest bishop in rank, at the mass which was celebrated on that day. ‘In sequenti Nativitate Domini Christi regnum Angliæ ad Curiam Regis Lundoniæ pro more convenit, et magna solemnitas habita est, atque sublimis. Ipsa die archiepiscopus Eboracensis, se loco primatis Cantuariensis regem coronaturum, et missam sperans celebraturum, ad id animo paratum se exhibuit. Cui episcopus Lundoniensis non acquiescens coronam capiti regis imposuit, eumque per dexteram induxit ecclesiæ, et officium diei percelebravit.’ Eadmer elsewhere relates, that when Henry espoused Alix of Brabant his second queen, Raoul archbishop of Canterbury (whose right it was to crown the kings of England) having begun mass, and perceiving the king seated on his throne with the crown on his head, quitted the altar and advanced to demand from him who had put the crown on his head, which he afterward made him take off; but the barons, by their exertions compelled him to replace it.

These solemn courts were discontinued in England during the reign of king Stephen, who was forced to it, from the heavy wars he had on his hands, and because the wealth of the kingdom was exhausted. William of Malmesbury, speaking of William the bastard: ‘Quem morem convivendi primus successor obstinate tenuit, tertius omisit.’ Other english historians say the same; and Henry of Huntingdon—‘Curie solemnes, et ornatus regii schematis ab antiqua serie descendens prorsus evanuerunt.’

* Eadmer, l. 4. Hist. Novor. p. 102.

But Henry II. his successor, re-established this custom. Roger Hoveden remarks, that he and his queen Eleanor were publicly crowned three times, and that at the third time, when both were at the altar to make their offering, they took off their crowns, and placed them on the altar, ‘*voventes Deo, quod nunquam in vita sua de cætero coronarentur;*’ which I suppose to mean these solemn courts.

King John, in the year 1201,—‘*celebravit Natale Domini apud Guildenford, ubi multa militibus suis festiva distribuit indumenta;*’ and on the Easter-day following, at Canterbury, ‘*ibidem die Paschæ cum regina sua coronam portavit.*’ Matthew of Westminster, from whom the above quotations are taken, continues, that Henry III. celebrated these feasts likewise with great pomp at Westminster, in the year 1249: ‘*Ubi cum dapfili valde convivio, ut solet, dies transegit Natalitios, cum multitudine nobilium copiosa.*’ And in the year 1353, he remarks, that at a Christmas-feast held at Winchester, the inhabitants of that town, ‘*juxta ritum tantæ solemnitatis fecerunt (regi) xenium nobilissimum;*’ which proves again, that kings on such occasions received presents from their subjects, and also that the inhabitants of the towns where such festivals were held were bounden to contribute towards part of the expense of them, which is particularised in the charter to the town of Laon before quoted.

Edward I. continued this custom, for Thomas Walsingham says, ‘*Rex vero Bristoliam veniens, ibique festum Dominicæ Nativitatis tenuit eo anno.*’ Edward II. did the same, according to the above writer: ‘*Rex iter versus insulam Eliensem arripuit ubi solemnitatem Paschalem tenuit nobiliter, et festive.*’

The expression of ‘*tenir feste,*’ is French, for William Guiart in the year 1202, speaking of Philip Auguste,

‘*Tint li rois leans une feste,
Où moult dépendi grant richece.*’

The principal barons have also affected, in imitation of their sovereigns, to hold their solemn courts on the great festivals of the year. An old author says, that Richard II. duke of Normandy, was accustomed to hold a court at the feast of Easter, in the monastery of Fécamp, which had been built by his father: ‘*Ibi erat solitus fere omni tempore suam curiam in Paschali*

solemnitate tenere.' Mention is frequently made of these 'cours plenieres' of great lords in different title-deeds, particularly in one of Pierre count de Bigorre, which has these words: 'Curia namque ibi erat magna et plenaria.' But I imagine such cours plenieres were assemblies of vassals of equal rank, presided by the lord, in which the quarrels and disputes that had arisen among them were decided. There is in the Cartulary of Vendôme a sentence given, 'plenaria curia vidente.' This court, therefore, was a dependance on the great fiefs, which had been granted by the sovereign.

William the bastard granted a similar one to the church of Durham: 'Et ut curiam suam plenariam et Vrech in terra sua libere, et quiete in perpetuum habeant, concedo et confirmo *.' There is another charter of king Henry III. of England for the priory of Repindon, in the county of Derby, which has similar terms: 'Et curiam suam plenariam præterquam de furtis, et de hominibus comitis,' &c. † This proves, that these courts of the great lords were held for the administration of justice, and for the hearing of such causes as required it.

There is in the cartulary of the abbey of Valoires, in the diocese of Amiens, a charter of Enguerrand viscount de Pont de Remy, in the year 1274, by which the abbot and monks of this monastery acknowledge themselves bound to lodge him and his attendants in such houses as belong to them in the town of Abbeville, on Whitsunday and the three following days, and to furnish him with stables, two carts load of forage, kitchens, tables and cloths, in case the count de Ponthieu should insist on his attendance at Abbeville at the times when he may there hold his court.

This shews that the vassals, on account of their fiefs, were obliged to attend the solemn courts of their lords paramount. I have read another charter, conformable to this custom of Renaud d'Amiens knight, lord of Vinacourt, of the year 1210, by which he acknowledges himself liege man to Enguerrand lord of Pinquegny, and that he owes him six weeks service at the above place, with arms, and at his own expense, should he have need of him in his wars. He then adds these words: 'Et si dictus vicedominus me pro festo faciendo summonuerit, ego cum uxore mea per octo dies secum

* Monast. Anglic. To. 1. p. 44.

† Ibid. To. 2. p. 281.

ad cultum meum debeo remanere,' &c. By another charter of the year 1280, Dreux d'Amiens, lord de Vinacourt, acknowledges that he owes eight days of residence in his castle, and eight days of feasts to the Vidame of Amiens. Now it must be observed, that what is here called 'festum' is in another charter of the same Enguerrand of the year 1218, called 'dies hastiludii,' and in one of Jean, Vidame of Amiens, in 1271, 'le jour du Bouhordeis,' because on those days there were tournaments, 'behourds,' or tiltings with lances; and in order that these assemblies might be numerous and brilliant, the lords obliged their vassals to attend at their own expense, as has been noticed, and sent them their summons to this effect.

But as the matter of tournaments and behours is curious, and their origin little known, I shall take the opportunity of making some dissertations which cannot fail to be interesting, since they will describe their source, and shew their uses and abuses.

The vassals were not only obliged to attend the feasts of their lords, but were also bound to do various other particular services, according to the terms of their infeoffments. In a charter of Humbert Dauphin of the year 1340, he grants to Aynard de Clermont the lands of Clermont en Trièves, with the title of Viscount, on condition, that whenever the dauphin or his eldest son shall be created knights, the viscount shall carry the sword before them; and that at the feasts which may follow this ceremony, and at wedding festivals, he serve on horseback or on foot, according as the feast may require; in consideration of which he shall receive two dishes, and four plates of silver of the weight of sixteen marcs; and should the feast last more than one day, he shall receive for every succeeding day, a silver dish of four or five marcs weight*.

* M. de Boiffieu au Traité des Droits Seign. ch. 4.

DISSERTATION VI.

ON THE ORIGIN AND USAGE OF TOURNAMENTS.

ALL nations that have loved war, or have made it the principal object of their glory, have endeavoured to render themselves skilful in military exercises. They have thought it improper to engage in battle before they had learned the rudiments and maxims of war. They were anxious to form their soldiers, and teach them the management of their arms, before they led them against their enemies. ‘*Ars enim bellandi, si non præluditur, cum necessaria fuerit, non habetur,*’ says Cassiodorus. It is for this reason that St Isidore writes, that the Goths, who were esteemed great warriors, ‘*in armorum artibus spectabiles,*’ were accustomed to exercise themselves in mock combats: ‘*Exercere enim sese telis, ac præliis præludere maxime diligunt, ludorum certamina usu quotidiano gerunt**.’

The French, who have been in fact the most warlike of nations, have cultivated the arts of war more than others. They were the inventors of tournaments and jousts, which they brought into use to keep up the warlike spirit in their gentlemen, and prepare them for real combats. This has caused a poet of these times to write,

‘*Ante homines domuisse feras gens Gallica ab olim
Sanxit, et ad duros belli armorumque labores,
Exercere domi rigidæ præludia pugnae*†.’

* *Ibid.* in *hist. Goth. init.*

† *Roder. Tolet. l. 1. hist. Hisp. c. 9.*

As tournaments were only invented to exercise young gentlemen, they are for this reason called by Thomas of Walsingham ‘*Ludi militares*;

 by Roger Hoveden, ‘*Militaria exercitia*; by Lambert of Ardres, ‘*Gladiaturæ*; by the author of the history of Jerufalem, ‘*Imaginarie bellorum prolusiones*; and lastly, by William of Neubourg, ‘*Meditationes militares armorum exercitia, belli præludia, quæ nullo interveniente odio, sed pro solo exercitio, atquæ ostentatione virium fiebant.*’

Alexander Necham, Lazius, Chifflet and other authors suppose the name and origin of tournaments to be derived from the horse-races of the ancients called ‘Trojæ,’ and ‘Trojani ludes,’ which were first invented by Æneas when he buried his father Anchises in Sicily, whence these races were afterwards introduced among the Romans. We cannot doubt but that these trojan games were like to our tournaments, from the description Virgil has given of them; for they did not consist simply of horse-racing, as father d’Outreman has written *, since Virgil has, in the following verses, shewn the contrary :

‘ ——— pugnæque cient simulachra sub armis,
Et nunc terga fugæ mandant, nunc spicula vertunt
Inferni : facta pariter nunc pace feruntur †.’

It is, however, certain, that the exercises in tournaments were different from horse-racing; and it is probable even, that the name of ‘Tournois’ is not derived from ‘Troja, quasi Trojamentum,’ as the authors quoted seem to think, and have so written, but from the french word, ‘Tourner,’ which signifies to walk or run in a circle. Papias thus interprets the word *tornat*, ‘in gyrum mittit,’ a word that does not appear new, since Paulus Diaconus, and the emperor Maurice, in his Tactics, tell us, that the word ‘torna’ was used in battle, to order the soldiers to turn, or wheel, as occasions should offer. Several have in consequence imagined, that those women called ‘Tornatrices,’ by Hincmar, have had this name given to them because they danced in a circle. It is also thence that the ancient French have derived the word ‘Returnar,’ which is found in the treaty of peace between king Louis and Charles le chauve his brother, and the word ‘Retornare’ in the

* D’Oureman. in C. P. Bulg. L. 1. c. 11. § 6.

† Æneid. L. 5.

capitularies of this same Charles le chauve, which means at this day to return from any place.

These military exercises were in very early use among us, for Nethardus tells us they were practised under the second race of our kings. In describing the interview between Louis king of Germany and Charles le chauve, king of France, at Strasburg, and in relating the various and reciprocal marks of friendship which they shewed each other, he adds, that to render this meeting more solemn there were combats on horseback between the gentlemen attendants on these two princes, to give proofs of their address in arms: ‘*Ludos etiam hoc ordine sæpe causa exercitii frequentabant. Conveniebant autem quocumque congruum spectaculo videbatur: et subsistente hinc omni multitudine, primum pari numero Saxonorum, Wasconorum, Austrasiorum, Britannorum, ex utraque parte, veluti sibi invicem adversari vellent, alter in alterum veloci cursu ruebat; hinc pars terga versa umbonibus ad socios infectantes evadere se velle simulabant. At versa vice iterum illos quos fugiebant, persequi studebant: donec novissime utrique reges cum omni juventute, ingenti clamore, equis emissis, hastilia crispantes exiliunt, et nunc his, nunc illis terga dantibus insistant. Eratque res digna pro tanta nobilitate, nec et moderatione, digna spectaculo. Non enim quispiam in tanta multitudine ac diversitate generis, uti sæpe inter paucissimos, et notos contingere solet, alicui, aut læsionis aut vituperii quippiam inferre audebat.*’ After this passage, no doubt can remain but that tournaments were in use before the third race of our kings. Nevertheless, ancient chronicles attribute the invention of them to Geoffroy lord of Preuilly, father to another Geoffroy, from whom sprung the counts of Tours. In the chronicle of Tours, this is said of him: ‘*Anno 1066, Gaufridus de Pruliaco, que torneamenta invenit, apud Andegavum occiditur.*’ In that of St Martin of Tours, ‘*Anno Henrici Imp. 7. et Philippi Regis 6. fuit proditio apud Andegavum, Gaufridus de Pruliaco, et alii Barones occisi sunt. Hic Gaufridus de Pruliaco torneamenta invenit.*’

On the other hand, we read in Lambert of Ardres, that Raoul count de Guines, son to the count Ardolphus, having gone to France to attend the tournaments received in one of these combats a blow that ended his life. Now Raoul lived before this count de Preuilly; for the same author writes,

that his son Eustache, on hearing of the death of his father, came instantly to Flanders, and did homage for his county of Guines to the count B 1 win le barbu, who held the county of Flanders from the year 989 until the year 1034. So that I do not believe this lord de Preuilly was the inventor of these combats or military exercises, but that he may have been the first who drew up any fixed regulations for them, and rendered them more public and frequent. This is the more probable, as we do not find the word 'tournoy' any where prior to this period: besides, the greater part of foreign authors candidly acknowledge that tournaments were peculiar to the French. It is for this reason they are called by Matthew Paris, in the year 1179, 'Confiictus Gallici,' the usual combats of the French, in the following passage:

'Henricus Rex Anglorum junior mare transiens in Confiictibus Gallicis, et profusioribus expensis triennium peregit, Regiaque Majestate prorsus deposita, totus est de Rege translatus in Militem, et flexis in gyrum frenis, in variis congressionibus triumphum reportans, sui nominis famam circumquaque resperfit.'

Ralph of Coggeshall, in his manuscript chronicle, gives similar testimony, writing, that Geoffroy de Mandeville died in the city of London of a wound he received, 'dum more Francorum, cum hastis, vel contis, sese cursim equitantes vicissim impeterent.'

Authors have likewise remarked, that the French were more adroit in these exercises than those of other nations. Count Baltazare di Castilione, in his Cortigiano, speaks thus of the address of our nation, 'Nel torneare, tener un passo, combattere una sbarra.' And as the lance was the principal weapon used in these sorts of combats, they have ever excelled in the management of it, which caused Foucher de Chartres to say they were 'probissimi bellatores, et mirabiles de lanceis percussores.'

Albert of Aix gives a description of their lances; and Anna Comnena, Nicetas, and Cinamus, pay this honour to the french nobility, that they shewed a particular adroitness in the use of the lance, and made good use of it when occasions offered.

The English borrowed from the French the usage of tournaments, which were first practised among them under the reign of king Stephen: 'Cum per ejus indecentem mollitiem nullus esset publicæ vigor disciplinæ,'

as William of Neubourg writes: for then, under the reign of Henry II. who succeeded Stephen, the English ‘Tyronum exercitiis in Anglia prorsus inhibitis, qui forte armorum affectantes gloriam exerceri volebant, transfretantes in terrarum exercebantur confiniis.’

Roger Hoveden and Brompton confirm this remark, relating that Geoffry earl of Brittany, having been made a knight by his father king Henry II. went over from England to Normandy; and that, on the borders of that duchy and France, he engaged in tournaments, and had the satisfaction of seeing himself ranked among the knights who excelled in these kinds of combats.

But king Richard was the first who introduced the practice in England; for this illustrious prince observing that the French were the more valiant the more they were exercised, ‘tanto esse aciores, quanto exercitiores atque instructiores, fui quoque regni milites in propriis finibus exercere voluit, ut ex bellorum solemnium præludio, verorum addiscerent artem usumque bellorum, nec insultarent Galli Anglis Militibus, tanquam rudibus et minus gnaris*.’

Matthew Paris narrates the same circumstance, which he seems to date in the year 1194. ‘Eodem tempore, rex Richardus in Angliam transiens, statim per loca certa torneamenta fieri, hac fortassis inductus ratione, ut milites regni utriusque concurrentes vires suas flexis in gyrum frenis experirentur; ut si bellum adversus Crucis inimicos, vel etiam finitimos movere decernerent, agiliores ad prælium, et exercitiores redderentur.’

This great king, seeing the military ardour of his subjects, has been, however, blamed for the tax he laid on those who wished to engage in these mock combats: ‘Rege id decernente, et a singulis qui exerceri vellent indictæ pecuniæ modulum exigente†.’

The Germans, in like manner, did not practise tournaments until they had acquired a knowledge of them from the French.

I know well that Modius‡ traces their origin in that country much higher, and describes tournaments celebrated in Germany long before the time of Geoffry de Preilly: but all who are any way versed in history

* Will. Neub. l. 5. c. 4.

† Brompton, p. 1261.

‡ Fr. Modius in Pandect. Triumph.—A. Favyn, l. 10. du Theatre d’Honneur,

are not ignorant that this book is full of fables; and we must own, that the author passes the bounds of impudence when he tells us of an Anthony marquis of Pont à Mouçon, Claude count of Toulouse, Paul duke of Bar, Sigismund count of Alençon, Louis count of Armagnac, Philippes count of Artois, Anthony count of Boulogne, who, with other imaginary princes, had joined, as he says, the emperor Henry I. in his war against the Hungarians. It is true, that Munster, in his geography, has written, that tournaments began to appear in Germany in the year 1066, at which period one was celebrated in the town of Magdebourg. If what he states be true, it was coeval with the time in which Geoffry de Preuilly invented them; and it is not quite impossible but that the Germans might have learnt the use of them from him, at the same time with the French.

But among all the authors who have written on tournaments, the Greeks frankly own that their nation has copied the practice of them from the Latins; that is to say, the French, who were the inventors. Nicephorus Gregoras speaks in these terms; *εἶτα καὶ ἀγῶνας ἐξέτελεσε δύο, μίμησιν τινὰ τῶν Ὀλυμπιακῶν ἀποσώζοντας, — οἱ δὲ τοῖς Δατῖνοις παλαιὰ ἐπινενοῦνται γυμναστικῆς ἕνεκα σώματος, ὅποτεν σχολὴν ἀγοίεν τῶν πολεμικῶν* *.

Johannes Cantacuzenus more particularly marks the period when tournaments were first used in the empire of the east, namely, when Anne of Savoy, daughter to Amé IV. count of Savoy, came to Constantinople to espouse the young emperor Andronicus Paleologus, which marriage took place in the year 1326; for then the nobility of Savoy and of France who had accompanied this princess performed tournaments in the capital of the empire, and thus taught the use of them to the Greeks: *καὶ τὴν λεγομένην τζουστριαν, καὶ τὰ τερνεμένα αὐτοὶ πρῶτοι ἐδίδαξαν Ῥωμαίους, οὕτω πρότερον περὶ τοιούτων εἰδότες οὐδέν* †.

But there is reason to believe that tournaments were celebrated in the greek empire before this; for Nicetas ‡ informs us, that during the stay of the emperor Manuel Comnenus in the town of Antioch, the Greeks and Latins engaged each other in a tournament, and that he himself was there,

* Niceph. Gregor. l. 10. p. 339.

† Jo. Cantacuz. l. 1. c. 42.

‡ Nicetas in Man. l. 3. c. 3.

and being willing to shew that he was no way inferior to the French in the management of a lance, was personally engaged on the side of those of his nation. There is also ground to suppose that this emperor introduced the usage of them into his kingdom. Cinnamus writes, that on his succession to the empire he taught his people a new mode of fighting, ordering them in future to use long shields instead of round ones, and to learn the management of long lances, like to the French, and to ride well on horseback: he then made them exercise their arms against each other in harmless combats, which are nothing else than tournaments. These are the words of this author: *ταῖς γὰρ ἐκ τῶν πολεμίων ἀνεσεις, πολεμῶν αὐτοὺς ποιεῖσθαι θέλων παρασκευάς, ἵππευεσθαι εἰωθῆ ταῖς πολλὰ, σχῆμα τε πολεμῶν πεποιθμένος, παρὰ τοῖς τινὰς ἀντιμετωποῦν ἀλλήλοις ἴσα. οὕτω τε δόρασιν ἐπελαυνῶν τοῖς ἀντιζυλοῖς κινήσειν ἐγυμνασάντων τὴν ἐν τοῖς ὀπλοῖς **.

Anna Comnena seems to allude to these exercises of tournaments, and proves that they were in use during the reign of her father the emperor Alexis: *ἐπιμελῶς τε ἐκπαιδεύειν ὅπως ἥκιστα τοῖς τεινεῖν, καὶ δόρυ κραδαίνειν, ἵππον τε ἔλαυνειν, καὶ μερίμνας ποιεῖσθαι συνπαλῆας †*. These last words clearly allude to tournaments, or to combats maintained by companies.

The principal object of the use of tournaments was to exercise those who were intended for the profession of arms, to teach them the management of them, to ride well on horseback, and to give proofs of their courage: ‘pro solo exercitio atque ostentatione virium,’ as William of Neubourg writes: *γυμνασίας ἐνεκα σώματος*, as Gregoras says; and, in short, ‘ut ex solemni bellorum præludio verorum addisceretur ars ususque bellorum.’ For it is difficult for any one to perform brilliant actions in battle, if he has not been previously trained in military exercises, and passed all the trials necessary for learning so difficult and so dangerous a profession.

Roger Hoveden, page 588, speaking of tournaments, after noticing the passage of Cassiodorus which I have quoted, adds these words: ‘Non potest athleta magnos spiritus ad certamen afferre, qui nunquam fuggilatus est. Ille, qui sanguinem suum vidit, cujus dentes crepuerunt sub pugno, ille qui supplantatus adversarium toto tulit corpore, nec projecit animum projectus,

* Cinnamus, l. 3. p. 134.

† Anna Comp. l. 15. Alexiad.

qui quoties cecidit contumacior furrexit, cum magna spe descendit ad pugnam.'

As the combats in tournaments were only for learning the art of war, and to exercise the youths, no arms that could wound were employed by those who entered the lists. Dion writes, that the emperor Marcus Aurelius was desirous that gladiators should use blunted and edgeless swords, having at their points a button, *σιδηριον γαρ ουδεποτε ουδενι αυτων οξυ εδωκεν, αλλα και αμβλεσιν ωσπερ εσφαιρωμενοις παντες εμαχοντο*. Seneca calls this sort of arms 'luforia arma, luforia tela,' and our old French 'glaives courtois,' that is to say, harmless lances, without any head of iron. The treatise in manuscript on the knights of the round table says, that these knights 'ne portoient nules espées, fors glaives courtois qui estoient de sapin, ou d'if, avec cours fers, sans estre trenchant, ne esmoulus.' Even the 'Diseurs,' or judges of the tournament, made the knights who were about to engage swear, 'qu'ils ne porteroient espées, armures, ne bastons affustiez, ne enfonceroient leurs armes, ne estaquettes affises par iceux diseurs,' (which is repeated in a manuscript treatise on tournaments,) but would fight with 'espées sans pointes et rabatuës, et auroit chascun tournoyant un baston pendu à la selle; et feroient des dites espées et bastons tant qu'il plaira ausdits diseurs.'

Another treatise on tournaments adds, that the knights 'tournoient d'espées rabatuës, les taillans et pointes rompuës, et de bastons tels que à tournoy appartient, et devoient frapper de haut en bas sans tirer ne sans faquier.'

Jacques Valere, in his manuscript treatise on tournaments says, that the 'tornoyans doivent estre montez et armez de nobles harnois de tournoy, chascun armoié de ses armes, en hautes selles, piffière, et chanfrain, pour tournoyer de gratieuses espées, rabatuës, et pointes brifées, et de cours bastons.' Further on he says, 'qu'ils devoient frapper du haut en bas sans le bouter d'estocq, ou hacier, ne tournoyer mal courtoisement. Car en ce faisant il ne gagneroit riens, ne point de prix d'armes n'auroit, mais l'amenderoit ou dit des juges.'

An ancient author writes on this subject, that 'torneamentum percutiendo non etiam infringendo, juxta solitum exercetur.' If, therefore, the combatant in a tournament any way acted in a contrary manner, he was reprimanded.

by the judges of the tournament. Matthew Paris, in the year 1252, says, that Roger de Lemburne, an english knight, having mortally wounded in the throat Hernaud de Montigny with the point of a lance, which was not blunted, ‘*lanceæ mucrone qui, pro ut debebat, non erat hebetatus,*’ although he professed innocency, was nevertheless suspected of having acted treacherously on this occasion. But if it happened that one combatant killed or wounded his adversary with the usual arms of a tournament, when he did nothing contrary to the established laws of tournaments, he did not receive any blame. This is particularly noticed by Gregoras, in these words: *επει και τον τρωσαντα, η και αποκτεινONTa συμβαν ουτοσι πως, και τοις αγωνσιν αμφοτεραις, ανεγκλητον ειναι σφισι νομιμον ην **.

Those who were appointed judges of a tournament carefully measured the lances of the knights, and examined their other arms, and took care that they were not tied to their saddles, which was forbidden by the laws of tournaments, and is expressed in the manuscript treatise I have before quoted as follows: ‘*A laquelle entrée se tiennent le susdits deux juges et officiers d’armes de la marche, lesquelles ravissent leurs espées, pour sçavoir si elles sont raisonnables, et aussi le baston s’il est de muison.*’

In the Cry des Tournoys, ‘*et lendemain tenir fenestre comme dessus, et après dîner à l’heure dessus nommée venir es pleins rens, montez et armez à tout lances mesurées et muisonnées de lance de muison, et courtois rochets; c’est à sçavoir mesurées à la gauges qui y fera commise et ordonnée de messieurs les adventureux sans estre liez ne attachez. Car se il étoit feu, ne trouvé, jaçoit ce qu’il Forjoustaft, si perdrait-il s’en pris pour la journée; et qui jousteroit de plus longue lance qu’il ne devoit, il perdrait la lance garnie. Et qui jousteroit de forcours, il peut bien perdre et rien gagner.*’

Although the inventors of tournaments and their laws seem to have taken every necessary precaution to avoid any inconveniences that might happen, nevertheless there were frequent accidents arising from the heat of battle, and from the hatred or envy of the combatants; for there were some who, not being masters of themselves, were hurried away by their passions, and their eagerness for victory, and, regardless of the rules prescribed, exerted their

* Niceph. Gregor. p. 340.

efforts to unhorse their adversary by every advantage they could make use of. There were others who took these opportunities of revenging themselves on their enemies. It was therefore judged proper, that when any person was created a knight, he should swear, that he would frequent tournaments solely to learn warlike exercises: '*se tirocinia non nisi causa militaris exercitii frequentaturos*:' for it often happened that these combats, which were first used as diversions and exercises, were turned into deadly quarrels. Henry Knighton, speaking of the tournament at Châlons in the year 1274, when king Edward and the English fought against the count de Châlons and the Burgundians, says, that the two parties opposed each other with so much heat and jealousy that several were left dead on the field: '*adeo ut non torneamentum, sed parvum bellum de Chalon communiter diceretur*.' And Matthew Paris, relating another tournament in the year 1241: '*Fuerunt autem ibidem multi tam milites quam armigeri vulnerati, et clavis cæsi, et graviter læsi, eo quod invidia multorum ludum in prælium commutavit*.'

History is full of melancholy accidents that happened at tournaments. Raoul count de Guines lost his life at one, as has been mentioned: Robert of Jerusalem, count of Flanders, was mortally wounded at another. Geoffroy de Magneville, earl of Essex, was likewise killed in the year 1216. Florent count of Hainault and Philip count of Boulogne and of Clermont were slain at a tournament held at Corbie in the year 1223; as was the count of Holland at the one held at Neumague in the year 1234. Gilbert earl of Pembroke lost his life at a tournament in the year 1241; as did Hernaud de Montigny, an english knight in 1252, and John marquis of Brandenburg in 1269. The count de Clermont was so desperately wounded at one, in the year 1279, that he lost his senses. Louis, son to the count palatine of the Rhine, was killed at one in the year 1289: John duke of Brabant suffered in like manner in 1294, and very many other persons of high rank, whom I pass over, but they are mentioned by different historians. Such unfortunate accidents gave occasion to the popes to forbid tournaments under very heavy penalties, excommunicating all who should be present, and denying burial in consecrated ground to all such who should lose their lives at them.

Innocent II. Eugenius III. and after them Alexander III. in the council of the Lateran, in the year 1179, were the first who fulminated their anathemas, declaiming against tournaments, and calling them ‘*Detestabiles nundinas vel ferias, quas vulgo torneamenta vocant, in quibus milites ex condicto convenire solent, et ad ostentationem virium suarum et audaciæ temere congregiuntur, unde mortes hominum et pericula animarum sæpe proveniunt.*’ This council adds these words, ‘*Et si quis eorum ibi mortuus fuerit, quamvis ei pænitentia non denegetur, ecclesiastica tamen careat sepultura.*’ Innocent III. interdicted them, in like manner, for five years, under pain of excommunication. This has caused Cæsarius to say, that he had no difficulty in declaring, that those who were killed at tournaments were damned : ‘*De his vero qui in torneamentis cadunt, nulla quæstio est, quin vadant ad inferos, si non fuerint adjuti beneficio contritionis.*’ He afterwards speaks of a vision of a spanish priest, who saw in it some knights who had lost their lives at tournaments, and who requested to have succour from the prayers of the faithful. To this also may be referred another vision, which Matthew Paris speaks of in the year 1227, writing that Roger de Toëny, a valiant knight, appeared after death to his brother Raoul, and thus addressed him : ‘*Jam et pænas vidi malorum, et gaudio beatorum : nec non supplicia magna, quibus miser deputatus sum, oculis meis conspexi. Væ, væ mihi, quare unquam torneamenta exercui, et ea tanto studio dilexi ?*’

The Grande Chronique Belgique informs us, that in the year 1240 a tournament was held at Nuis, near Cologne, after Whitsuntide, when sixty knights and esquires having lost their lives, the greater number suffocated with dust, cries of demons were heard after their death, and they appeared hovering over their dead bodies under the figures of crows and vultures. It is therefore from the expressions in these councils, that tournaments are called by St Bernard, by Cæsarius, and Lambert of Ardres, ‘*Nundinæ execrabiles et maledictæ.*’

Innocent IV. was not less rigorous, in his attempts to abolish tournaments, than his predecessors ; but not succeeding in their entire abolishment, he forbade them for three years, at a council held at Lyon in

the year 1245, under the pretext that they prevented gentlemen from going to the holy wars in Palestine.

He alleged, as another cause for his condemning them, the enormous expense knights were at on these occasions, which he endeavoured to check, as well as many others as superfluous, for they prevented the nobles from contributing what was thought necessary for the support of the holy wars. Lambert d'Ardres writes, '*Cum omnino tunc temporis propter Dominici sepulchri peregrinationem in toto orbe interdicta fuissent torneamenta.*' In truth, the nobility and gentry were at prodigious expenses at these meetings, either in their dress, their attendants, in the cost of their horses, or in the expenditure for the long journeys they were frequently forced to make, to attend tournaments at distant places. This has caused the cardinal Jacques de Vitry to express himself in the following terms, respecting subjects who suffered infinitely from the expenses of their lords: '*Maxime cum eorum domini prodigalitati vacantes et luxui pro torneamentis et pompofa sæculi vanitate expensis superfluis et debitis astringebantur et ufuris.*'

Lambert d'Ardres, speaking of the prodigalities of Arnoul le jeune, lord of Ardres, says, '*Licet extra patriam munificus et liberalis, et expensaticus diceretur, et circa militiam quidquid militantium et torneamentantium consuetudo poscebat et ratio, quasi prodigaliter expenderet.*'

Pope Nicholas IV. shewed the same zeal as his predecessors to abolish tournaments, especially in France, where they were more frequently held, than in other kingdoms, threatening with excommunication such as should not obey his commands; and because the cardinal of St Cecilia, legate from the holy see to France, who had published this bull, had granted a superseas to its effect, at the entreaty of the king, for three years, he bitterly reprimanded him, in his letter to the cardinal, which is inserted in '*Les Annales Ecclesiastiques.*'

Clement V. in like manner interdicted tournaments, principally on account of the design which he had formed to make the Christian princes undertake a war against the infidels. His bull is dated at Peraen de Granfille, near to Malaufane, in the diocese of Basas, the 14th day of September, in the 8th year of his pontificate, from which I shall extract all

that is necessary for my subject: 'Cum enim in torneamentis et iustis in aliquibus partibus fieri solitis multa pericula immineant animarum et corporum, quorum destructiones plerumque contingunt, nemini vertitur in dubium sanæ mentis, quin illi qui torneamenta faciunt, vel fieri procurant, impedimentum procurant passagio faciendo, ad quos homines, equi, et pecunia et expensæ fore necessaria dinoscuntur, quorum torneamentorum factura cum gravis pænæ adjectione a nostris prædecessoribus et interdicta.'

But the ardour of the nobility was so great, for the opportunities that tournaments in times of peace afforded them to display their valour, that no anathema or bull of the popes could put an end to them. This occasions William of Neubourg to say, 'Licet solemnem illum tironum concursum tanta sub gravi censura vetuerit pontificum autoritas, fervor tamen juvenum armorum vanissimum affectantium gloriam, gaudens favore principum probatos habere tirones volentium, ecclesiasticæ provisionis sprevit decretum.' And Henry Knighton writes, that in the year 1191, 'Fiebant interea ad tironum exercitium intermissa diu torneamenta, quasi bellorum præludia, nonobstante papali prohibitione.'

As the peril attendant on tournaments was so great as to afford reason for the popes to forbid them, under pain of excommunication, kings and princes of the blood-royal were exempted from engaging in them, on account of their important rank. Du Tillet, page 313, relates, that king Philip Auguste in the month of May 1209, received the oath of his two sons Louis de France and Philip count de Boulogne that they would never go to any tournament without his leave, under pretext of signaling their valour, or of gaining the prize; allowing them, however, to attend any tournament that might be holden near to their residences, but without arming themselves like knights, having only their helmets and corslets.

Petrarca, writing to Hugh marquis of Ferrara, says, that it was becoming only simple knights to attend tournaments, who may not have other means or opportunities of shewing their courage and address, and whose deaths would be of little importance; but that princes, who could easily find occasions to display their valour in a thousand instances, and whose lives were of consequence to their subjects, should abstain from such meetings.

We read, however, that not only princes of high rank attended these military exercises, and fought at them as knights, but also of kings and emperors doing the same. Nicetas writes, that the emperor Manuel Comnenus, with his Greeks, combated in a tournament given by prince Raymond at Antioch, and that he unhorsed, by one blow of his lance, two french knights, throwing the one on the other. The emperor Andronicus Paleologus, the younger, personally engaged in a tournament held at Didymothycos, in honour of the birth of his son John. Edward I. king of England, fought at a tournament at Châlons, as I have before remarked; and Froissart tells us, that Charles VI. of France at the marriage of William of Hainault with Margaret of Burgundy, solemnised at Cambrai in the year 1385, tilted with a knight of Hainault called sir Nicholas d'Espinoit. Francis I. and Henry VIII. kings of France and of England, at their interview between Ardres and Guines, in the year 1550, combated in a tournament held there. In fine, king Henry II. of France tilted at Paris against the count de Montgomery, and received a blow on his eye, which caused his death.

Secular princes forbade tournaments also, but for reasons different from those which actuated the popes. William of Nangis writes, that St Louis having received intelligence from the pope, in the year 1260, of the defeat of the Christians in the holy land, and in Armenia by the infidels, ordered public prayers, and forbade tournaments for two years: he would not permit any other games than the exercise of the long and cross-bow. King Philippes le hardy prolonged this prohibition of tilts and tournaments, which had been only issued for a time, by an ordinance which was registered in the parliament at Whitsuntide of the year 1280. Such prohibitions were particularly ordered during the wars of our kings with their neighbours, as may be collected from the ordinances of king Philippes le bel, of the years 1304 and 1305, which are now in 'Le Treior des Chartes du Roi.'

In another, of the last day but one of December 1311, which is inserted in a register of the chamber of accounts at Paris, and communicated to me by M. d'Herouval, from which I have extracted what follows, the same

king urges no other pretext for his injunction than the disorders that happened at such meetings.

‘ Philippus D. G. Francorum rex universis et singulis baronibus, et quibuscumque nobilibus regni nostri, nec non omnibus baillivis et senescallis, et aliis quibuscumque justitiariis regni ejusdem, ad quos præsentis litteræ pervenerint, Salutem. Periculis et incommodis quæ ex torneamentis, congregationibus armatorum, et armorum portationibus in diversis regni nostri partibus hætenus provenisse noscuntur, obviare volentes, ac super hoc prorsus nostro tempore prout ex officii nostri debito tenemur, salubriter providere, vobis et cuilibet vestrum sub fide qua nobis tenemini, et sub omni pæna quam vobis infligere possumus, præcipimus et mandamus quatenus congregationes armatorum et armorum portationes facere, vel ad torneamenta accedere, quas et quæ præsentibus prohibemus sub pæna prædicta, ullatenus de cætero præsumatis, nec in contrarium fieri permittatis a quocumque, vosque senescalli, baillivi et justitiiarii nostri prædicti in assisiis et aliis in locis vestris ac ressortis eorum facietis prædicta celeriter publicari. Contrarium attentantes capiat cum eorum familiis, equis, armis, harnesiis, nec non terris et hæreditatibus eorum. Quas terras et hæreditates cum aliis eorum quibuscumque bonis teneatis et expletetis sine omni deliberatione de recedentia facienda de his sine nostro speciali mandato. Præmissam torneamentorum prohibitionem durare volumus, quamdiu nostræ placuerit voluntati, ex omnibus subjectis nostris sub fide qua nobis adstricti tenentur torneamenta hujusmodi prohibemus. Datum Piffiaci penultima die Decemb. an. D. 1311.’

Philippe le long likewise prohibited tournaments by a general ordinance of the 23d October in the year 1318, and by a particular one the eight of February of the following year, directed to the bailiff of the Vermandois. The king's reasons for this prohibition are as follows: ‘ Quar se nous les souffrions a faire, nous ne pourrions pas avoir les nobles de nostre royaume si prestement pour nous aidier à nostre guerre de Flandres,’ &c.

At times, tournaments have been forbidden, for a season, on account of some grand ceremony, through fear that the great lords and knights, who might be desirous of displaying their address, should neglect to attend the ceremony in question, which would be less splendid and solemn by their

absence. Thus king Philippes le bel intending to create his fons knights, in order to render the ceremony more magnificent, issued a similar injunction in the year 1312. The original edict is in the chamber of accounts at Paris, from which I shall make the following extract ; and I the more readily do so, because it speaks of a sort of tilt or tournament, which it calls ‘Tupineiz,’ a word perfectly unknown to me, since I have never seen it elsewhere, and which may, perhaps, signify round tables. This piece was communicated to me, with many others, by M. d’Herouval.

‘Philippe par la grace de Dieu roi de France, à nostre gardien de Lions, Salut. Comme nous entendons à donner à nostre très cher ainzné fils Loys roy de Navarre comte de Champagne, et de Brié Palazin, et à nos autres deux fils ses freres en ce nouviau temps, ordre de chevalerie : et ja pieça par plusieurs fois nous eussions fait defendre generalement par tout nostre royaume toutes manieres d’armes, et de tournoiemens, et que nuls sur quanques ils se pooient meffaire envers nous, n’allast à tournoiemens en nostre royaume ne hors, ou feist ne allast à joustes, Tupineiz, ou feist autres fais ou portemens d’armes, pource que plusieurs nobles et grans personnes de nostre garde se sont fait faire, et se sont accoustumez de eux faire faire chevaliers esdits tournoiemens, et non contrestant cette general defense, plusieurs nobles personnes de nostre dite garde aient esté et soient allez au tournoiement par plusieurs fois à Joustes, à Tupineiz, tant en nostre royaume comme dehors, et en autres plusieurs fais d’armes en enfraignant nostre dite defense, et en iceux tournoiemens plusieurs se soient fait faire chevaliers et leur ce qu’ils ont fait contre nostre dite defense vous n’avez mis remede, laquelle chose nous desplaist moult forment : nous vous mandons et commandons si estroitement comme nous poons plus, et sur peine d’encourir nostre malivolence, que tous ceux que vous saurez de nostre garde qui ont esté puis nostre dite defense à tournoiemens, joustes, tupineiz, ou en autres faiz d’armes, ou que ce ait esté en nostre royaume, ou hors, que vous sans delay les faciez prandre et mettre en prison pardevers vous en mettant en nostre main tous leurs biens. Et quant il feront devers vous en prison, si leur faites amander ce qu’il auront fait contre nostre dite defense : et ce fait si leur recréez leur biens, et avec ce quant il auront amendé, si leur faites jurer sur Sains, et avec ce leur defendez de par nous sus poine d’ancourir

notre indignation, et de tenir prison chascun un an, et fus poine de perdre une année chascun les fruiz de sa terre, qu'il tiendront les ordenances que nous avons fait sus le fait des armes, qui font teles : c'est afaire que nuls ne soit si hardi de nostre royaume qui voist a tournoiemens, à joustes, tupineiz ou en autre fait d'armes, soit en nostre royaume ou hors, jusques à la feste S. Remy prochaine venant, et leur faites bien savoir que encores avons nous ordené que s'il font au contraire de ce, que leur chevaux et leur harnois nous avons abandonné aux seigneurs sous qui jurisdiction il seront trouvé, et quant il auront ensi juré, si leur delivrez leur cors. Encore vous mandons nous que l'ordenance dessusdite vous faciez crier et publier solempnellement sans delay par les lieux de vostre garde, ou vous saurez qu'il fera à faire, et de défendre de par nous que nuls ne soit si hardy sur la peine dessusdite d'aler aux armes à tournoiemens, joustes, ou tupineiz, en nostre royaume, ou hors, jusques à ladite feste de S. Remy, et faites cette besoigne si diligemment, que vous n'en puissiez estre repris de negligence, ou de inobedience, auquel cas se il avient, nous vous punirons en tele maniere, que vous vous en apercevrez. Donné à Fontainebleau le 28. jour de Decemb. l'an de grace 1312.'

DISSERTATION VII.

ON ARMS A OUTRANCE AND JUSTS; ON THE ROUND TABLE; ON BEHOURDS
AND THE QUINTAIN*.

THE tournaments of which I have spoken were but games and amusements to exercise the nobility. It was for this reason that blunted arms were used; and if at times unfortunate accidents happened, it was contrary to the intention and spirit of their inventors, who had endeavoured to prevent any such from taking place by the regulations and laws which they had laid down.

In course of time, other arms were used at tournaments, and the combatants fought with the same as they used in war; that is to say, with swords and lances, whose points were not blunted: whence Matthew Paris calls this sort of tournament '*torneamentum aculeatum et hostile*,' from each party fighting with offensive arms like enemies. The old french authors have given them the name of '*armes à outrance*,' inasmuch that these combats were scarcely ever terminated without effusion of blood, the death of those who entered the lists, or a confession or avowal of guilt of the party conquered.

The edict of Philippes le bel respecting duels, and Hardouin de la Jaille in his treatise on the same subject, which he dedicated to René king of Sicily, allow of several cases in which a combatant was held as vanquished in duel. The first, when one of the combatants confesses himself guilty of the crime he is accused of, and surrenders himself voluntarily to his accuser: the second

* See Strutt's Sports and Pastimes of the Ancient English.

when one of the parties is thrown out of the lists, or takes to flight : the third, when he is killed in the duel : for in all these cases, ' le gage de bataille estoit outré,' the words of the king's edict, the wager of battle was lost, being decided by the death, flight or confession of one of the parties. The word ' outrer' signifies properly to pierce an enemy with sword or lance; and at this day it is said in French, ' Il lui a percé le corps d'outré en outré.'

Armes à outrance were used synonymously for such combats as were fought with offensive arms, by consent of each party, without any orders from the judges, but nevertheless before judges named and chosen by the parties, and under conditions which had been reciprocally agreed upon. In this respect, these combats, if only man to man, were different from duels, which were always ordered by sentence of the judges of the courts of justice.

The combats with armes à outrance commonly took place between enemies, or persons of different nations, under different princes, according to the challenges and conditions of combat carried by kings at arms and heralds. Princes mutually granted letters of safe conduct to such as were to engage in these combats. The judges of the combat were also chosen by the princes, and sometimes the princes themselves acted in this quality. These challenges were often made in general terms without naming the persons who were to fight, only marking the number of persons the combat was to consist of, the sort of arms to be used, and the number of thrusts or blows to be given. But although the number of blows was usually limited, yet they scarcely ever separated without some being slain or very grievously wounded.

Such mortal combats for the most part occurred between persons unacquainted with each other, or who at least had not any particular cause of quarrel, but solely to exhibit their bravery, generosity, and address in arms. It was for this reason that particular regulations and general rules had been made for these combats; from which, however, they deviated at times, by private conditions proposed and accepted by either party.

The most usual of these laws was, that if the parties fought with sword or lance, they must strike their blows between the four members; for if they struck elsewhere, they were blamed and condemned by the judges of the

combat. The punishment of such as did not observe the laws of the combat was the loss of their arms and horses.

There are an infinity of examples of this sort of combats, in Matthew Paris, in Froissart, in the history of the duke of Bourbon by Oronville, in George Châtellain, Monstrelet, Caxton and other authors, which shew that they were commonly fought as a sort of prelude to a general battle between two nations inimical to each other: so that the vulgar expression of a tourney was used, when slight engagements took place previous to a general one, which latin writers stile ‘bellum campale.’ The lord de Joinville speaks of a mortal just between a Genoese knight and a Saracen.

Sometimes the combat with ‘armes à outrance’ was fought between persons not enemies to the state, the challenge being general to all who should choose to enter the lists, according to the terms offered by the challengers. This kind of combat is called by Matthew Paris, ‘Torneamentum quasi hostile;’ for although it was not fought by persons enemies to each other, the effects were, nevertheless, similar, since the same arms were employed as in war, and the consequences were equally perilous. We have a singular instance of a tournament of this nature, which was proposed and undertaken by John duke of Bourbon, in the year 1414. As the terms of the challenge, which he had proclaimed, discover the usages of this kind of combat, and besides, as they have never been made public, I shall insert them here, after acknowledging that I have copied them from the memoirs of M. de Pierrefc, communicated to me by M. d’Herouval.

‘ Nous Jean duc de Bourbonnois, comte de Clermont, de Fois, et de l’Isle, seigneur de Beaujeu per et chambrier de France, desirans eschiver oisiveté, et explecter nostre personne, en avançant nostre honneur par le mestier des armes, pensant y acquerir bonne renommée, et la grace de la très belle, de qui nous sommes serviteurs, avon n’agueres voüe et empris, que nous accompagne de seize autres chevaliers et escuyers de nom et d’armes, c’est asavoir, l’admiral de France, messire Jean de Châlons, le seigneur de Barbasen, le seigneur du Chastel, le seigneur de Gaucourt, le seigneur de la Hueze, le seigneur de Gamaches, le seigneur de St Remy, le seigneur de Monsfures, messire Guillaume Bataille, messire Drouet d’Asnieres,

le feigneur de la Fayette, et le feigneur de Poularques, chevaliers: Carmalet, Loys Cochet, et Jean du Pont, efcuyers, porterons en la jambe fenestre chascun un fer de prifonnier pendant a une chaïne, qui feront d'or pour les chevaliers, et d'argent pour les efcuyers par tous les dimanches de deux ans entiers, commençans le dimanche prochain après la date de ces prefentes, ou cas que pluſtoſt ne trouverons pareil nombre de chevaliers et efcuyers de nom, et d'armes fans reproche, que tous enſemblement nous veuillent combattre a pied juſques a outrance, armez chascun de tels harnois qu'il luy plaira, portant lance, haſche, eſpee, et dague, ou moins de baſton de telle longueur que chascun voudra avoir, pour eſtre prifonniers les uns des autres, par telle condition que ceux de noſtre part qui feront outrez, ſoient quittes en baillant chascun un fer et chaïne pareille a ceux que nous portons; et ceux de l'autre part qui feront outrez feront quittes chascun pour un bracelet d'or aux chevaliers et d'argent aux efcuyers pour donner la où bon leur ſembleroit,' &c.

Another article ſhews that this combat was to be performed in England.

'Item, et ferons tenus nous duc de Bourbonnois quand nous irons en Angleterre, ou devant le juge que fera accorde, de le faire ſçavoir a tous ceux de noſtre compaignie que ne ſeroient par deça, et de bailler a noſdits compagnons telles lettres de monſeigneur le roy, qui leur feront neceſſaires pour leur licence et conge, &c. Fait à Paris le premier de Janvier l'an de grace 1414.'

In like manner as there were general combats in this ſort of tournament, ſo were there ſingle ones. Such were the combats of Poton de Saintrailles, knight, in the town of Arras, againſt Lionel de Vandonne, chevalier Boulonois, in the year 1423, and againſt Nicholas Menton, knight, in the year 1429, at the ſame place, in preſence of a large aſſembly of the nobility.

The word 'Tourney' was a general expreſſion, which comprehended all ſorts of combats that were performed by way of exerciſe: but it more properly meant ſuch as were performed by companies, where ſeveral were engaged againſt an equal number, repreſenting the form of a battle. When theſe general combats were ended, then the ſingle ones commenced; for all

who were desirous of displaying their address, and attracting public notice for their valour, offered single combat with sword or lance against all who should present themselves; and the strokes each were to give were commonly limited to three. These combats were called by the old french writers 'Joustes;' but it is not easy to guess the origin of the word, unless we derive it from the Latin 'Juxta,' and the very old word 'Jouxte,' because these combats were fought very near, or hand to hand.

These jousts were not always performed on the occasion of tournaments, but often separately according to the proclamations made by knights who proposed them, and offered combat to all comers, man to man, at places fixed on, and according to the terms of the challenge contained in their letters of defiance. These combats are called by the historian of the marshal de Boucicaut, 'Joustes à tous venans, grandes, et plenieres.'

It was more honourable to combat at tournaments than at jousts, as appears from this ceremony, that the person who fought at a tournament for the first time was obliged on his departure to give his helmet to the kings and heralds at arms: this was likewise done by those who engaged for the first time at jousts: but he who, having fought at tournaments, advanced for the first time to do the same at jousts, was not obliged a second time to give his helmet to the heralds at arms; not so those who had fought at jousts, and then engaged at a tournament, for they were bounden to leave their helmets behind them on their departure. This we learn from a MS. treatise on tournaments, which also informs us, that the sword was the weapon employed at tournaments, and the lance at jousts.

These 'joustes plenieres,' mentioned in the history of Boucicaut, were properly the combats styled 'combats of the round table,' which authors confound with jousts; for it is to be observed, that they differed from tournaments, inasmuch as the engagements at these were performed by companies, and those of the round table by single combatants.

The ancient romancers attribute the glory of inventing tournaments, jousts, and the round table, to the famous Arthur king of the Britons. The English even persuade themselves, that this table is still to be seen attached to the walls of the old castle of Winchester; but this is with reason doubted by Camden, who writes that this table is of much more recent date.

Thomas of Walsingham says, that king Edward III. built, at his castle of Windsor, a tower to which he gave the name of the Round Table, having a diameter of two hundred feet, and now called the Round Tower.

Many imagine, and with much probability, that jousts were called Round Tables, from the knights who had been engaged at them returning to sup with the author of the joust, and being seated at a round table. This was practised in imitation of the ancient princes of Gaul, who, according to Athenæus, were accustomed to seat themselves at a round table, each having his esquire behind him, and this might have probably been done to avoid all disputes for precedence, which frequently happened.

The manuscript treatise on tournaments observes, that when the knights who had fought at them, or at the jousts, were returned to their lodgings, they disarmed and washed themselves, and then went to sup with the lord who had given them the entertainment of such military exercises. While they were at table eating, the principal judges of the tourney, whom the MS. styles 'Diseurs,' attended by the king at arms and two knights whom they had selected, proceeded to make inquiry as to who had behaved the best, which was done in this manner: they demanded from each knight who had assisted at the combats, his opinion, who named perhaps three or four that had acquitted themselves most gallantly; and from this number they at last fixed on one, to whom they gave the prize.

As the French were not less courteous and polite towards the ladies than they were valiant in arms, they frequently constituted them the judges of the tournament or joust.

We may place under the article of Jousts, the 'pas d'armes;' for these were single combats, undertaken by one or more knights. They chose a spot, most commonly on an open plain, which they proposed to defend against all comers, as a pass, or passage, which could not be traversed, but on condition of combating him or them who guarded it. Those who undertook such an enterprise had their arms attached to pillars at the end of the lists, with some plain shields of different colours, on which were marked the nature of the adventure, and the arms that were to be employed; so that he who came thither with the design of trying his skill, chose his mode of combat by touching one of the shields on which it was specified.

At the 'Pas de l'Arc Triomphal,' undertaken by Francis duke of Valois and Brittany, and nine other knights of name and renown in arms at Paris in the rue de St Antoine, in the year 1514, in honour of the solemnization of the marriage of Louis XII. there were five shields attached to this triumphal arch; the first of silver, the second of gold, the third fable, the fourth tawny, and the fifth grey. The first signified a combat of four courses with lances: the second, one course with the lance, and numberless strokes with the sword: the third, pushing with the lance on foot, and strokes with the sword, with one hand: the fourth, throwing the lance, on foot, and fighting with the two-handed sword: the fifth was for the attack and defence of a behourt or small fortress.

These various modes of combat were specified at length in the challenges, and in the articles proclaimed by heralds at arms, on the part of the undertaker, in the provinces, and in different kingdoms. At those parts where the shields were affixed, officers at arms were in waiting to collect and enregister the names of such as touched the different shields, that they might be called out in regular rotation, according as they had touched them. It seems that this mode of jousting was more in fashion during the later times. We have instances of them in the history of George Châtellain, in the Heroic Science by the fleur de la Colombiere, and in his Theatre d'Honneur.

The tournament, or joust, at which king Henry II. of France lost his life, was also a pas d'armes; and as the challenge that was then proclaimed is not common, it will not be improper to insert it here, as a curious piece for our history.

'De par le Roy. Après que par une longue guerre, cruelle et violente, les armes ont esté exercees et exploitées en divers endroits avec effusion de sang humain, et autres pernicioeux actes, que la guerre produit, et que Dieu par sa fainte grace, clemence, et bonte, a voulu donner repos à cette affligée Chretiente par une bonne et seure paix: il est plus que raisonnable que chacun se mette en devoir avec toutes demonstrations de joyes, plaisirs, et allegresses de louer et celebrer un si grand bien, qui a converty toutes aigreurs et inimitiez en douceurs et parfaites amitez, par les estroites alliances de consanguinite, qui se font moiennant les mariages accordez par le traite:

de ladite paix. C'est à sçavoir, de très haut, très magnanime prince Philippe roy catholique des Espagnes, avec très haute et très excellente princesse madame Elizabeth fille aînée de très haut, très puissant et très magnanime prince Henry II. de ce nom très Chrestien roy de France notre souverain seigneur : et aussi de très haut et puissant prince Philibert Emanuel duc de Savoye, avec très haute et très excellente princesse madame Marguerite de France duchesse de Berry, sœur unique dudit seigneur roy très Chrestien nostre souverain seigneur, lequel considérant que avec les occasions qui s'offrent et presentent, les armes maintenant esloignées de toute cruauté et violence, se peuvent et doivent employer avec plaisir et utilité par ceux qui desirent s'esprouver et exercer en tous vertueux et louable faits et actes. Fait a sçavoir a tous princes, seigneurs, gentils-hommes, chevaliers, et escuyers, suivant le fait des armes, et desirans faire preuve de leurs personnes en icelles, pour inciter les jeunes a vertu, et recommander la proïesse des experimentez, qu'en la ville capitale de Paris le pas est ouvert par sa majeste très-Chrestienne, et par les princes de Ferrare, Alfonso d'Est, François de Lorraine duc de Guyse, pair et grand chambellan de France, et Jacques de Savoye duc de Nemours, tous chevaliers de l'ordre, pour estre tenu contre tous venans deuëment qualifiez, à commencer au seizième jour de Juin prochain, et continuant jusques à l'accomplissement et effet des emprises, et articles qui s'ensuivent.

‘ La 1. Emprise à cheval en lice, en double pièce 4 coups de lance et une pour la dame.

‘ La 2. Emprise, à coups d'espée à cheval, un à un, ou deux a deux a la volonté des maîtres du camp.

‘ La 3. Emprise à pied, 3 coups de pique, et 6 d'espée en harnois d'homme de pied, fourniront lesdits tenans de lances de pareille longueur et grosseur, d'espées et piques, aux choix des assaillans.

‘ Et si en courant aucun donne au cheval, il fera mis hors des rancs, sans plus y retourner, si le roy ne l'ordonne. Et a tout ce que dessus seront ordonnez 4 maîtres de camp, pour donner ordre a toutes choses. Et celui des assaillans qui aura le plus rompu, et le mieux fait, aura le prix dont la valeur fera a la discretion des juges. Pareillement celui qui aura le mieux combattu a l'espée et a la pique, aura aussi le prix a la discretion desdits

juges. Seront tenus les assaillans tant de ce royaume, comme estrangers, de venir toucher a l'un des escus qui seront pendus au perron, au bout de la lice, selon les deffusdites emprises, ou toucher a plusieurs d'eux, a leur choix, ou a tous, s'ils veulent : et la trouveront un officier d'armes, qui les recevra pour les enrooler, selon qu'ils voudront, et les escus qu'ils auront touchez. Seront aussi tenus les assaillans d'apporter ou faire apporter par un gentil-homme, audit officier d'armes leur escu armoié de leurs armoiries, pour iceluy pendre audit perron trois jours durant, avant le commencement dudit tournoy : et en cas que dans le dit temps ils n'apportent ou envoient leurs escus, i's ne feront receues audit tournoy, sans le conge des tenans. En signe de vérité, nous Henry par la grace de Dieu roy de France, avons signé ce présent escrit de nôtre main. Fait à Paris le 22 May 1559. Signé Henry et du Thier.'

Montjoye king at arms in France, in the description which he gives of the above pas d'armes, observes, that the fifth emprise was, ' que les tenans se trouveroient dans un behourt, autrement dit bastillon, deliberez se deffendre contre tous venans, avec harnois de guerre.' The behourt, therefore, was a sort of bastion, or castle made of wood or other materials, which the holders of the tournament undertook to defend against all who should attack it. This military exercise was a dependence on tournaments, which word comprehended every kind of discipline that was practised to teach the nobility the art of war, and the behourt seems to have been invented to shew the manner of attacking, and taking places by escalado.

It is to the same use we must refer the games of ' L'Espinette,' which have been so frequent in the town of Lille in Flanders. They were a sort of tournaments or jousts performed by the inhabitants, and in which the great lords made no difficulty of partaking. These games and these tournaments were called by the general name of Bouhourd, as Buzelin remarks; and he adds, that some of them date their origin and institution from the reign of St Louis.

The last of all these military exercises which I mentioned is that of ' the Quintain,' which is a half figure of a man placed on a post, and turning on a pivot, so that if the assailant does not with his lance hit him right on the middle of the breast, but on the extremities, he makes the figure

turn round, which, having a staff or sword in his right hand and a buckler on the other, strikes the person who shall have given him an ill-aimed blow. This exercise seems to have been invented to teach those who used the lance to point it well; for in tilts they were bound to give their thrusts between the four members, or they were blamed for their awkwardness.

The nobles were so passionately fond of tournaments that they chose these occasions to be knighted; and the greater number they had assisted at, the greater was their reputation for valour and address. John duke of Brabant, who lost his life at a just in the year 1294, had been present at seventy tournaments, as well in France, England, Germany, as in other distant countries. So that when it was meant to praise a knight, it was said that he had frequented tournaments.

Kings likewise greatly favoured gentlemen on these occasions, and issued edicts declaring, that they could not be arrested, nor their goods seized for debt, while they were at tournaments.

I shall close this dissertation by an ordinance on tournaments, taken from an ancient Ceremonial, and which is in the following words:

‘ C’est la maniere et l’ordonnance, et comment on fouldoit faire anciennement les tournois.

‘ Item, le cry est tel. Or oyez, seigneurs chevaliers que je vous fais asçavoir le grand digne pardon d’armes, et le grand digne tournoyement de par les François, et de par les Vermandois et Beauvoisins, de par les Poitiers*, et le Corbeiois, de par les Arthisiens, et les Flamens, de par les Champenois et les Normans de par les Angevins, Poitevins, et Tourangeaux, de par les Bretons et Manceaux, de par les Rives† et Hasbegnons‡, et de par tous autres chevaliers, qui accordez s’y font, et accorderent qui venir y voudront, a estre aus hostieux accompagnez le dimanche après le St Remy, et les diseurs prins Percheval de Varennes, et Witasse sire de Campreny§, et conseillers le sire de Meullant, et le sire de Hangeft, et pour faire fenestre le Lundy, pour tournoier le mardy, et de batefist marthe||, pour ce qu’il ne

* Picards,—those near to Pois.

† Riffuarii,—Germans near the Rhine.

‡ Navarrais,—Hasbanienfes.

§ Campreny.

|| Sic. in MS.

ne auroit pas ses chevaux, ne son harnois, il pourroit faire cesser le tournoy jusques à jeudy, qu'il est fin de la sepmaine, et qui ne le voudroit attendre, et que l'on tournoyast, ce feroit un tournoyement sans accord, et doivent le heraut crier, que l'on boute hors les bannieres, blasons, ou houffes d'escu, ou enseignes d'armes, pourquoy on puisse tournoyer par accord.

‘ Item, doivent les diseurs aller avec les herauts aux lieux, ou les seigneurs donnent à manger aux chevaliers, ou aux places ou ils pourroient trouver lefdits chevaliers, qu'ils viennent armez pour tournoier, et prendre les fois desdits chevaliers, qui ne porteront espées, armures, ne bastons affustiez n'enfonceront les armes, estaquetes assises par lefdits diseurs, et tiendront le dit desdits diseurs.

‘ Item, la veille du tournoy doivent faire, s'il leur plaist, les chevaliers mettre les felles, sur leurs chevaux, et de leurs escuiers, pincheres et chamfroy de leurs armes, afin qu'on puisse voir et connoistre l'estoffe et l'estat de chacun endroit foy, et ne peut avoir chascun chevalier que deux escuiers, s'il ne veut mentir tant soit grand fire.

‘ Item, le jour du tournoy doivent les chevaliers aller aux messes, et faire faire les places à l'espée, et doivent les diseurs aller voir la place ou le tournoy doit estre fait sans advantage, et attacher les attaches en chascune route, es batailles il y doit avoir deux estachettes de part, et l'autre d'autre part, et la doivent les chevaliers essongniés chevaux et harnois tout asseurez, sans qu'on leur puisse rien meffaire, s'ils ne veulent fiancier leur serment, et mentir leur foy.

‘ Item, doivent les diseurs à l'heure qu'ils verront qu'il sera temps, soit à jour de tournoier au matin, ou aux vespres faire crier * Laissez : et lors se doivent toutes manieres de chevaliers et escuiers eux armer, et doivent les herauts assez-tôt après crier, Iffez hors, seigneurs chevaliers, Iffez hors. Et quand les chevaliers sont hors, et chascun est retraits en sa banniere, et en sa route, ou en la route de son issue, les diseurs viennent par devant les batailles, et font passer ceux qui ont ordonné pour passer, pour faire le tournoy, à compte de chascun chevalier, toutfois audit des seigneurs sous qui ils sont.

* L'Ifiez.

‘ Item, ce fait, les deux diseurs se doivent mettre en place devant les batailles, et se doivent quitter la foy l’un à l’autre, et lors est le tournoy par accord, et se mettront les pays chascun au droit de son issüe, et doivent les herauts porter les bannieres, et des communes de chascun pays, selon ce que ils ont accoustumé, et au cas qu’ils ne voudroient quitter leur foy l’un à l’autre, le tournoy feroit sans accord.

‘ Item, si-tost que le roy des heraux, et les autres heraux verront que le tournoy aura asses duré, et qu’ il fera sur le tard, et temps de partir, ils doivent faire lever les estaches, et crier, Seigneurs chevaliers allez vous-en, vous ne pouvez huymets ne perdre, ne gagner, car les estachettes sont levées.

‘ Item, quand les chevaliers seront revenus à leurs hostels, ils se desarmeront, et laveront leurs visages, et viendront manger devers les seigneurs qui donnent à manger, et tandis que les chevaliers seront assis au souper, seront prins lesdits diseurs, avec le roy desdits heraux, accompagnez de deux chevaliers, tels comme ils voudront prendre, pour faire l’enqueste des bienfaisans : et en l’enqueste faisant, les chevaliers que parleront, diront leurs advis, ils en nommeront trois ou quatre, ou tant qu’ il leur plaira de bienfaisans, et au derrain ils se rapporteront à un, lequel ils nommeront, et celuy emportera la voix, et ainsi ce fait de main en main à tous les chevaliers, et prennent morceaux de pain, et celuy qui plus en a, c’est celuy qui passe route; et ceux qui font l’enqueste font serment qu’il la feront bien et loyaument.

‘ Item, et au cas que le tournoy se feroit sans accord, la partie qui seroit desconfite, celui qui demourroit derrenier à cheval d’icelle partie desconfite auroit le heaume comme le mieux deffendant, et l’autre partie celui qui seroit le mieux assaillant auroit l’espée.

‘ Item, le lendemain du tournoy s’il y a aucun destord de droit d’armes, tant de ceulx gagnez ou perdus, comme des chevaliers tirez à terre, depuis les estaches levees, et comme de tous autres droits, soient d’ostel prins, d’ostel armeures, ou autres choses quelconques, il en est à l’ordonnance et juges des chevaliers.

‘ Item, on doit parler aux eschevins, aux majeurs et gouverneurs des bonnes villes, ou le tournoy se doit faire, d’avoir prix raitonnable de ce qui

est necessaire, c'est à favoir de foing, avoyne, nappes, toïailles, et de toute autre vaisselle és hostieux, chascun endroit soy, la ou il sera logié, ou faire prix sur les hostilaiges, lits, et vaisseaux, et au cheval foing et avoyne de hors: il est dit que se aucun chevalier n'a dequoy payer son hostelaige, qu'il fasse courtoisement fin et accord.'

Then follows a declaration, specifying what armour the knights and esquires should arm themselves with.

' Premierement, un harnois de jambes couvert de cuir coufu à esguillettes au long de la jambe, jusques au genoüil, et deux attaches larges pour attacher à son barruier * et foulères valuës attachez aux grües.

' Item, cuisses et poullains de cuir, armoiez de Varennes des armes au chevalier.

' Item, une chauffe de mailles pardeffus le harnois de jambes, attachée au brayer comme dit est, par dessus les cuisses, et uns esperons dorez, qui sont attachez à une cordelette autour de la jambe, afin que la molette ne tourne dessous le pied.

' Item, uns anciens, et unes espaulières.

' Item, paus et manchez qui sont attachez à la cuirie, et la cuirie à tout ses esgrappes sur les espauls, et une seurféliere sur le pis † d'avant.

' Item, bracheres à tout les hounson, et le han escuçon de la banniere sur le col couvert de cuir, avec les tonneres pour les attacher au braier à la cuirie: et sur le bacinet une coiffe ‡ de mailles, et un bel orfroy pardevant le front qui veult.

' Item, brachellets attachez aux espauls à la cuirie.

' Item, un gaignepain pour mettre es mains du chevalier.

' Item, un heaume, et le tymbre, tel comme il voudra.

' Item, deux chaines à attachier à la poitrine de la cuirie, une pour l'espee, et l'autre pour le baston en deux vigères § pour le heaume attacher.

* Brayer—breeches.

‡ Al. Creste.

† Pectus.

§ In alio MS. vigieres.

‘ Item, le harnois de l’escuyer fera tout pareil, excepte qu’il ne doit avoir nulles chaues de maille, ne coiffette de maille sur le bacinet, mais doit avoir un chapeau de Montauban, et si ne doit avoir nulles brachères, et des autres choses peut s’armer comme un chevalier, et ne doit point avoir de fautour à fa felle.’

DISSERTATION VIII.

ON THE EXERCISE OF LA CHICANE, OR GAME OF BALL ON HORSEBACK.

I HAVE entered too deeply into the history of military exercises, not to say something of La Chicane, which forms a part of them. It is a matter not unworthy the researches of the curious, as it is not generally understood, and discovers to us a kind of horsemanship, particularly practised by the modern Greeks, and which seems to have been unknown to the western nations. It has not, however, been so peculiarly their own, that we may not, with some reason, say they have borrowed it from the Latins, since the name certainly came from them, and it is still in use with us.

Dexterity in the management of a horse, which in French is called 'Manege,' a word taken from the Italian, is one of the most useful exercises for those who follow the military profession. We consequently find that the Greeks and Romans have practised it from the earliest times; and the Greeks, to bring this art to greater perfection, invented horse-races. They not only found out the method of teaching them to move or wheel at the slightest signal of the rider, but they were desirous that the cavalier should acquire such a firmness of seat, that however violent the plunges of a horse might be, he could never be thrown to the ground, being, as it were, glued to the saddle*.

* Nicet. in Alex. Ang. l. 1. n. 3.

These are the exercises called by Suetonius ‘*Exercitationes equorum campestris**,’ from being performed in the country. Cinnamus says, that the ancients invented a manly exercise for emperors only, their children, and the great lords of their courts, which was as follows. The young princes having divided themselves into an equal number of divisions and persons, remained on horseback, at the two extremities of a spacious plain: a leathern ball, of the size of an apple, being thrown between them, the two parties set off full gallop after it, each having a racquet in his hand similar to those made use of at this day at tennis, the invention of which does not seem so recent as Etienne Pasquier wishes to persuade us†. The contest was, who should strike the ball beyond the bounds marked for it, so that those who drove it the farthest remained conquerors. This author remarks, that it was a dangerous exercise, and that great personal risks were run of being unhorsed, or grievously wounded, for those engaged therein were forced to gallop after the ball without any regularity; and, to strike it with their racquets, they were obliged to bend their bodies on each side of the horse almost to the ground. They often ran against, and reciprocally wounded each other, and, from the shocks of their encounters on full gallop, were thrown to the ground. Anna Comnena writes, that when her father Alexis was amusing himself at this game, Tattice, one of those who were playing with him, was run away with by his horse against the emperor, and wounded him so severely on the knee and foot, that he felt the consequences the remainder of his life‡. Cinnamus writes, in his fourth book, that the emperor Manuel, grandson to Alexis, exercising himself at this game, fell from his horse, and was wounded so severely on the thigh and hand that his life was despaired of.

The game of ‘*La Chole*,’ (foot-ball) which is still in use among the peasantry of the provinces, has some connection with the above-mentioned exercise, excepting, indeed, that it is performed by persons on foot. On certain solemn days of the year, and most commonly on the festivals of the

* Suet. in Aug. c. 83.

† Pasquier en ses Recher. de France, l. 4. c. 15.

‡ Anna Comn. l. 9. p. 259.

patron fairs of the villages, the peasants invite their neighbours to this game. When assembled, they throw a large leathern ball on the public road, half way between two villages, when all kick it with their feet as hard as possible, and whichever party kick it into their village, they bear away the victory, and the prize that has been offered.

But to return to the game of ball on horseback, which the Greeks call 'Tzycanisterium,' it seems that they are indebted to the French for its origin, and that at the first it was nothing more than what is now practised in Languedoc, and called the game of La Chicane, and in other provinces the game of Mall, except that in Languedoc this game is played in the open country and on the high roads, where they drive with a small mallet, fixed at the end of a stick, of proportioned length, a ball of boxwood. In other parts, this game was played in long alleys planted with trees, and the sides inclosed with planks of wood.

With regard to the derivation of the word 'Chicane,' as all conjectures on similar subjects are for the most part doubtful, I know not whether I ought to attempt it. I dare not advance that it comes from the english word 'Chicken;' so that 'Chicaner' would seem to be derived from the imitation of young poultry, who are accustomed to run after each other, to snatch the morsels out of their beaks, in like manner as the Greeks gallop after their antagonists, to seize and drive away the ball from them.

However this may be, I think it cannot be doubted that the word 'Chicane,' now in use to signify the tricks of suitors in courts of justice, and which the old french practitioners of the law called 'Barres,' has been taken from this exercise, each party endeavouring, by affected delays, and useless proceedings, to embarrass and hurt his opponent, and, as we vulgarly say, boxing the ball from one to the other. This is what those who play at this game of chicane do, and, by the mutual embarrassments they cause, make it last the longer.

DISSERTATION IX.

N KNIGHTS-BANNERETS.

NOBILITY of birth has been ever held in particular esteem by all the states of the universe excepting the Turks and Chinese, by whom it is not considered. They refer every thing to virtue and personal qualities, without regarding blood or birth, according to the expressions of an ambassador of the emperor Ferdinard I. * But France has been the kingdom in the world where the nobles have enjoyed the greatest advantages, forming the first order in the state: the governments of provinces and towns are intrusted solely to their care; and it has always been supposed that the strength of the realm resided in their persons, from the generosity natural to them, and the eminent courage that was, as it were, attached to them.

However true it may be that the character of nobility is uniform, and that it is not improperly said, that one gentleman is not more a gentleman than another, yet there have always been various degrees among the nobles, which have constituted the different orders among them. Some have been raised higher than others, from dignities conferred by the prince, others by the prerogatives which their rank and title of chevaliers gave them; so that we observe there have been in France three degrees, and three orders of nobility. The first, is that of Barons, which comprehended every

* Busbeq. in itiner. C. P.

gentleman raised to that dignity, on account of the title granted him by his sovereign, or from his fiefs, by virtue of which he had a right to bear a banner in the armies of the king, to conduct thither his vassals, and to have a particular war-cry. It is for this reason they are commonly known under the name of bannerets, and often under the general one of barons *. The second order was that of Bachelors, or simple knights, and the third that of Esquires.

The nobility of Béarn were in a similar manner divided into barons, *caviers* or knights, and *dommagers* or damoiseaux, which are those we call esquires. The kingdom of Arragon had also three orders of nobility; the first was that of ‘Ricos Hombres,’ the second that of ‘Cavalleros,’ and the third the ‘Infançons,’ which are damoiseaux or esquires. The Ricos Hombres, or the rich men, were the principal barons of the kingdom: they had a share in the government of the country, and enjoyed the great moveable fiefs of the crown. They were bound by these fiefs to serve the prince in his wars, and were obliged to lead thither their vassals under their banners, whence they were called ‘Ricos hombres de Senêra;’ that is to say, Bannerets; and because these rich men led their vassals to war under their banners, and they were usually invested with the quality of knighthood, it has thence occurred, that these barons have most commonly been known under the title of ‘Knights-bannerets.’

Other knights, who had not this prerogative, were vulgarly called ‘Bachelors,’ that is to say, ‘Bas-Chevaliers,’ from being of the second order, and inferior in dignity to the barons. So that these knights resembled the counts of the first, second, and third order, in the court of the roman emperors. But as my design at present is to speak only of knights-bannerets, having so pledged myself in my observations on the history of the lord de Joinville, I shall not now say any thing of knights-bachelors, nor of this second order of nobility.

I have already observed, that the term ‘Banneret’ was generally applied to the first order of nobility, and that it comprehended gentlemen of superior rank, who had a right to bear a banner in the armies of their prince. The

* P. Divæus, l. 7. Rer Brabant. p. 85.

greater number of authors have used it in this sense. Rigord often employs it in speaking of the lords made prisoners by Philip Augustus at the battle of Bovines. On the other hand, we often see knights-bannerets mentioned by other writers under the simple term of barons. The laws of Simon count de Montfort, for the inhabitants of Alby, Carcassonne, Besiers and Razes, drawn up in the year 1212, specially comprehend knights-bannerets under this name, distinguishing them from simple knights, who are noticed as bachelors. We must, however, acknowledge, that there was a difference between the barons and bannerets. For those who were styled barons possessed great fiefs, held under the crown, or from some sovereign prince; but because there were no barons who had not the right to bear a banner in the armies, from the great lordships or manors they possessed, which had several vassals, it has happened that this title has been indiscriminately given to all bannerets. Du Tillet says, that the count de Maval disputed with the lord de Couëquen, in Brittany, his title of baron, maintaining that he was only a banneret from having raised his banner, for which he was laughed at, and called the Knight of the Square Banner.

To obtain the dignity of a banneret, it was not sufficient to be powerful in fiefs and vassals: it was necessary to be a gentleman of name, and bearing arms. This last qualification was essential; and as I have not observed any writer explain the force of these words, I propose to deliver my sentiments on them in the succeeding dissertation.

The old Ceremonial thus describes the form and manner of making bannerets:

‘ Comme un bachelier peut lever bannière, et devenir banneret.

‘ Quant un bachelier a grandement * servi et suivy la guerre, et que il a assez terre, et qu’il puisse avoir gentilshommes †, ses hommes, et pour accompagner sa bannière, il peut licitement lever bannière, et non autrement. Car nul homme ne doit porter, ne lever bannière en bataille, s’il n’a du moins cinquante hommes d’armes, tous ses hommes et les archiers et arbalestriers qui y appartiennent. Et s’il les a, il doit à la première

* In another copy, Longuement.

† ———, Tant comme il puisse tenir 50 gentilshommes.

bataille, ou il se trouvera, apporter un pennon de ses armes, et doit venir au connestable, ou aux mareschaux, ou à celui qui sera lieutenant de l'ost, pour le prince requérir qu'il porte bannière *, et s'il lui octroient, doit sonner les heraux pour tesmoignage †, et doivent couper la queue du pennon, et alors le doit porter et lever avant les autres bannieres, au dessous des autres barons.'

There is in this same Ceremonial another chapter respecting the banneret, and in these terms :

' Comme se doit maintenir un banneret en bataille.

' Le banneret doit avoir cinquante lances, et les gens de trait qui y appartiennent: c'est à savoir les xxv pour combattre, et les autres xxv pour lui ‡, et sa bannière garder. Et doit estre sa bannière dessous des barons. Et § s'il y a autres bannieres, ils doivent mettre leurs bannieres à l'honneur, chacun selon son endroit, et pareillement tout homme qui porte bannière.'

I have inserted the exact words from the Ceremonial, to avoid dividing them in the continuation of this dissertation, as well as to examine and compare them with those authors who have written on the subject of bannerets. To begin with the preliminary conditions required for obtaining this dignity, we observe that the candidate for the honour of banneret must be a knight, and one who has had frequent opportunities of following the wars. It is certain that those who wished to display their banner must have been knights; and history affords us an infinity of examples of those who in times of war were desirous so to do, and were not knights, but caused themselves to be so created before they displayed their banner. The sons of kings were not dispensed from this law, as we see in Froissart, who, speaking of a battle about to take place between the English and Scots, says, ' Adonques fist le comte de Douglas son fils chevalier, nomme messire Jacques, et lui fist lever bannière : et la fist-il deux chevaliers des fils du roy d'Escoffe, messire:

* Soit banneret.

† Faire sonner les trompettes pour temoigner.

‡ Garder son corps et sa bannière.

§ Et s'il y a autres bannieres en honneur selon qu'ils sont nobles, et pareillement tous hommes qui portent bannière.

Robert et messire David, et tous deux leverent banniere,' Froissart, vol. 2. chap. 10.

Another condition required from the candidate for the honour of banneret, and the most essential, was, that he should have large landed possessions, and a sufficient number of vassals to accompany his banner. It was for this reason that the Spaniards called bannerets 'Ricos hombres,' and the French 'The rich men,' as I have before shewn. On the contrary, simple knights were styled 'pauvres hommes,' in the roll of knights who followed St Louis in his expedition to Tunis. 'Et est à favoir qu'il doit passer à chascun banneret un cheval, et li chevaux emporte le garçon qui le garde, et doit passer le banneret lui fixieme de personne, et le pauvre homme foi tiers.'

With regard to the number of vassals, the Ceremonial orders, that a banneret should have under his command fifty men at arms, besides the archers and cross-bows attached to them; that is to say, one hundred and fifty horse; for Froissart tells us, that twenty thousand men at arms made sixty thousand effective men in battle, each man at arms having two men on horseback as his followers.

Olivier de la Marche writes, that, according to ancient customs, it was necessary that the pennon of him who pretended to such rank should be attended by twenty-five men at the least. But the accounts of the treasurers of the king's war-expenses shew us the contrary, and make it appear that there were often knights-bannerets who had a much smaller number of followers, some of whom were bachelors, other esquires. Another Ceremonial directs, that a knight or squire who wishes to be made a banneret, 'soit accompagné au moins de quatre ou cinq nobles hommes, et continuellement de douze ou seize chevaux.'

It is true that in general when knights-banneret went to attend their prince in his wars, as the greater number were powerful lords, they had a more numerous attendance of vassals, among whom were knights, who in like manner, were followed by their vassals, which formed, all together, a very handsome company under the command of the banneret.

A banneret was made by the prince, or by the lieutenant-general of the army, in this manner: the knight who was sufficiently rich in lands, and in

a numerous vassalage, to support the state and dignity of a banneret, took an opportunity of a battle being about to be fought, to present himself before the prince, or chief of the army, having in his hand a lance, round which was rolled a pennon of his emblazoned arms, and then made his request personally, or by means of a herald, to be created a banneret, in consequence of the nobility of his birth, and the services which his ancestors had done the state, considering also that he had a sufficiency of vassals to support its dignity. Then the prince, or chief of the army, unrolling the pennon, cut off the end, and made it square, and, on giving it back to the knight, said himself, or caused his herald to say the following, or such like words: ‘Recevez l’honneur que vostre prince vous fait aujourd’hui, soiez bon chevalier, et conduisez vostre banniere à l’honneur de vostre lignage.’

The pennon or pennonceau was the flag of the knight-bachelor, under which he conducted his vassals. The Ceremonial, at the chapter ‘de l’ordonnance du roy quand il va en armes,’ declares it in express words, ‘Après les pages viennent les trompettes, après les trompettes viennent les pennons des bacheliers, après les pennons viennent les bannieres des derrains bannerets.’

And at the part where it describes the ceremonies attendant on obsequies, ‘La quatrieme offrande doit estre d’un cheval couvert du trepassé, et sera monté dessus un gentilhomme, ou amy du trepassé, qui portera sa banniere s’il est banneret, ou s’il est bachelier son pennon.’

Sovereign princes had both banner and pennon; and with regard to the king of France, his banner was under the charge of the great chamberlain of the crown, and his pennon under the care of the first gentleman-carver.

Froissart makes mention somewhere in his chronicles of the pennon of the king of France; and the reason why great lords had both banner and pennon is, because they had a number of vassals, the bannerets in the wars ranging themselves under the banners, and the bachelors who held fiefs directly from them under their pennon. The pennon differed from the banner, which was square, by having a tail like to those streamers called by the Latins ‘Dragons:’ it was this tail that was cut off when they were created bannerets.

Froissart, Monstrelet, Olivier de la Marche and other authors observe, that bannerets were made on the occasions of battles or other military enterprizes; but they were sometimes created on the occasion of solemn feasts and tournaments.

Jacques Valere, in his treatise 'd'armes de noblesse,' writes, 'S'il est roy, ou prince qui soit au dit tournoy, et s'il luy plaist peult faire de grace chevaliers, et d'un chevalier un banneret, pour alors prendre banniere.'

And further on, 'Celui qui lieve banniere en tournoy, ou en bataille, doit au roy d'armes, ou heraux de la Marche, dix livres parisis.'

This quality of banneret in the person of a knight made him known under the name 'de banniere,' as may be collected from various authors, and particularly from the lord de Joinville, when he says that he accompanied king Louis, 'lui troisieme de banniere;' that is to say, with two other knights bearing banners.

The families of bannerets, as a mark of their prerogatives and nobility, were called 'hostel noble et banniere;' and this title is given to the house of Saveuses in Picardy, in an ancient edict of the parliament of Paris.

I add to the above remarks, that in an ordinance of Charles VIII. of the year 1495, concerning the rights of 'geolage,' the wife of a banneret is therein styled 'une dame bannerete.'

This title of 'de banniere' was also applied to the land of the knight banneret, which was so called when a number of fiefs were dependant on it, and consequently a sufficiency of vassals, to enable the lord who possessed it to raise his banner, which was so well-known a truth that the title of banneret passed to all who enjoyed this landed property even before they were invested with the honour of knighthood.

He, therefore, who was in possession of a banner-land; that is to say, of an estate which had a proper number of vassals for the attendance on a banneret, and had been before held by bannerets, took the opportunity of a battle to display, unfurl, raise, and make public his banner; for such are the different expressions made use of by various authors on this subject. There was, however, a difference between 'relever banniere' and 'entrer en banniere;' for he 'entroit en banniere,' who had the dignity of banneret.

given him by the prince on account of one or more estates he was possessed of, that furnished him with a sufficiency of vassals: and he ‘*levoit banniere,*’ or ‘*relevoit banniere,*’ who raised and displayed the banner of land that had fallen to him by right of succession, or who had got himself created banneret on account of an estate that had a title of banniere, and of which he was become possessor. We learn this distinction from Olivier de la Marche.

I find that the old Ceremonial has properly hence inferred that the banniere is the mark of investiture of the banneret, when it says, that the duke receives his investiture from his coronet, the marquis from the ruby which he wears on his middle finger, the viscount from the golden wand, and barons and bannerets from the banner. Although what it says respecting the marquis and other dignities may be subject for criticism, it is at least certain that the banneret was invested with his rank by virtue of his banner; for, as the banner was a sort of standard under which the vassals ranged themselves to march to the wars of the prince, it is certain that all investitures arising from lands, of whatever quality they may be, but which give a right of leading vassals to the wars, are made by the banner.

We often read in authors, conformable to what was the law of the Saxons, that in Germany, duchies and other great fiefs were by the emperors conferred by the banner. The counts of Goritia received their investiture from the doges of Venice by a standard of red taffeta; and the dauphins of Vienne by a delphinale sword, and by the banner of St George. I omit all other instances that may be quoted from authors who have made similar observations. What I have said is sufficient to prove, that all the grand fiefs are banner-fiefs, and that the banner was the mark of investiture of these sort of fiefs.

With regard to the smaller fiefs, which were decorated with the title of banner, they had particular privileges. In the duchy of Brittany they had a right of holding courts of justice on all crimes, excepting treason against the prince, and to erect a four pillar gallows. The possessors might bear their arms emblazoned ‘*en banniere,*’ that is to say, on a square escutcheon. In Dauphiny, the bannerets have also similar privileges throughout the extent of their lordships, the right of inspection over the high roads, of having a

procurator-fiscal, of inheriting all confiscations for herefy, and other prerogatives, which are mentioned by some of the lawyers of those countries.

Bannerets had likewise the privilege of a war-cry, called ‘Cry d’armes,’ that particularly attached to them, to the exclusion of all knights-bachelors, from having the right of leading their vassals to war, and from being chiefs of a large body of men at arms.

In regard to the emblazoning arms ‘en banniere,’ that was one of the peculiar privileges of the bannerets of the duchy of Brittany, and of some other provinces, such as Poitou, the *Coûtume* of which has these words : ‘Que tout seigneur qui a comté, vicomté, ou baronnie, (it clearly points to bannerets by this expression) peut en guerre, ou armoiries, porter ses armes en quarré, ce que ne peut le seigneur Chastellain, lequel les peut seulement porter en forme d’escuffon.’

Knights-bannerets, when they went to the wars, received from the king double the pay of knights-bachelors. The usual pay of bannerets was twenty sols tournois a day ; that of knights-bachelors, and esquires banneret, ten sols each : that of simple esquires five sols ; of gentlemen on foot two sols ; of sergeants on foot twelve deniers, and of cross-bows fifteen deniers. Sometimes the king augmented this pay, which was then called ‘the great pay ;’ but he then declared, that he did not intend it should be understood as wages, but as a sort of loan, as was done in the year 1315, or as a benefaction, as it is thus announced at the commencement of the accounts of John du Cange, in the year 1340.

DISSERTATION X.

ON GENTLEMEN OF NAME, AND BEARING ARMS.

IT would seem that in the state and condition of nobility there was not any particular prerogative that should exalt one more than another, but that it resembles the ingenuity of lawyers, which receives neither more nor less of addition.

There is, however, reason to suppose, that the quality of ‘Gentilhomme de nom et d’armes,’ was something more elevated, and of a much superior rank than that of the simple gentleman; since, whenever there was occasion to select gentlemen of high birth, and whose genealogy it was necessary to inquire into, such as respecting the orders of chivalry, it was expected they should be invested with the above title*.

Philip duke of Burgundy, in his statutes for the order of the Golden Fleece, ordains, that the thirty-six knights of that order shall be gentlemen of name, and bearing arms, without reproach†. When king Louis XI. instituted the order of St Michael in France, he said, ‘We command that this order do consist of thirty-six knights, gentlemen of name and arms, without reproach, of whom we ourself shall be one, the chief and sovereign,’ &c. King Henry III. of France ordains, in the 15th article of the statutes

* Locrius in Chron Belg. an. 1431.

† Miræus in Diplom. Belg. l. 1. 6. 98. art. 1.

for the order of the Holy Ghost, that all the knights of it shall be 'gentlemen of name, and bearing arms for three generations at the least.' The ordinance of Blois declares, 'That no one shall be invested with the rank of bailiff or seneschal at the ensuing states-general, unless he be a gentleman of name, and bearing arms.'

From these declarations I conclude, that the gentlemen of 'nom et d'armes' were of superior rank to the common; for it would be useless to require this qualification, if it were not more eminent than simple nobility. But as there are various opinions on this subject, it will be proper that I should discuss them all, before I enter farther thereon.

John Scobier, in his treatise on the state, and bearing of arms*, supposes those to be gentlemen of name and of arms who have the name of a province, town, village, castle, lordship, or noble fief, and who bear particular arms, although they may not be the owners of the above places; and on this subject he puts several questions. But I cannot see what is the prerogative or eminence of this sort of nobility over the others; for how many noble families exist who do not bear the name of any particular place, and yet are daily admitted into the orders of knighthood, and invested with great offices, to obtain which this qualification must be first exemplified? To bear the name of a place does not exalt the person of a noble: a duke, or a count, who shall be descended from those who have anciently been ennobled, but who have never borne the name of a place, will not be denied admittance into any order of knighthood, and will be esteemed a true gentleman.

Others imagine, that gentlemen of name and arms† are thus called, not from their armorial bearings, but from their profession of arms, to distinguish them from 'des chevaliers en loys,' who are lawyers, whom the prince honours with the title of knights, but who do not intermeddle in wars. Froissart, Monstrelet, d'Argentré, and other authors, speak of these knights. But who can suppose that it was ever in the thoughts of the founders of military orders of knighthood, or of kings who have made laws for them,

* Scobier, c. 17.

† Jean Chenu en son livre des Offices, tit. 40. c. 39.

to restrain their nobility to the sword alone ? Besides, why do they qualify such gentlemen with the title ‘ of name and arms,’ as if it added any thing to their nobleness of birth ?

There are some who believe that gentlemen of name and arms are those who bear the arms appertaining to their family-name, without however this qualification placing them above those who are styled simply gentlemen : this addition of name and arms being used solely to mark a nobility of ancient date, and without reproach, inasmuch that among the proofs which a gentleman produces to justify his claim to nobility, there is one by which he proves, that the surname and arms he bears have been borne by his father, his grandfather, and his great-grandfather. This seems to have been the opinion of Andrew du Chesne, in his history of the house of du Pleffis, when, speaking of the cardinal de Richelieu, he says, ‘ Il étoit aussi chef des armes de sa maison, composées d’un escu d’argent à 3 chevrons de gueules, lesquelles ses descendans ont toujours portées, et retenues jusques à présent, avec le même surnom de du Pleffis. De sorte qu’ à juste titre il doit participer à la gloire, et à la renommée de ceux qui ont été reconnus de toute antiquité pour gentilhommes de nom et d’armes.’

And in his history of the house of Bethune, he says, ‘ les armes ou armoiries sont si propres, et si essentielles aux nobles, qu’il n’y a qu’eux qui puissent justement en porter ; d’où vient que pour exprimer la vraie noblesse, l’on dit ordinairement qu’il est gentilhomme de nom et d’armes.’

Although this opinion may apparently have some foundation, I must be excused for not agreeing to it, without meaning to offend so judicious a writer, or those who have followed him. I maintain, that it was more probable that those were called gentlemen of name and arms who could prove their nobility, not only by shewing that their fathers and grandfathers had always been noble, that they had been reputed gentlemen, and that the name and arms they bore had been borne by their ancestors, which is the usual form of proving simple nobility, but likewise by the four quarters of their pedigree. This was done by shewing that their paternal and maternal ancestors were noble, as far back as was required, and was proved by the arms on the pedigrees of each branch ; so that armorial bearings being the distinctive marks of nobility, since they belong solely to the nobles, if any one can

prove by his pedigree, that his paternal and maternal ancestors have had armorial bearings, it follows, that such ancestors must have been noble, and that he is the issue of noble parentage by four different houses, or what we call quarterings.

To explain myself more fully, I say, that it is necessary for him who calls himself a gentleman of name and arms, to prove his descent from paternal and maternal ancestors in four degrees; and remounting to his great-grandfather to prove his nobility, and that he is the head of the family, and that his issue is noble, and by shewing that he bears the same name with his ancestors who were noble, it follows that he who is descended from them is likewise noble: and in order that he may freely say he is noble by armorial bearings, it is necessary for him to prove his maternal ancestors to have been noble, which he may do by shewing that they had borne armorial ensigns. It may then be lawful for him to place on his tomb, and wherever else he may please, beside his own arms, those of ancestors on each side from whom he is descended, and take on him the qualification of a gentleman of name and arms.

This seems to have been explained by René king of Sicily, in the statutes of the order of the Crescent*, which he instituted the 11th day of August 1448, when he declares, ‘que nul ne pourra estre receu, ne porter le dit ordre, sinon qu’il soit ou prince, marquis, comte, vicomte, ou issu d’ancienne chevalerie, et gentilhomme de ses quatre lignes, et que sa personne soit sans vilain cas, et sans reproche,’—terms that are synonymous, and have the same force as those inserted in the statutes of other military orders, and in the edicts of our kings before quoted, namely, ‘que nul ne fera admis ausdits ordres, s’il n’est gentilhomme de nom et d’armes sans reproche.’

The statutes of the Garter still more clearly express it, in the following words: ‘Item, est accordé que nul ne fera esleu compagnon dudit ordre, s’il n’est gentilhomme de sang, et chevalier sans reproche.’ After these words, are the following, by way of explanation: ‘Et quant à la declaration d’un gentilhomme de sang, il est déclaré et déterminé qu’il fera extrait de trois descentes de noblesses, à sçavoir de nom et d’armes tant du costé du pere que

* La Colomb. to. 1. du Theat. d’Honn. c. 7.

de la mere.' Fr. Modius speaks of those who might perform at tournaments, and describes this nobility as of name and arms*.

It has not therefore been without reason, that kings and founders of military orders would not admit as their companions, or appoint to the higher offices of the state, any but such as had clear titles to nobility, who were reproachless, either in what personally concerned them or in regard to their families: in one word, they only admitted such as were gentlemen of name and arms. France has always held its nobility in such high esteem that gentlemen were not permitted to ally themselves in marriage otherwise than with noble families, under pain of forfeiting the principal prerogatives of nobility, and of being marked in some manner with infamy. This principle was so strong at the commencement of the monarchy that the Franks would not admit the children of king Theodorick into the kingdom of Austrasia, 'quia erant materno latere minus nobiles†.' But the chief reason for this interdiction of vulgar alliances to gentlemen was, that they might not debase, by this means, the glory and lustre of their families.

It has thence happened, that such gentlemen as had *forligné* (degenerated), to use the word of Monstrelet and George Chastellain,—that is to say, those who had married into a plebeian family, although they preserved their titles, and in right thereof were exempted from the tailles and other taxes to which plebeians are subjected,—lost all pretence of aspiring to high dignities, or of being admitted to tournaments, or to other assemblies of knights, although their children might succeed to the order of knighthood.

Notwithstanding these marriages were allowed by the canon laws, the civil and political laws, or rather the usages introduced by the common assent of the nobility, have established penalties to prevent their taking place. Among the Visigoths, a noble damsel who should mis-ally herself lost the inheritance she had, or would have received, from her father, and was excluded from that of her brothers and sisters. For this reason, those barons who had the wardship of daughters of gentlemen were prohibited from marrying them except to persons of noble birth, and could

* Fr. Modius, to. 2. de Hastiludio, l. 1. fol. 9 verso.

† Aimon, l. 4. c. 1.

not debate them by marriage without incurring the penalty ordained by the statutes*.

From the foregoing observations, it may be truly said, that in France those only have been reputed real gentlemen who were gentlemen of name and arms; that is to say, noble from four branches of their pedigree.

It is this nobility that father St Julien, in his paradoxical miscellanies, qualifies, properly speaking, nobility of name and arms, which he maintains to be a rank of the highest sort; for such a gentleman, though poor, is not less a gentleman than the most opulent lord, like to a king who is not less a king although another may be richer, the extent of country he governs making him neither more nor less a sovereign†. This was the idea of king Eumenes, mentioned by Plutarch, who having but one single castle under his dominion, yet when he was about to capitulate with Antigonus king of Asia, who wanted to claim a superiority over him, replied, that he would never acknowledge him for his superior so long as he should hold a sword in his hand.

* Matt. Paris, an. 1215. page 271.

† St Jul. en ses Meff. Hist. pp. 632, 640.

DISSERTATION XI.

ON THE CRY D'ARMES, OR WAR-CRY.

THE particular usages, and municipal laws, which have assigned to the elders the prerogative of bearing the full arms of the families whence they sprung, have almost wholly given them, at the same time, the war-cry, as a dependance on the armorial shield, with which it is commonly placed on tombs and other places, as well as in their pedigrees and emblazonings, drawn up by heralds. Many have been ignorant of the origin, usage, and signification of the war-cry, and those who have touched on the subject have not written correctly about it : this has induced me to make researches on the war-cry, and to detail in this place what books have taught me.

The war-cry was nothing else than a shout composed of two or three words, pronounced at the beginning, or during the heat of a combat, by a chieftain, or by all the soldiers together, as occasions offered or required ; which war-cry was appropriated to the general of the army, or to the leader of each separate troop.

As the noise which thunder makes in the clouds at the moment when the lightening darts its forks to the earth, adds to the astonishment which this meteor excites in the minds of men, just so do the shouts of soldiers, when charging the enemy, confound them ; for this confused noise of shouts and joy augments the alarm of the enemy, who consider it as an undoubted proof of courage.

These cries were not always confused sounds, but were often clearly articulated, and consisted in the pronunciation of some words, by which the soldiers excited each to acts of valour and gallantry. The Germans and Gauls were accustomed, before battle, to strengthen their courage by certain songs, or rather rude noises, called in their tongue 'Barditus,' from the name of their priests, the bards, who, according to Ammianus Marcellinus, book the fifteenth, sung verses, accompanied by their harp, in praise of the virtuous actions of their kings and ancestors.

This custom, of singing the praises of great men before the combat, was preserved under our monarchs, when those songs, known under the name of 'Chansons de Roland,' were invented, and so called, from their extolling the gallant acts of this fabulous Roland, and the ancient french knights errant.

Such then has been the usage of these war-cries, composed of a few words, which excited the soldiers to valour, and gallantly to fall on their enemies. Although these cries were, for the most part, different in words, they were, nevertheless, all conceived in terms of invocation to the Divinity. In consequence of this laudable custom, kings and princes have invented cries of battle, which have been peculiar to them and the soldiers of their armies, to be uttered at the beginning, or in the midst of an engagement; whence they are called 'voces fidei' by Roderick archbishop of Toledo, in his history of spanish affairs, meaning cries of confidence in the assistance of God. If other cries have been used, they have taken their origin from some fortunate deeds of arms, and on that account chosen by the particular lords who had been engaged in them.

The French, when they made their first conquests in the holy land, had for their general cry these words, 'Adjuva Deus * !' or, 'Eia Deus adjuva nos † !' It was from the war-cries of our ancient french knights, and the first conquerors of the holy land, that the dukes of Normandy have formed their cry, 'Diex aie ! Dame Diex aie !' by which they called on God for assistance, these words signifying 'Domine Deus adjuva.' Instead of this

* Fulch.

† Gesta Franc. expug. Hier. l. 1. c. 26. 43.

meaning, others have imagined they signified 'Nostre Dame, Dieu aide,' from 'Dame,' in this place, meaning lord. Thus the lords of Montmorency had for their cry, according to an ancient heraldic manuscript, 'Dieux aieve!' or, according to others, 'Dieu aide au premier Chrestien!' Some writers refer the origin of this to the first lord of Montmorency, whom they call 'Lisoie,' who was the first of the french nobility that embraced Christianity with king Clovis, and was baptised by St Remy. His successors have thence taken their war-cry of 'Dieu aide au premier Chrestien!' as it was esteemed honourable to that family to have produced the first person who, after his prince, had quitted the errors of paganism, to embrace the true religion.

The house of Bauffremont in Lorraine, and in Burgundy, had a cry similar to that of Montmorency; the lords of this family shouting in battle, 'Bauffremont au premier Chrestien!' as we learn from the visitations of heralds, because, perhaps, one of this family was the first among the Burgundians who had fixed themselves in these provinces, and who had embraced the Christian faith.

Many princes have, in their cries, called on the most holy Virgin for succour, such as the dukes of Burgundy, whose cry was, according to Montrelet, George Chastellain, and some heralds, 'Nostre Dame Bourgogne!' The dukes of Bourbon, of the royal line, cried, 'Bourbon nostre Dame!' as we learn from Jean Dorronville, in the 50th chapter of his life of Louis III. duke of Bourbon. The counts de Foix had for their war-cry 'Nostre Dame Bierne!' or 'Béarn!' The house of Vergy these words, 'Vergy à nostre Dame!' Froissart makes mention of several lords who shouted 'Nostre Dame!' in battle. The count d'Auxerre shouted 'Nostre Dame Auxerre!' The constable du Guesclin, 'Nostre Dame Guesclin!' The count de Sancerre, 'Nostre Dame Sancerre!' The lord de Coucy, 'Nostre Dame au Seigneur de Coucy!' Even the kings of France had a war-cry; for according to an old MS. chronicle, which ends with the reign of Charles VI. king Philippes Auguste, at the battle of Bovines, cried, 'Nostre Dame St Denys Montjoye!'

We do not read in our histories that our kings had any other cry of battle than simply that of 'Montjoye St Denis!' They not only acknowledged

this faint for the guardian of their kingdom, the instant they had embraced Christianity, which he had established and cemented with his blood on Montmartre, but it was their pleasure that he should be called upon in battle. During the siege of Damietta by St Louis, the french cry of battle was, 'Montjoye St Denis!' It was likewise shouted at the battle of Furnes, in the year 1297; at that of Pont à Vendin in 1303; at the engagement in the same year near to Ravensberg; at the battle of Mons en Puelle in the year 1304; at that of Cassel, according to the chronicle of Flanders.

Monstrelet speaking of the French, when they made the English raise the siege which they had laid to Montargis in the year 1426, says, 'They made a most vigorous and well-conducted attack on the quarters of the English, who were not prepared for it, shouting, 'Montjoie St Denis!' At the capture of Pontoise, in the year 1441, the king, Charles VII. and all the lords and captains, 'firent armer et habiller leurs gens, et les exhortèrent, tous eux crians à haute voix, St Denys ville gaignée!'

It is a difficulty not easily solved, why the invocation of St Denis, the guardian angel of France, should have the word Montjoie added to it. The greater part of those who have written on this subject have thought it was Clovis the great who first used this cry, when, finding himself in danger at the battle of Tolbiac, against the Germans, he called upon St Denis for aid, protesting to adore him henceforward, and to acknowledge him for his Jove or Jupiter, should he gain the victory over his enemies. The report is very true that Clovis, on this occasion, called upon the Deity, whom his queen Clotilda adored, declaring, that if he gained the victory, he should also be his. Raoul de Praefles seems to agree that Clovis was the first of our kings that used this war-cry. Estienne Pasquier is persuaded that it is more probable that the word 'Montjoie' was used for 'Ma joie' by Clovis and his successors, who followed him in choosing this cry of battle, by which he wished it to be understood, that St Denis was his joy, his hope, his consolation, in whom he placed his whole confidence. Odericus Vitalis is also of this sentiment; but without attempting to undervalue the opinion of these two authors, I think there is more reason to believe that our kings made use of a pure french expression, not disguised, as it seems to be imagined, and that by the cry of 'Montjoie St Denis!' they meant to

designate the mountain or hill of Montmartre, on which St Denis and his companions suffered martyrdom under Decius.

Doublet, in his antiquities of St Denis, remarks, that the royal abbey of St Denis has preserved, for the motto of its arms, these words, 'Montjoie St Denis.' The MS. chronicle of France, in the library of M. de Meimes, gives, for war-cry, to the count de St Paul, at the battle of Bovines, 'Montjoie à Chastillon!' which was a compound of the war-cry of the king and of that of his own family.

The dukes of Brittany had for their cry 'Malou!' or according to some heralds, 'S. Malo au riche duc!' Monstrelet, and Berry king at arms, in the history of Charles VII. say, that the Bretons, at the taking of Pont de l'Arche, in the year 1449, shouted, 'St Yves, Bretagne!' History notices that Charles duke of Brittany, of the family of Chastillon, had so great a devotion for this saint, that he vowed to walk bare-footed so far as the church of Triguier (where his body lies) from the place of La Rochdarien, where he had been made prisoner in battle. Froissart writes, that Bertrand du Guesclin, constable of France, and a breton gentleman, used for his war-cry 'St Yves Guesclin!'

All war-cries were not, however, composed of terms of invocation: they were often taken from some motto of the ancestors of warriors, which had its origin in the event of some notable enterprize, or in words that marked the dignity or excellence of their families. They were sometimes taken from blazonry, and most usually the simple name of the family served for their cry of battle. We have many instances of the first sort of cries, in the form of mottos, alluding, generally, to some gallant action, or derived from some boasting expressions used during war: these are the cries called by Guibert, abbot of Nogent, '*Arrogans varietas signorum,*' in speaking of the French who were going to the holy war: '*Remota autem arroganti varietate signorum, humiliter in bellis fideliterque conclamabunt, Deus id vult.*' This shews the antiquity of these cries of battle, and that they were in use among the French prior to the wars in Palestine. Such was the cry of the counts of Champagne and Sancerre, '*Passavant li Meillor!*' or '*Passavant la Thibaut!*' which was so usual to them, that several bore these words as a motto to their counter-seal, as may be seen on the seal of

Thibaut IV. furnished the Posthumous. I include also, under this sort of war-cries, the following: the cry of the house of Montoison in Dauphiné, 'A la recouffe Montoison!' which Philibert de Clermont, lord of Montoison, obtained from Charles VIII. at the battle of Foro Nuovo in Lombardy.

The house of Chavigny, in Berry, had for its cry, according to the authority of the king at arms, 'Chevaliers pleuvent!' but an heraldic MS. says, the lord of Chavigny shouted 'Jerusalem!'

The cry of the lord de la Chastre was, 'A l'attrait des bons Chevaliers!'

That of the lord of Culant, 'Au peigne d'or!'

Salvaing Boiffieu in Dauphiny, 'A Salvaing le Plus Gorgius!'

Vaudenay, 'Au Bruit!'

The house of Savoy sometimes shouted 'Savoye!' sometimes 'Saint Maurice!' and often, 'Bonnes nouvelles!'

The lord of Rosiere in Barrois, 'Grand joie!'

The viscount de Villenoir in Berry 'à la belle!'

The lord de Château-villain, 'Chatel-vilain à l'arbre d'or!'

The lord d'Eternac, 'Maine droite!'

The lord de Neufchâtel in Swisserland, 'Espinart à l'Escosse!'

The lord de Waurins in Flanders, 'Mains que le pas!'

The lord of Kercournadeck in Brittany, 'En Diex est!'

The lords of Bar, 'Au feu, au feu!'

Those of Prie, 'Cans d'oiseaux!'

Those of Buves in Artois, 'Buves tost assis!'

The house of Molac, 'Gric à Molac!' which means silence.

The lord Simon Morhier, grand master of the household of the queen of France, (these are the terms of the herald's manuscript,) provost of Paris under Charles VI. and a great partisan of the English, had for his cry, 'Morhier de l'extrait des Preux!'

The knights of the order of the Holy Ghost 'au droit desir,' otherwise 'de l'Enneu' or 'del Nodo,' instituted by Louis de Tarente, king of Sicily, on Whitfunday of the year 1352, after having shouted the cries of their families, shouted the cry of their order, which was 'au droit desir!'

The ancient lords of Preaux in Normandy* had for their war-cry, 'Cesar Auguste!'

There were some of these cries which alluded to the dignity annexed to the family whence the prince or lord was descended. Thus the first dukes of Burgundy had for their cry, 'Chaftillon au noble duc!'

The dukes of Brabant, 'Louvain au riche duc!'

The duke of Brittany, 'St Malo au riche duc!'

The counts dauphins of Auvergne, 'Clermont au dauphin d'Auvergne!'

Some were likewise taken from epithets of honour attributed to their families; such as that of the lords of Coucy in Picardy, who shouted 'Coucy à la merveille!' or, according to others, 'Place à la bannière!'

The lords de Vilain, descendants from the Chastellains of Ghent, had for their cry, 'Gand à Vilain fans reproche!'

Others may be observed to have been taken from the blazonry of the arms of the family; such was the cry of the earls of Flanders, 'Flandres au lion!' That of the house of Waudripont in Hainault, 'Cul à cul, Waudripont!' from bearing on their arms two lions adossed.

Some princes having succeeded to kingdoms or to sovereign principalities, to mark the origin of the antiquity of their birth, and to preserve the remembrance of it, have taken their family-name for their cry of battle. It was for this purpose, if we believe André Favyn, that the kings of Navarre chose their cry, 'Begorre, Begorre!' from their descent from the ancient counts of Bigorre.

Most commonly the war-cry was the family-name, whence it happens that we read in almost every collection made by heralds, or in treatises on blazonry, 'il porte' such and such arms, 'et crie son nom;' that is to say, his cry of war is the same as the name of his family.

* MS. treatise of the arms of extinct norman families.

DISSERTATION XII.

ON THE USAGE OF THE WAR-CRY.

EVERY gentleman and nobleman had not a right to a war-cry : it was a privilege that solely belonged to those who were chiefs or conductors of troops, and bore banners in the army. Hence those who, among other prerogatives of the knight-banneret, have assigned him the right of a war cry, have reason on their side, inasmuch that this cry particularly served to animate those under his command, and to rally them in case of necessity ; so that in an army there were as many cries of war as banners, each cry being peculiar to every company, troop or brigade, or, to speak in the words of those times, to each rout.

But beside these particular cries, there was a general one for the whole army, different from the watch-word, which cry was usually that of the name of the general in chief's family, unless the king should command in person, for in that case the general cry was that of the king. This we learn from Froissart's account of the battle of Cocherel.

Sometimes there were two general cries in the same army ; but this happened when it was composed of two different nations. Thus, in the battle fought between the bastard Henry of Castille and the king don Pedro, the Spaniards shouted ' Castille for king Henry ! ' and the French, who had come to his assistance under the command of Bertrand du Guesclin, shouted, ' Notre Dame Guesclin ! '

However, it often happened that the cry of the sovereign was shouted in battle, although he were not present. The chronicle of Flanders, when relating an engagement that took place in Gascony between the count d'Artois, general of the forces of king Philip le bel, and the Gascons and English, says, that the count de Foix, who had joined the french army, advanced, and, shouting with a loud voice, 'Montjoie!' charged the enemy. At the battle of Furnes, in the year 1297, the same count d'Artois shouted, 'Montjoie!' It is true, indeed, that the cry of the counts d'Artois was likewise 'Montjoie,' as shall hereafter be explained, which may cause a doubt whether it were his own cry or that of the king he shouted. However, it may be proved by several passages in Monstrelet, and other authors, that the war-cry of the king of France was frequently used in his absence; but with regard to the cry of the banneret, it was never shouted when he was not present, although his troops were serving in the army, as may be seen in the second volume of the chronicles of Froissart.

The general cry was shouted by the whole army at the same instant, before they charged the enemy, or rather at the moment of doing so, or when they were close to each other. This was done, as well to implore the assistance of the God of battles, by cries and invocations, as to animate one another to combat valiantly, and defend the honour and reputation of the general. These cries, shouted with vigour and joy, shewed all thoughts of fear and danger were forgotten. At the attacks of towns, and when they mounted to scale the walls, the general cry was used. Thus at the capture of Luxembourg by the Burgundians, the soldiers shouted 'Bourgogne!' The general as well as the particular cry served in the midst of battle to make the soldiers known to each other. At present, the term used is, 'qui vive?' But as the cry was equally known to both armies, it often happened that the enemy took advantage of it; especially when in any personal danger, they shouted the cry of their opponents, and under cover of this, escaped.

In regard to the particular cry, it was commonly uttered by the chieftains to animate the courage of the vassals under their command; but oftener by a single chief himself, or by him who bore the banner and marched before him, to excite his followers by such exultations to defend it. If it happened

that one knight-banneret commanded several banners or companies, either as the most ancient or best qualified, and that he was ordered to the attack or defence of any place, or against a body of the enemy, the cry of that banneret became the general cry for all that were under his command. There are several instances of this in Froissart.

The principal use of these cries was to excite vigour and cheerfulness in making attacks, and on every occasion to animate the soldiers with greater ardour against the enemy: thus when a chief was in personal danger, and surrounded by the enemy, and unable to extricate himself without the assistance of his people, he himself, or those near his person, shouted his cry to draw succour from all parts to his help.

Philippe Auguste, according to the chronicle of Flanders, had his horse struck down or killed under him at the battle of Bovines: he cried aloud, ‘Montjoie!’ and was instantly remounted on another charger. The same chronicle, speaking of the siege of Damietta by St Louis, says, ‘Quand les Chrestiens virent le roy s’abandonner, tous faillirent hors des nefes, prirent terre, et crierent tous à haute voix, Montjoie St Denys!’

At the battle of Mons en Puelle, in the year 1304, king Philippe le bel, ‘voyant que les Flamens avoient jà tué deux bourgeois de Paris, qui à son frein estoient, et messire Gilbert de Chevreuse qui gisoit mort devant lui, l’oriflamme entre ses bras, s’escria le noble roi, Montjoie St Denys, et se ferit en l’estour.’ Such cries were called ‘Cris à la recousse,’ as Froissart mentions in several parts of his chronicle. But as these cries brought succours, inconveniencies sometimes arose, especially in private quarrels, when those so engaged shouted the cry of their lords, in order by this means to draw to their party their companions in the brigade.

Nor only was the general cry used at the commencement of a battle, but each soldier shouted that of his captain, and each horseman that of his banneret, as may be seen in the recital Froissart gives of the combat at Pont à Comines, in the year 1382, between a small body of french horse under the command of the marshal de Sancerre, and a great number of Flemings. The cries of the different knights were shouted at tournaments, when they were about to enter the lists for the combat. It was likewise customary to

shout the cry of the lord paramount when his banner was displayed on the castle of his vassal at the time he paid him his homage.

As it was not lawful for younger children to bear the family-arms without a 'brisure,' so was it forbidden them to shout the cry of their house without some additions. It was generally allowed that the full arms, the name, and the war-cry of the family appertained to the elder, as I have proved by some articles extracted from our ancient *Coûtumes*: the latter condition was accomplished by adding some words to those that composed the cry of battle. Instances of this may be observed in the royal family of France, whose cry was, 'Montjoie St Denys!' for the princes of this family have been desirous of the marks of illustrious descent, not only in their arms, which they bear with a brisure, but also in the cry of 'Montjoie,' which they have retained, but have added other words to it, to distinguish it from that of the king of France, the head of their house. It is the same in private families, whose younger branches shouted the cry, or name of the house, but with the addition of some lordship; for the simple cry, as well as the arms, belonged to the elder.

From the time when king Charles VIII. established companies of ordinance, and dispensed with the attendance of gentlemen holding fiefs when he went to war, and excused them from leading their vassals thither, and consequently from displaying their banners, the usage of the war-cry has been abolished*.

* During the time this sheet was printing, I have heard from my friend the reverend W. Shepherd, (whose kindness in overlooking these sheets I am bound here to acknowledge) a strong and happy confirmation of the efficacy of the war-cry. A pupil of his, now a lieutenant in the 20th regiment, that has most gallantly distinguished itself on the fields of Calabria, writes word, that, previous to the battle of Maida, the French advanced to the charge like lions; but, when within five yards, one of the english soldiers shouted 'Huzza!' in which he was followed by the whole line. The French, instantly panicstruck, wheeled about, and, in a few minutes, were all bayoneted, except one officer, to the amount of seven hundred.—T. J.

DISSERTATION XIII.

ON THE DEPENDANCE OF THE COUNTY OF CHAMPAGNE ON FRANCE.

THE lord de Joinville informs us, that the king, St Louis, before he undertook his expedition to Africa, in the year 1240, held an assembly of all the barons of the realm, at Paris, to make proper regulations for the government of his kingdom during his absence, more especially if any unfortunate accident should befall him.

The king did this lord the honour of inviting him to be present at the assembly, but he civilly made his excuses, for that 'not being his subject,' he could not promise to swear allegiance to him. This passage has given cause to several writers to infer from thence, that since the lord de Joinville was not subject to the king, the count de Champagne, whose vassal he was, was likewise no vassal to the king, and did not hold his county under the crown of France, but under the empire. But these authors have not attended to the ancient usage of fiefs, for it is certain that the under-vassals never paid any homage, or oath of allegiance, to their lords paramount, or principal lords. Thus, therefore, the lord de Joinville was justified, and had sufficient cause to refuse paying any oath of fidelity, or doing any act of submission as vassal to the king. This he could not have done without derogating from his duty of vassal, in which he was bound to the count of Champagne,

whose liege man he was, whether, for the seneschalship of Champagne, or for the lordship of Joinville, or for others he was possessed of in that county.

He had not, beside, any land that was directly dependant on the king, for which he owed homage like the other barons of France, who alone were summoned to this assembly; that is to say, those who held immediately and directly from the king, and who owed him homage liege without reservation, for that is the full meaning of the word *baron*. So that if the lord de Joinville was invited thither by the king, it must have been done as a compliment, and because at that time he was a follower of the court; for it is doubtless that under-vassals were never summoned to such meetings, and that they could not, and ought not to pay any homage, or oath of fidelity to the sovereign, or to a lord paramount for their fiefs, but solely to their own immediate lords, who paid homage to the superior lord for themselves and their vassals. It was for this reason, that when sometimes the king, or superior lord, insisted on the homage and oath of under-vassals, they obtained permission so to do from the barons, or lords paramount, of these mesne fiefs. Those acquainted with the nature of fiefs are not ignorant that a person may be a vassal to two or more lords, for divers lordships: it is not therefore improbable but that count Thibaud may have done homage to the emperor for some lands that were dependant on the empire. It may also have been occasioned by his coming to the assistance of the emperor when the conditions of his service obliged him to do homage, whether for lands that were to be given him dependant on the empire, or for fiefs called ‘*de Bourse*,’ that is to say, annual rents, or sums of money paid from the treasury of the prince, so long as such persons remained in his service.

I shall now mention a fact that will most effectually prove that Champagne was never a fief of the empire. During the schism which afflicted the church under the reign of the emperor Frederic I. Henry count of Champagne promised the emperor, that he would obtain for him an interview with Louis VII. king of France, to appease and put an end to these divisions that troubled the minds of good catholics; and even bound

himself to the emperor, that if the king should refuse this interview, he would quit his homage, and become vassal to the empire. This the count formally declared to the king of France, by way of menace, although historians observe, that the king made preparations for this meeting, which, however, did not take place, from the fault of Frederick, who failed to come to the place agreed on for the interview. Count Henry, on this, allowed that his majesty had done his duty, and was acquitted of all the articles of the treaty. It is, nevertheless, true, that as the emperor threw the blame on the king of France, the count Henry was forced, in consequence of his engagement, to become a prisoner; and, before he obtained his liberty, consented to do homage for some places in Champagne that he held under the king with the county. This we learn from an ancient inquest, in the register of the chamber of accounts at Paris, under the title 'Feoda Campaniæ.'

The count of Champagne quitted the dependance on France for these castles, according to the power which the universal custom, respecting fiefs, gave him. This obliged the vassal to serve his lord, according to the engagement he entered into on doing homage, under pain of forfeiture and confiscation of the fief: the lord, in return, promising to defend the person and property of the vassal, so that if the vassal were attacked by enemies, and not defended by his lord, the lord lost his dependance, and the vassal might give himself to another lord, and hold his fief under him, which was almost a similar case to that of count Henry, and gave him an opportunity of holding some castles of his county under the empire, because he being a prisoner to the emperor, on the king's account, the king did not use any efforts to set him at liberty.

The lord de Joinville furnishes us with another proof that Champagne was a fief of France. He writes, that the king, St Louis, and the king of Navarre, having urged him strongly to accompany them in the expedition to Africa in the year 1270, he excused himself by saying, that while he was on the preceding expedition to Palestine, 'les gens et les officiers du roy de France avoient trop grevé et foulé ses subjets, tant qu'ilz en estoient apovris, tellement que jamés il ne seroit, que eux et luy ne s'en fantissent.'

Now I should wish to ask in what manner the king's officers could harrafs the subjects of the lord de Joinville, if it were not that the king, Saint Louis, was lord paramount of Champagne, and in this quality had the right to fend thither his officers, which he could not have done had that county been held under the empire, or if the counts-palatine of that province had been counts-palatine of the empire.

DISSERTATION XIV.

ON THE COUNTS-PALATINE OF FRANCE.

UNDER the first and second race of the french monarchs, the counts were not only governors of the provinces, and of all the capital towns in the kingdom, but they were likewise the judges. Their chief employment was to determine differences, and decide on the common suits at law within their jurisdictions; and where they could not personally attend, they deputed their viscounts and their lieutenants.

With regard to affairs of importance, and which required the judgment of the prince, our kings had even counts in their palaces, and attached to their persons, to whom they referred the knowledge and decision of such affairs, and who were usually called, from their illustrious office, Counts of the Palace, or Counts-Palatine.

These counts-palatine were commissioned by the king to judge and decide on the suits that were brought before them, whether by appeal or in the first instance, according as the importance of the matter required, our princes throwing on them the whole weight of these affairs, as well experienced and able persons, capable of terminating them with justice. It may be collected from an epistle of Hincmar, archbishop of Rheims, that affairs of importance were immediately judged by the counts of the palace, and likewise those that were brought before them by appeal, whenever the parties complained of the sentences given by the provincial counts. Suits

of this sort were called 'Causæ Palatinæ;' and this name was also given to the public audiences held by the counts of the palace. It was not without foundation that these public pleadings were thus denominated, for the sentences pronounced in these courts, by the counts, were given in the very palaces of our kings.

Both civil and criminal causes were within their competence and jurisdiction; but in regard to ecclesiastical matters, they were not permitted to take cognizance of them. The principal function of the counts of the palace was to decide and determine, without appeal, all matters that interested the prince, whether personally, or for the welfare of his kingdom.

There is reason to believe that during the first race of french kings, and even at the commencement of the second race, the office of count of the palace was performed by one single person, who decided on all differences, assisted by counsellors-palatine, called 'Scabini Palatii,' sheriffs of the palace, in the chronicle of St Vincent de Wilturhe*.' Not only the sheriffs of the palace, or the doctors, 'legum doctores,' as they are styled in a charter of Pepin, mayor of the palace, assisted in these courts, but frequently counts, and other great lords, even bishops, were chosen for this purpose by the king; the supreme authority, however, residing in the person of the count of the palace. It often happened that the counts of the palace did not take the first place in the courts of assize, although the judgment of causes belonged to them, but yielded precedency to archbishops, bishops, or to others of superior rank. We cannot deny but that there have been, at the same time, several counts of the palace, called by our ancient writers 'Comites Palatii.' I know well that it may be said these counts-palatine were not counts of the palace, but provincial counts, who were accidentally at court at these times, or perhaps lords who had the simple title of counts, and were in attendance on the prince.

The kings, themselves, often assisted in person at these courts of assize of the counts of the palace, and the sentences then passed were subscribed with the name of the king; whereas, at other times, they were said to have been

* To. 3. Hist. Fr. p. 690.

given by the king, according to the report made him by the count of the palace, or he confirmed the judgments given by them.

But the cause of our kings increasing the number of counts of the palace was the great additions to their kingdom, which extended to Germany, Italy, and other countries; for as it was frequently necessary to hold inquests on the spot, and even there to determine several affairs, the prince, from the great distance of the court, and his residence, often selected one of these counts of the palace to go to a distant part of the realm, and give definitive sentences on the suits and complaints that were waiting for him.

This was done by the prince, whether because the nature of the affair required dispatch, or that he wished to avoid putting the subject to the labour and expense of so long a journey, or because it was important for the welfare of the state that such matters should be judged in the places where they originated.

The counts-palatine, when sent into the provinces, at times commissioned lieutenants to repair to those parts to which they could not go in person, who were stiled Viscounts of the Palace: sometimes also the provincial counts were deputed by them to determine definitively, in their stead, the differences that were brought before them, as we learn from a deed respecting the monastery of Casauere. This deed also shews, that the vassals of the prince were summoned to the judgments of the counts of the palace, together with the judges of the place where the courts were held; and this may have given rise to the court of peers, who were no others than the vassals of the sovereign, thus named because they were equal among themselves, and also held equally under another.

As there were provincial counts-palatine, to whom was deputed the lieutenancy of the counts of the palace, to exercise during their absence final judgements in all private and other matters that regarded the welfare of the state, in the districts they resided in; so there were others who obtained the dignity of counts-palatine conjunctly with that of their county or government, with power only to exercise their functions to the extent of their county or government, and therein to decide on all matters definitively, having to this effect the full power of the royal authority in all such things.

The dignity of count of the palace was not, however, so attached to the provincial counts but that the king had the liberty of separating it from them, should he so please; and, if the case required, to deprive the provincial count thereof, who nevertheless did not fail to remain in the enjoyment of his first dignity of provincial count.

The kings of Burgundy have also had their counts-palatine: Poland and Hungary have in like manner had theirs: but I only propose in this dissertation to notice the counts-palatine of France, and to shew that our kings have had these officers in their palaces from the birth of the monarchy; that they had preserved them for a long time, even far into the period of the third race; and in short, that other nations have borrowed such institutions from them.

We must undoubtedly believe, that the counts of Champagne enjoyed the above dignity from the time of their first creation until that county was united to the crown of France, whether they may have obtained this distinction from time to time from our kings, or whether they may have had it confirmed by investitures; or, in fine, whether they may have retained it, which I hold most probable, as descendants from the counts of Troyes, who possessed it until the time of the decay of that kingdom.

After the fatal battle of Fontenay, in which was shed much of the noble blood of France, and the subsequent invasion of the Normans, which completed the destruction of that miserable state, the greater part of the governors of provinces and places, despising the authority, or rather the weakness of our kings, arrogated to themselves their governments as their own properties, with the same titles by which they held them under the kings, and transmitted them to their heirs: insomuch that the counts of Troyes finding themselves at that time invested with the dignity of counts-palatine, their successors continued to take the same title, and to add to it that of their governments.

Afterward, the counts of Champagne, seeing that the emperors had granted the title of counts-palatine to several lords in Germany (to shew that they held not this dignity under the empire; but were indebted for it to the liberality and kindness of our kings under whom they held) very often styled themselves 'Comtes-palatins de France.'

Sometimes they even suppressed the title of Palatine, and called themselves simply Counts of France, or of the French, by way of excellence, because they were almost the only persons who possessed the title of Counts-palatine in the palace of our kings, wherein they exercised sovereign justice, as their lieutenants. Should it be maintained, that the counts of Champagne did not exercise this dignity throughout the whole extent of the kingdom, it cannot be denied but that they did so in the county of Champagne; for this is sufficiently apparent in the letters of king Henry in the year 1043*.

I therefore conclude, that there cannot remain any grounds for doubting that the counts of Champagne enjoyed the dignity of counts-palatine throughout the kingdom of France, and that they obtained it only by the concession of our kings, of whom they had been vassals.

* Apud Sammarth. in Gall. Chr. in Abb.

DISSERTATION XV.

ON THE SCRIP AND STAFF OF THE PILGRIMS TO THE HOLY LAND.

CASSIENUS, speaking of the dress of the ancient monks in Egypt, says, they were clothed in a dress made of the skins of goats, called by them 'Melottes,' and were seldom without the scrip and staff. I suspect that Cassienus meant to say, that these monks, beside their dress of skins were accustomed to carry about with them a small bag, and the staff they used in their pilgrimages.

The monk of Angoulême, in his life of Charlemagne, informs us, that his body, when buried, was dressed in his imperial robes, and over them was placed a golden scrip, like to what pilgrims use, and the same he usually bore whenever he went to Rome. Whence it results, that the scrip and staff have been the distinguishing marks of pilgrims.

Pilgrims to the holy land, before they began their journey, went to receive the scrip and staff from the hands of priests in a church. This was even done by our kings, when they had intentions of undertaking their long and dangerous expeditions to Palestine; for when they had covered their shoulders with the emblem of the cross, they were accustomed to go to the abbey of St Denis; and after the celebration of mass, they received from the hands of some prelate the scrip and staff, and even the oriflamme: when this was done, they took leave of St Denis, the guardian saint of their kingdom.

Louis le jeune, when he undertook a croisade to Jerusalem, came according to custom, says the author of his life, to take leave of the martyrs in the abbey of St Denis, and most reverently received there, after the celebration of mass, the pilgrim's staff, and the flag of St Denis called the Oriflamme. Eudes de Dieuil, speaking of king Louis VII. says, that this monarch,

after he had taken leave of St Denis, according to the usage of victorious kings, and received the benediction from the sovereign pontiff, took from the altar the flag and scrip, and concealed himself from the multitude in the cloisters of the monks. Philippes Auguste acted in a similar manner, when he proposed marching to the holy land: he came to the abbey of St Denis to take leave of the martyrs, and after his prayers, he received with much devotion, from the hands of his uncle, William archbishop of Rheims, and legate from the pope, the scrip and pilgrim's staff. The chronicle of Saint Denis informs us, that St Louis, before his first expedition to Palestine, received in like manner the scrip and staff from the hands of the legate, in the church of St Denis. He did the same previously to his second expedition.

Our authors commonly use the word 'scarf' instead of scrip, because these scrips, or wallets, were usually attached to the scarfs with which they begirded the pilgrims. These scarfs, scrips and staves were blessed by the priests, who pronounced benedictions and prayers over them, for which there were certain fees that appertained to the rectors. From this custom of bearing the staff observed by pilgrims and such as made journeys to Palestine, the Albigeois heretics took occasion to mock the croisaders, who had undertaken to combat them, by calling them Stavefmen.

In regard to the word *bourdon*, why it has been applied to the staff of a pilgrim, it is not easy to guess. I believe, however, that this name has been given to such sort of staves because pilgrims usually travel and perform their pilgrimages on foot, these staves serving them instead of horses or mules, then called 'bourdons,' and 'burdones,' by writers in the middle ages.

When pilgrims to the holy land began their journey, they went with scrip and staff; but after they had accomplished their pilgrimage, and when they were on the point of returning home, they cut off branches of palm trees, which are common in Palestine, and brought them back, as a proof of their having fulfilled the object of their journey. Roger Hoveden says, page 712, that the pope gave palm-branches to those who had accompanied Philippes Auguste in his expedition to the holy land, although they had not entirely accomplished their vows. Pilgrims, on their return home, went to church to render thanks to God for the happy success of their pilgrimage; and, as a proof of the fulfilment of their vows, they presented their palms to the priest, who placed them on the altar.

DISSERTATION XVI.

ON THE NAME AND DIGNITY OF SULTAN OR SOLDAN.

A MODERN author*, in his preface to the history of the Saracens, written by El Macin, says, that the name of Sultan or Soldan, is a turkish expression, and that it was unknown to the Arabians, until Tegralbet, a turkish lord; having defeated the Saracens together with their prince Mesgud, took possession of his whole principality in the year 1055. There is, however, reason to doubt this, because there is mention made of fultans long before the reign of Tegralbet in Constantine Porphyrogenitus†, and also by Scylitzes and Zonarus in the life of Basil, the Macedonian, who both speak of the fultan of Africa that lived under this emperor. There is even reason to believe that the Saracens borrowed this expression from the Persians, since the kings of Persia who flourished under the first emperors of Constantinople affected to bear this title. But what confirms the true explanation of the word Sultan, or rather that the kings of Persia have had this title, is what the Jew Benjamin de Tudela writes in his journal, where speaking of a Senigat Sa, son of Sa, one of the most powerful kings of Persia, he says, that he was called in Arabic, ‘ Sultan Alporos Alkahir,’ which means the great king of Persia.

* M. Watier.

† Const. Porph. l. 2. de Them. c. 11.

We have reason to suppose that the most ancient kings of Persia affected the title of 'king of kings,' since it was given to Cyrus in his epitaph, inasmuch that we may truly say the Saracens and Turks have borrowed the title of Sultan from the Persians, which has been particularly ascribed to those who under the authority of the caliph, which was the first dignity in the state, governed the provinces and minor kingdoms under his sovereignty.

This, however, is not so exact as not to require some explanation; for it is certain, that at the first those who governed provinces were not called sultans, but admirals. But when the supreme power was taken from the caliphs, to whom was left only the superintendence of affairs concerning religion, with an imaginary power over the rest of the state; and when the whole government of political and military matters was seized on by the sultans, they became the principal rulers of the kingdom, with absolute power over the people, although outwardly they respected the caliph as their lord, and paid him every sort of public deference and honour. In process of time, as the greater part of the governors shook off the yoke of the first sultan, and made themselves independent on him, acknowledging, however, the caliph for their superior lord, they took the title of Sultans; and it is for this reason that we read in the lord de Joinville, and elsewhere, of so many sultans, who in other authors are called Kings.

DISSERTATION XVII.

ON THE WORD 'SALE,' AND OCCASIONALLY RESPECTING 'DES LOIS ET
TERRES SALIQUES.'

THE word *Sale* commonly signifies large apartments in our houses, called by Vitruvius and latin writers *Oeci*; by Pliny and Statius, *Afarota*. Philander, in his commentaries on Vitruvius, supposes they were thus called 'à saltando' because it was customary to make wedding feasts and to dance in them; or perhaps 'à salutatione,' because it was usually in those apartments that the master of the house first received his guests, and those who came to salute or visit him. But as this is not the real derivation of the word, no more is it its ancient signification; for in the time of St Louis, and long before, the word 'sale' meant a palace, a large house, as the following quotation from the history of the lord de Joinville will explain: 'Ce ferraies estoit celuy qui avoit en garde et gouvernement les pavillons du souldan, et qui avoit la charge de nettoier chascun jour ses sales et maisons.'

We see in many authors the word 'sala' used to signify a castle, or house of a lord of a village: the Gascons, and particularly those of lower Navarre, to this day call the country-houses of gentlemen 'Sales.'

Aventin, in the fourth book, page 183. of his annals of Bavaria, was the first who wrote that the 'Salii,' who are noticed in the histories of Ammianus and Zozimus, and afterward those called 'Salici' have taken their name from 'Sala,' being the principal persons among the Franks who had any part in the government of the state, and who were of the 'Sale,' that is to say, of

the court or household of the prince. This opinion has been followed by Isaac Fontanus, in his *Origines Francorum*, and by Godfrey Windelin, who maintain that the 'Loix Saliques' have also been derived from the same word, being thus called because they contained particular regulations for the great lords and their lands, which are called in them 'Terræ Salicæ.' This seems conformable to what has been since done among the french princes, as may be gathered from the marriage-contract of Robert prince of Tarentum and emperor of Constantinople, with Mary of Bourbon, in the year 1347, by which they both declare their intention of living after the manner of the princes of the royal blood in France. Authors confirm this derivation and origin of the 'Loix Saliques,' by a custom that was practised a long time since, shewing that the princes and great lords gave judgment in their halls and at their houses, and consequently there drew up their laws and statutes. We may thence conclude, that the 'Loix Saliques' are those that were drawn up by the officers and gentlemen of the household of the prince, or which were made and concluded in the house or in the hall, where judgments were given by the prince's officers.

As I wish not positively to deny my assent to what these authors have written on the subject of the origin of the 'Loix Saliques,' I also cannot agree to all they have supposed respecting them; for although the Saliens may be Franks, and though, when they had crossed the Rhine, they had so called those of superior rank among these people, I believe we must agree that before the Franks came into Gaul, the Saliens formed there a particular nation like the *Leti*, the *Chamavi*, the *Bructeri*, and others, who are named in authors, and who also formed separate nations. It is not, however, easy to discover the origin of all these names, which may have been borrowed from the northern countries, whence they had come. This I think perfectly proved by those who have noticed the Saliens: Ammianus Marcellinus, in his seventeenth book, says very plainly, that the people called Saliens were those who had dared to make irruptions on the roman territories.

As the Saliens established themselves in Gaul, with the approbation of the emperor Julian, it is probable that they obtained from him various privileges, which made them known in future times, as chiefs among the Franks; and this has occasioned Otho bishop of Frisingen to say, when

speaking on the salique law, ‘Hac nobilissimi Francorum, qui Salici dicuntur, adhuc utuntur.’

Some suppose that the emperor Conrad was surnamed ‘Salicus’ on account of the nobleness of his birth. These prerogatives consisted principally in the free tenure of their lands, granted them by the emperor Julian, and which lands the leaders and principal persons of this people divided among them, on condition of serving him in war and leading thither their vassals, the number of whom was settled in proportion to the quantities of land each was possessed of. It is from such military distributions of land that the learned trace the origin of fiefs, the Romans being accustomed to divide lands among their old soldiers, and even among the new, on condition of their serving them in war, more especially in the defence of their frontiers. Such lands were like to the fiefs called, ‘Fiefs de haubert,’ or ‘Fiefs de chevalier.’ It is, therefore, for this reason, that such fiefs did not pass in succession to females, because they were incapable of bearing arms and serving in war. Hence the ground of the sixty-second clause in the salique law: ‘De terra vero Salica nullo portio hæreditatis mulieri veniat, sed ad virilem sexum tota hæreditas pervenit.’ This was observed for a long time in regard to such fiefs, which could only be holden by men that were of the proper age; for whenever they fell to girls that were marriageable, they were obliged to marry, according to the will of the lord, a person qualified to perform the duties of the fief. When they fell to minors, their guardians did the duties, and even took to themselves the title of the fief so long as they were in the possession of them.

The division the Saliens made of the lands given them by the emperor Julian, was as follows: The principal lords and captains distributed among their soldiers lands for tillage, on condition of certain duties, and their accompanying them to war. With regard to themselves, they reserved a part with the castles and handsomest houses on their division; and where there were no buildings, they erected such as were called ‘Sales,’ on account of their being the residence of the chiefs of the Saliens. As they held these lands perfectly free, not being subjected to the emperors by any duties excepting their service during war, and beside being the principals among the frank nation, it has happened that all free persons, not subject to any

impositions, have been distinguished in process of time by the name of Franks. Hence it came that lands held by gentlemen were called 'Manfi ingenuiles.' The prerogatives of these lands possessed by the Frank-Saliens are more apparent from the comparison with those called 'Letales,' or 'Lidiales Manfi.' They are styled 'Manfi letaless et serviles,' in a charter of Louis le debonnaire; and those who tilled them are styled in the ancient laws and charters 'Liti,' a sort of bondmen, whence the word 'Litge,' has been formed. Lands subject to such vile conditions, and to annual ground-rents are the same that were distributed by the emperors among the people called 'Leti,' (who were likewise Franks, or at least Gauls) in different provinces of Gaul, on condition of tilling them, paying a rent to the public treasury, and serving personally in times of war. These people called 'Leti' were dispersed in different parts of Gaul, as may be gathered from a history of the empire. There are even some who think that Armorica, now Brittany, was called 'Letavia,' from the name of its inhabitants.

When the Frank-Saliens made themselves masters of all Gaul, they established the same franchises they had enjoyed in their first settlement, throughout all the countries they conquered, leaving, however, such lands as were subjected to payments to the state, in the same situation as they found them. This then is the origin of free and servile lands, and also of fiefs.

DISSERTATION XVIII.

ON THE BANNER OF SAINT DENIS, OR THE ORIFLAMME.

THE oriflamme was the banner, or usual standard, which the abbot and monks of the royal abbey of St Denis made use of in their private wars; that is to say, in those which they undertook to recover their possessions from the hands of usurpers, or to prevent them from being seized upon. But as their ecclesiastical state did not allow them to use arms personally, they delegated this to a proxy, who received their standard from the hands of the abbot, and bore it before him in battle. This was the real use made of the oriflamme, although some learned persons have written otherwise, and have advanced what is but little conformable to truth.

To begin by an inquiry into the name of Oriflamme: the greater number of authors think it should be derived from its materials, its colour, and its form. With regard to its form, it was made, doubtless, like other church-banners, slit in different parts from the bottom, ornamented with fringes, and fastened at the top of a pike by a cross bar that kept it extended, and served to carry it. They say, the materials were of silk or taffeta, of a red colour.

The name of Oriflamme was given to this standard because it was slit up from the bottom to resemble flames, or perhaps from its being of a red colour: when it fluttered in the wind, it appeared at a distance like flames, and, beside, the lance to which it was fixed was gilded.—The oriflamme was then the particular banner of the abbot and monastery of St Denis, which they had borne in their wars by their proxies, who, in quality of defenders or protectors of monasteries and churches, undertook to lead their vassals in the defence of their rights, and to bear their standards in war: hence they have been called Standard-bearers to the church, ‘*Signiferi Ecclesiarum*.’

The counts of Vexin and of Pontoise had this title in the monastery of Saint Denis, of which they were the proxies and guardians, and in this quality they bore the oriflamme in the wars which they undertook in the defence of its property. From this the banner has been by authors more commonly called the standard of St Denis, not because it was preserved in the church of that monastery, but because it was the banner usually borne in the wars in which this abbey was concerned. We may therefore conclude that it was not borne by our kings in their wars until they were become proprietors of the counties of Pontoise and Mante; that is to say, of the Vexin, which happened during the reign of Philip I. or of Louis le gros, his son.

History informs us, that Simon count of Pontoise and Amiens, having intentions of retiring to the monastery of St Claude, gave the town of Mante and its dependencies to the abbey of Cluny, and that king Philip had seized it, probably as a frontier town, and necessary for the defence of the state; but, upon the complaints that were made to him on this subject, he restored it to the monastery, by an act drawn up at Mante in the year 1076, which was the year Simon retired to St Claude. But there is reason to believe that the king afterward made some arrangements with the monks of Cluny, for we read shortly after, that this place was in his possession, and that he disposed of it as if it were his own personal property. Odericus Vitalis affirms that the same king, desirous to appease the anger of his son Louis, surnamed le Gros, against Bertrade de Montfort, his mother-in-law, whom he wished to be revenged on for her attempt to poison him, made him a present of Pontoise, Mante, and the whole county of the Vexin. Suger adds, that Louis, at the entreaty of his father, afterward consented, that Philip, son to the king by Bertrade, should enjoy the county of Mante; and this was done by favour of the marriage, the king and Bertrade procured for the young prince with the heiress of Montlehery.

It appears, therefore, from what has been written, that the county of the Vexin fell into the domain of our kings about this period, and that it was in this quality they first bore the standard of St Denis, or the oriflamme, in their wars. History is silent on the subject before the reign of Louis le gros; for I pay no attention to those who have advanced, that it was known from the times of Dagobert, Pepin and Charlemagne, all such

histories as have been so fertile in fables being very properly reputed apocryphal.

We may then justly conclude that Louis le gros was the first of our monarchs who, in quality of count of the Vexin, took the oriflamme from the altar of St Denis, and had it borne in his armies, as the principal banner of the protector of his kingdom, whose succour he invoked by his cries of battle, more especially when he learnt that Henry V. king of Germany, was marching his troops into France.

It has happened, consequently, that our monarchs, who possessed themselves of the rights of these counts, have used this banner in their own wars, as being the standard that bore the name of the protector of their kingdom, as I have before noticed, taking it from off the altar of the church of St Denis, with the same ceremonies and prayers that were usually observed when it was delivered into the hands of the counts du Vexin, for the private wars of the monastery.

Juvenal des Ursins * has thus described the ceremonies that took place on the delivery of the oriflamme to the knight who was to carry it. ‘ Le roy s’en alla à S. Denys, visita les corps SS. fit ses offrandes, fit benir l’oriflamme par l’abbé de S. Denys, et la bailla à messire Pierre de Villers, lequel fit le ferment accoutumé.’ He adds, in the following year, ‘ Le roy alla à S. Denys, &c. les corps de S. Denys et de ses compagnons furent descendus et mis sur l’autel. Le roy sans chaperon et sans ceinture, les adora, et fit ses oraisons bien et devotement, et ses offrandes, et si firent les seigneurs. Ce fait, il fit porter l’oriflamme et fut baillée à un viel chevalier vaillant homme, nommé Pierre de Villers l’ancien, lequel reçût le corps de N. S. et fist les sermens en tel cas accoustumez : et après, s’en retourna le roy au bois de Vincennes.’

I will here insert the oath taken by him who was to have the charge of the oriflamme: ‘ Vous jurez et promettez sur le précieux corps de JESUS CHRIST sacré cy présent, et sur le corps de monseigneur S. Denys et ses compagnons qui cy sont que vous loyalement en vostre personne tendrez et gouvernerez l’oriflamme du roy monseigneur, qui cy est, à l’honneur et profit de luy, et

* Juvenal des Ursins A. 1381 and 1382.

de son royaume, et pour doute de mort, ne autre aventure, qui puisse venir, ne la delaiïerez, et ferez par tout vostre devoir, comme bon et loyal chevalier doit faire envers son souverain et droiturier seigneur.'

Several persons have fallen into the error of believing that the oriflamme was never taken from the church of St Denis but when our kings had unsuccessful wars, to repulse the enemy who was attacking their kingdom, or prevent themselves from being conquered. 'Et non mie quand on veut conquerir autre pays,' as Juvenal des Ursins writes, in the year 1386 of his history; or when war was made on the infidels, as Froissart writes, because this standard was, doubtless, the principal one in our armies, whether the war was undertaken for the defence of the frontiers, or in the interior of the kingdom, against the enemies of the state.

During the reign of Philip le bel, at the battle of Mons en Puele, in the year 1304, this same oriflamme was borne by Anseau de Chevreuse, a valiant knight, who there lost his life by suffocation from heat and thirst. Meier writes that the French lost this banner in the battle, and that it was taken and torn to pieces by the Flemings. The chronicle of Flanders, it is true, says that the night after the combat it was on the ground in the field of battle; but Guillaume Guiart, who was present, as he himself tells us, relates, that the oriflamme lost in this battle was not the true one, but a counterfeit, made by order of the king, to excite, on that occasion, the ardour of his soldiers.

We need not, therefore, be surprised if the Flemings were then persuaded they had gained possession of the oriflamme, as they had no rules to distinguish the false from the true one. This account is the more probable, because we read of its being immediately afterward displayed in our armies; for in the year 1315 the king, Louis Hutin, had it borne in his war against the same Flemings, and gave the guard of it to Herpin d'Erquery.

From the reign of Charles VI. history makes no more mention of the oriflamme: it is therefore probable our monarchs ceased to have it borne in their armies from the time the English made themselves masters of Paris, and of the greater part of France, under the reign of Charles VII. who, having driven them out of his kingdom, introduced a new mode of making war, by the establishment of companies of ordinance. He likewise introduced the white ensign, which has since been the principal banner in our armies.

DISSERTATION XIX.

ON THE TORTURE OF THE BERNICLES, AND OF THE CIPPUS OF THE ANCIENTS.

THE lord de Joinville relates, that the fultan of Babylon, or his council, made to the king very unreasonable propositions, imagining that he would accept of them to obtain his own liberty, and that of all those who had been made prisoners with him at the battle of Maffoura; and because the king positively refused to agree to them, they thought to intimidate him into an acceptance by menaces of putting him to the torture. This torture is called by the lord de Joinville the ‘Bernicles.’ Many writers suppose, and with much probability, that this torture was the same as the Cippus of the Latins. Saints Paulinus, Prudentius, and Lucianus have spoken of this punishment. It may be gathered from what they have written in their descriptions of it, that the engine of torture was made of pieces of wood pierced with holes, and that the legs of criminals were put into them: they were placed at such distances from each other, and forced to so great an extension of the legs as caused very great pain, for the criminals could not draw them back again. The holes in these pieces of wood were at various distances, and the legs of the criminal were inserted into those that extended them to a greater or lesser distance, according to the heinousness of the crime or the pains to be inflicted.

After these observations, I have no difficulty in advancing, that the author of the romance of Garin de Loherans has alluded to this torture, which he

describes in verse under the name of 'Buie.' In his description, I first notice that the criminal was seated on a 'coute;' that is to say, on a bed, which may lead us to read in the lord de Joinville, 'il le couchent sur une coûte,' instead of 'sur le costé,' which makes it more intelligible: secondly, that the feet were passed through the holes of these 'buies:' thirdly, that the criminal was fastened to the wall, which is also noticed by the lord de Joinville; and lastly, that with a piece of wood, called 'Pestel,' (whence probably our word 'Pestle,') or Pile, they bruised the flesh of the criminal so that the blood spirted out. With regard to the word 'buie,' it is derived from the latin word 'boia,' which signifies a sort of chain or collar, to which criminals were fastened.

The observations made on this subject, which may be applied to these 'buies,' and the torture of the bernicles, and what Giovanni Villani has remarked, have much probability, namely, that St Louis, having regained his liberty and returned to France, in remembrance of his imprisonment and the threatened torture, ordered to be struck on the reverse of his coins a representation of these buies and the handcuffs of prisoners, until he and his barons should have revenged themselves for these insults. It is true, we do not see these figures which are on the coins of St Louis, and on those of some of his successors, on any coins of his ancestors the kings of France.

On the other hand, I am doubtful whether St Louis was not desirous of bringing into fashion the device which Louis le debonnaire had impressed on his coins, which was a church surmounted with a cross, having this legend, *XHRISTANA RELIGIO*. It is to be observed, that this temple is supported on various pillars; and this has induced me to believe that the word 'Pile,' which means the reverse of a coin, is derived from these pillars, which are impressed on the coins of St Louis; as the word 'Croix,' for the other side of the coin, is taken from the crosses represented on it.

Guillaume Guiart writes, in the year 1295,

'Coment qu' il pregnant croix ou pile.'

And in the chronicle of Bertrand du Guesclin,

'Je n'aime ne croix, ne pile, si ait m'ame pardon.'

The french and latin glossary in MS. gives the name of 'pile,' to the reverses of coins: 'Nomisma, figure qui est au dernier, pile, ou denier.'

Whence it seems to be inferred that our ancestors, having given the name of Pile to the reverse of their coin, have taken these figures for piles or pillars, being perhaps ignorant that they represented the buies; for true it is, that these figures on the coins of St Louis, and of some few of his successors, as well as the coins of several great barons in France, who have always attempted to make their coin resemble that of their sovereign, have something in their appearance like to the description the lord de Joinville gives of the bernicles. He says, that this instrument of torture was made of two pieces of wood (which, in this and other passages, he calls by the improper word ‘tisons’) united together at the upper part: the same figure is seen on the coin of St Louis: the two pieces having holes through them at the bottom, which may perhaps be the parts through which the legs of criminals were passed. In regard to the other piece of wood on which he says the man was seated, it seems to have been represented underneath, pierced in like manner at the two ends, the other parts of the figure being intended solely for ornaments to the coin. I have seen several of these coins representing the buies, as well of the reign of St Louis as of Philip le hardy, Philip le bel, of king John, and of Alphonso count of Poitiers.

DISSERTATION XX.

ON THE RANSOM OF ST LOUIS.

By the treaty for the deliverance of the king Saint Louis, and the other prisoners made at the battle of Maffoura and elsewhere, between the commissioners of his majesty and the sultan of Babylon, it was agreed that the king should pay to the sultan ten thousand golden besants, which were then worth, according to the recital of the lord de Joinville, five hundred thousand livres : it is thus mentioned in the edition of Claude Menard, for that of Poitiers has it wrong, saying, two hundred thousand besants

The besant was a golden coin of the emperors of the east, thus called from the name of Byzantium, now the town of Constantinople. This was a general term for all the gold coins of the emperors of Constantinople, which, however, had each their particular names. For example, those that had the impression of Michael Ducas were called ‘ Michalati.’ Those of the emperor Manuel Comnenus, ‘ Manuelati,’ and so on with regard to others. I find there were also silver coins which bore the name of besants, but we are not now speaking of the golden besants of the empire of Constantinople ; for St Louis in the letter which he wrote on his capture and his deliverance, Guillaume Nangis in his life of the above king, Vincent de Beauvais and Guillaume Guiart, all agree in saying, that the sultan was to receive eight hundred faracen golden besants, to which sum the sultan, according to the lord de Joinville, had reduced his demand.

This author observes, in this passage, or at least means it to be understood, that each hundred thousand golden besants was equal to the sum of fifty thousand livres in gold. An english author, Matthew of Westminster, in the year 1251, says, that the whole of the ransom of Saint Louis was sixty thousand golden livres.

Matthew Paris writes, that the Saracens having demanded from the king one hundred thousand livres in gold, they accepted a hundred thousand marcs of silver. To this may be referred the letter which the chancellor wrote to the count de Cornouaille in the above author; and the historian of the archbishops of Bremen, and Sanudo both say, that the king paid the hundred thousand marcs of silver. Hence we must conclude, that the eight hundred thousand golden besants to which the ransom of St Louis, or rather that of his people, amounted, were at that time worth four hundred thousand livres, and, consequently, made one hundred thousand marcs of silver. This, however, remains to be examined; and we must first speak of the valuation, or the reduction, of these eight hundred thousand golden besants, to the sum of four hundred thousand livres: we must therefore presuppose that the livre has always been of the value of twenty sols, as it is at this day. It follows, then, that one hundred thousand besants of gold being at that period of the value of fifty thousand livres, each particular besant must have been worth ten sols in silver, which is nearly the value that Raymond d'Agiles gives to the golden coin of the Saracens in his time, for he makes it less by one or two sols: this inclines me to believe, that the saracen besants, mentioned by the lord de Joinville, would have been heavier, or, what is perhaps more probable, gold would have risen in value since the time when this author lived, which was about the beginning of the eleventh century, and, consequently, one hundred and fifty years prior to the reign of St Louis.

In regard to the hundred thousand marcs of silver, at which amount the authors I have quoted estimate the ransom of St Louis: if they amounted to the sum of four hundred thousand livres, which were equal to eight hundred thousand besants of gold, it follows, that each marc of silver was worth eight besants of gold and four livres, or eighty sols in silver, and that each besant was of the value of ten sols, which is the value we have set on

them. This does not agree with a deed of the year 1198, which shews the marc of silver in that year was only valued at fifty fols, which ought to prove that the coin had considerably augmented in value at the time of St Louis, which is not very improbable, considering what we read in some memorials containing valuations of the marcs of gold and silver, and that these valuations greatly changed not only every year but almost every month. For example, the marc of silver was valued at fifty-eight fols tournois from the year 1288 to that of 1295, and during this same year, at Easter, it was at sixty-one; on Trinity-day in the year 1296, sixty-six fols tournois; at the following Christmas, sixty-eight fols; in 1299, four livres five fols tournois; in 1304, six livres five fols tournois, and so on.

It should be noticed that at this period there were, during the reign of St Louis, four sorts of marcs of different weights; namely, that of Troyes, which was the most general, being current not only in France, but likewise in foreign countries; that of Limoges, the marc of Tours, and the marc of la Rochelle, or of England. It now remains to see if we make what Matthew Paris says agree with the recital of the lord de Joinville; for, according to his calculation, the hundred thousand golden livres which the Saracens first demanded from St Louis as his ransom, being equivalent to a million, that is to say, to the ten hundred thousand golden besants which Joinville mentions, the gold livre would have been equal to ten gold besants, and the besant to two gold fols.

But I wish not to engage deeper at present in this discussion, which would carry me too far: let it suffice, that those who may desire greater information can refer to such learned men as Scaliger, Budæus, &c. who have written on the subject.

DISSERTATION XXI.

ON THE HONOURABLE ADOPTIONS OF BROTHER, AND INCIDENTALLY ON
BROTHERS IN ARMS.

THE ancient Romans have never, in any one instance, acknowledged adoptions of brothers, because it could not be grounded on any of the reasons which have introduced the usage of adoptions. This has caused Harmenopulus to say, that this kind of adoption was among the number and quality of those things that may not be, and which are not commonly done. It is true, that as the strict friendship between two persons has served for the ground of adoptions of sons, so have the honourable adoptions of brothers taken their rise from the reciprocal friendship of two persons who have felt for each other a brotherly affection. It is doubtless, therefore, that the origin of these adoptions, whether of son or brother, must not be sought for in the roman laws, but in the practice and usage observed for a long time by the barbarian and northern princes; for they affected to adopt, as son or brother, princes, or their children, whose territories were adjoining their own, which gave not any rights of succession to the children or brothers of adoption, such adoptions being only honorary.

The adoption of brother has been practised in two different ways by foreign nations, whom the Greeks and Romans have generally styled barbarians. Among those whose manners and customs were in fact

somewhat rude and barbarous, adoptions were made by piercing each other's veins, and reciprocally drinking the blood.

Baldwin earl of Flanders, and emperor of Constantinople, reproaches even the Greeks with this detestable custom, not that they themselves practised it, but because in their treaties with barbarous nations, in order to accommodate themselves to their manners, they were obliged to follow their usages, and do what was done on these occasions. The emperor Frederic I. had before made similar reproaches against the Greeks, as we learn from Nicetas.

But what the Greeks did through necessity the French also were forced to when they were shut up in Constantinople, and attacked on all sides, to accommodate themselves to the times, and to avoid the insults of their enemies. We have read this in the lord de Joinville's history. George Pachymeres relates the same thing of the Comains; and Albericus, in the year 1187, shews clearly that this custom was equally followed by the Saracens, when he writes, that the unfortunate alliance which the count de Tripoly contracted with the sultan of the Saracens was concluded by this ceremony, and that they drank each other's blood.

Such then was the mode of this fraternal adoption, as practised by nations entirely barbarous; but that in use among more civilized and polished people, although pagans, was not sullied with this barbarism, nor with this reciprocal shedding of blood. It was performed like to the honourable adoption of son, 'more gentium,' to use the words of Cassiodorus in his fourth book, &c. that is to say, after the manner of the Gentiles, or rather of foreign nations, by the armour, 'per arma,' by sending or by making reciprocal exchanges of armour.

This exchange of armour was mutual between adopted brothers, who gave to each other their own armour, as well offensive as defensive, no stronger proof of friendship could be given than thus parting with what they held most dear. There is not any reason to doubt but that this exchange of armour was reciprocal in this sort of adoption, seeing that each adopted the other as a brother, and that the name of brothers, by which they called themselves, carries with it 'communitatem amoris, et

dignitatis æqualitatem,’ to use the words of Eumenius*. This was not so, in the adoptions of son, where the one held the place of father, and the other of child: the one was the adopter, and the other the adoptee. In fine, the one gave arms, and the other received them.

This fraternity was formed by the touching of arms, and gently making them mutually touch each other; which custom was peculiar to the English before the Normans made themselves masters of the kingdom, and was chiefly practised by whole commonalties, when they formed a brotherly alliance by acting as above, instead of the reciprocal exchange of armour, which could not have been so easily effected; and this we learn from the laws of Edward the confessor.

But among so many ceremonies that have been observed in the contracting this fraternal fellowship, that which has been practised by Christians is the most plausible and most reasonable. To abolish and put a total end to the superstitions that accompanied them, which were the remains of paganism, they introduced one more pious and holy, by having such adoptions contracted in a church, and in the presence of a priest, who recited prayers and orisons. This likewise took place in the adoptions of sons, as we learn from the emperor Leo†, who says they were performed in a church, with prayers, and during the ceremony of the mass.

Fraternal adoptions have also been in use among the French. Our history affords us many instances; and, among others, Juvenal des Ursins, in the parts where he speaks of the quarrels of the houses of Orleans and Burgundy‡. ‘Tousjours y avoit quelque grumelis entre les ducs d’Orleans et de Bourgongne, et souvent falloit faire alliances nouvelles: tellement que le dimanche vintiesme jour de Novembre, monseigneur de Berry et autres seigneurs assemblerent lesdits seigneurs d’Orleans et de Bourgongne, ils ouïrent tous la messe ensemble, et reçurent le corps de nostre seigneur et prealablement jurerent bon amour et fraternité par ensemble, mais la chose ne dura gueres.’ The same author, speaking elsewhere (A. 1411) of these dukes of Orleans and Burgundy, says, ‘Ils avoient promis l’un à l’autre sur les saints evangiles.

* Eumen. in grat. act.

† eo Nov. 24.

‡ Juv. des Ursins, anno 1470.

de Dieu, et sur le saint canon, pour ce corporellement touchans, presens aucuns prelates et plusieurs autres gens de grand estat, tant du conseil de l'un, comme de l'autre, qu'ils ne pourchasseroient mal, dommage aucun, ne vilenie l'un à l'autre, &c.; et firent en outre au regard de ce, plusieurs grandes et solennelles promesses en tels cas accoutumez: car en signe et demonstration de toute affection et perfection d'amour et d'une vraye unité, et comme s'ils eussent et peussent avoir un mesme cœur et courage, firent, jurèrent et promirent solennellement vraye fraternité et compagnee d'armes ensemble par especiales convenances sur ce faites; laquelle chose doit de soi emporter telle et si grande loiauté et amour mutuel, comme sçavent tous les nobles hommes.'

The words, 'vraye fraternité et compagnee d'armes,' deserve particular notice, because it is from them we learn who were those called in France, 'freres d'armes.' They were properly such as contracted a fraternal friendship confirmed by oaths, and by the holy sacrament, which they received from the hands of a priest, promising mutual protection and defence in case they should be attacked by enemies, engaging to take up arms in defence of him or them who should be attacked.

Juvenal des Ursins, in the year 1419, speaking of the duke of Burgundy, 'Au duc d'Orleans mort, peu de temps avant qu'il le fist tuer en la maniere dessusdite, il fist le ferment sur le corps de nostre seigneur sacré, d'estre son vray et loyal parent, et promit d'estre son frere d'armes, portoit son ordre, et luy faisoit bonne chere.'

I am obliged, however, to own, that these sorts of fraternal adoptions were not always contracted in a church, and with the ceremonies I have mentioned; for Monstrelet, in the year 1458, says in express words, that the king of Arragon acknowledged himself brother in arms to the duke of Burgundy, whom he had never seen. It may be that these fraternities were contracted between absent princes, by their ambassadors in a church and with the usual solemnities, or at least by especial treaties. Such was the one contracted by the king Louis XI. and Charles the last duke of Burgundy: such was likewise the treaty made between Bertrand du Guesclin, constable of France, and the lord de Clifson, by which we are informed what was the effect of these fraternal adoptions, of these offensive and defensive leagues.

‘ A tous ceux que ces lettres verront, Bertrand du Guesclin duc de Mouline, connestable de France, et Olivier, seigneur de Clifson, Salut. Sçavoir faisons que pour nourrir bonne paix et amour perpetuellement entre nous et nos hoirs, nous avons promises, jurées et accordées entre nous les choses qui s’ensuivent. C’est à sçavoir que nous Bertrand du Guesclin voulons estre alliez, et nous allions à toujours à vous messire Olivier seigneur de Clifson contre tous ceulx qui pevent vivre et mourir, exceptez le roy de France, ses freres, le vicomte de Rohan, et nos autres seigneurs de qui nous tenons terre : et vous promettons aidier et conforter de tout nostre pouvoir toutesfois que mestier en aurez, et vous nous en requerez. Item que ou cas que nul autre seigneur de quelque estat ou condition qu’il soit, à qui vous seriez tenu de foy et hommage, excepté le roy de France, vous voudroit desheriter par puissance, et vous faire guerre en corps, en honneur, et en biens, nous vous promettons aidier, defendre, et secourir de tout nostre pooir, se vous nous en requerez. Item, voulons et consentons que de tous et quelconques proufitez et droitz, qui nous pourront venir, et echoir dorenavant, tant de prisonniers pris de guerre par nous ou nos gens, dont le proufitez nous pourroit appartenir, comme de pais raençonné vous aiez la moitié entierement. Item au cas que nous sçaurions aucune chose qui vous peust porter aucun dommage ou blasme, nous vous le ferons sçavoir et vous en accointerons le plustost que nous pourrons. Item garderons vostre corps à nostre pooir, comme nostre frere.

‘ Et nous Olivier seigneur de Clifson voulons estre alliez, et nous allions à toujours à vous messire Bertrand du Guesclin dessus nommé, contre tous ceulx qui pevent vivre et mourir, exceptez le roy de France, ses freres, le vicomte de Rohan, et nos autres seigneurs de qui nous tenons terre, et vous promettons aidier et conforter de tout nostre pooir toutesfois que mestier en aurcz et vous nous en requerez. Item, que au cas que nul autre seigneur de quelque estat ou condition qu’il soit, à qui vous seriez tenu de foi, ou hommage, excepté le roy de France, vous voudroit desheriter par puissance, et vous faire guerre en corps, en honneur ou en biens, nous vous promettons aidier, defendre, et secourir de tout nostre pooir, si vous nous en requerez. Item, voulons et consentons que de tous ou quelconques proufitez et droitz qui nous pourront venir et echoir dorenavant, tant de

prisonniers pris de guerre par nous, ou nos gens, dont le proufit nous pourroit appartenir, comme de païs raençonné, vous aiez la moitié entierement. Item, au cas que nous fçaurions aucune chose qui vous peult porter dommage aucun ou blasme, nous vous la ferons fçavoir, et vous en accointerons le plustost que nous pourrons. Item, garderons vostre corps à nostre pooir comme nostre frere. Toutes lesquelles choses dessus nommées, et chacune d'icelles, nous Bertrand et Olivier dessus nommés avons promises, accordées et jurées, promettons, accordons, et jurons sur les saintz evangiles de Dieu corporellement touchiez par nous, et chascun de nous, et par les foyz et fermens de nos corps bailliez l'un à l'autre tenir, garder, enteriner et accomplir l'un à l'autre, sans faire, ne venir en contre par nous, ne les nostres, ou de l'un de nous, et les tenir fermes et agreables à tousjours.

‘ En temoing desquelles choses nous avons fait mettre nos seaulx à ces presentes lettres, lesquelles nous avons fait doubler. Donné à Pontorson, le 24 jour d’Octobre, l’an de grace mille trois cens soixante et dix. Et sur le reply est escrit, par monsieur le duc de Molina, connestable de France.’
 ‘ Signé VOISINS.’

This sort of treaty was not so much a treaty of fraternity as a strict offensive and defensive league, by virtue of which each contracting party bound himself to give mutual succour when occasions should call for it, such as two brothers would think themselves obliged to afford to one another.

Adoptions of brothers have taken their source from similar adoptions of sons, which were likewise made by way of honour ; and as this practice has been very common among the northern nations, and afterward among those of the east and west, and since from them the learned have derived the origin of chivalry, I flatter myself that I shall oblige the curious reader if I add here all that I have read and observed on a subject which is so little known.

DISSERTATION XXII.

ON THE HONOURABLE ADOPTION OF SONS, AND INCIDENTALLY ON THE
ORIGIN OF KNIGHTHOOD.

MARRIAGE is one of the greatest blessings for which man is indebted to the Sovereign Author of nature, since it in some sort frees him from the tomb, and makes him a partaker of immortality. The procreation and continual succession of children make it seem as if he did not die. On this account, the wise man says, ‘ Though his father die, yet he is as though he were not dead ; for he hath left one behind him that is like himself *.’

‘ A greater satisfaction cannot be desired,’ says the emperor Leo, ‘ nor sweeter comfort amidst the cares and sorrows of this life, particularly when the infirmities of an advanced age are added, than those derived from our children. But inasmuch,’ says this same prince, ‘ as this advantage is not universal, many being childless, legislators have introduced the remedy of adoption, and have made amends by law for the deficiency of nature.’

What first gave rise to adoptions was the want of children, especially males; and, in process of time, adoption has been indiscriminately permitted to those who had children as well as to those who had not. Now, as adoption is an imitation of nature according to legislators, they have willed that all adopted children should be perfectly on a par, in regard to civil

* Ecclesiasticus, chap. xxx. ver. 4.

rights, with natural children ; that the parents who adopted them should have the power of life and death over them, the same as they would have had over their own children ; that these children should bear the name of their adopted father, as having entered and being grafted on his family, that like natural children, they should have their share in the succession,—and that, like them, they might be disinherited.

Such adoptions were in use among the Romans for a considerable length of time ; but after the northern nations overran that empire, another sort appeared, which was not so much an adoption as an alliance between princes, who reciprocally gave to each other the titles of Father and Son, and by this means strengthened the ties of benevolence. These adoptions were merely honorary, and did not entitle the adopted son to inherit the fortune of him who adopted him. It is for this reason Nicephorus Bryennius says, they were only adoptions in outward appearance, and not in effect, no way approaching the adoptions of the Romans, except in the names of Father and Son which they gave to each other.

The emperor Justin likewise explained this fully, when the ambassadors from Cubades king of Persia offered him peace from their master, in case he would adopt Cosroes, son to the sister of their prince. The emperor replied, that he was very willing so to do, provided it were in the manner of barbarians and foreigners ; but not in that mode of adoption practised by the Romans, which gave the adopted children a right to succeed to the fortune of those who adopted them.

For the account of the ceremonies observed at these honorary adoptions, especially among the people of the north, we are indebted to Cassiodorus, who writes, that it is esteemed a considerable favour and honour among foreign nations to be adopted by exchange of armour. The same author tells us, that this adoption was made by the investiture of the person adopted with every sort of armour, which was given him by the adopter.

Albert of Aix, speaking of the adoption of Godfrey de Bouillon by the emperor Alexis Comnenus, merely says, that he was adopted according to the usage of the country ; so that it is uncertain what was the ceremony, and whether this adoption was made by exchange of arms, according to

the mode of the barbarians, which at first view does not appear very improbable. We must not, therefore, be surpris'd that on this occasion the empress Mary should have adopted by arms the two brothers Comneni; for we read in Odericus Vitalis, that Cecilia, daughter to Philippes I. king of France, and at the same time widow of the famous Tancred prince of Antioch, gave the order of chivalry to Gervais, a breton lord, son of Haimon vicomte de Dol, the ceremony of which was performed by exchange of arms. I find, in an account of the king's household from Ascension-day in the year 1262, that the queen of France made the lord de S. Yon a knight on a festival at Easter.

But I notice in the history of the holy wars, that there was a ceremony for these honorary adoptions different from that by exchange of arms. It was this: the person who adopted threw over him whom he adopted his shirt or mantle, testifying by this ceremony that he considered him as his adopted son, and as if issued from his body. The prince of Edessa adopted in this manner Baldwin, brother to Godfrey of Bouillon, afterward king of Jerufalem. Fulcherius of Chartres, who accompanied Baldwin in this expedition, William of Tyre, and Conrad abbot of Usperg, all agree in saying, that he was adopted by a grecian prince, who had been sent thither by the emperor of Constantinople to take the command. It seems therefore probable, that this mode of adoption was then practis'd by the Greeks. We may also refer to this ceremony what is related by the lord de Joinville, when, speaking of the alliance contracted by the prince of the mountain with the king St Louis, he says, that he sent him his shirt and his ring. The Greeks likewise performed their adoptions in a church before priests, who recited prayers for their happy issue.

There is no doubt that knighthood derived its origin from this kind of adoption by exchange of armour, and from the ceremony of thus investing the adopted person. The same thing was done at the creation of a knight; for as in these honorary adoptions every sort of armour was presented to the adopted son, for him to use on the first opportunity, so when a knight was created, he was presented with the sword, the coat of mail, the helmet; and, in short, he was invested with every piece of armour necessary for a good

foldier in battle. Hence he was called 'Miles,' from his beginning to entre the career of arms, and was thus invested with every piece offensive and defensive, to pursue his profession and become a valiant warrior.

The monk of Miremontier, describing the ceremonies observed when Geoffrey duke of Normandy was created a knight, says, that they attired him with every sort of arms. This was called 'adoubler un chevalier,' to arm a knight at all points; but the most usual expression was, 'donner des armes,' instead of saying 'faire un chevalier.'

This was properly the first time a young gentleman bore arms; for hitherto, if he had been present at any battles, it had only been in the suite of a knight, in quality of esquire or valet. An old glossary calls this 'armatura prima,' inasmuch as he was then completely armed, and commenced soldier, 'Miles,' which was the title given to him.

Our historians notice another honorary adoption, which was performed by cutting the hair of the adopted son. They relate, that Charles Martel sent his son Pepin to Luithprand, king of the Lombards, that he might cut off his hair, and that, by this ceremony, he might in future be to him as a father. This we learn also from Paul Warnefrid, in his history of the Lombards, who mentions that Pepin was very young at the time; whence we may conjecture that it was the first time his hair was cut.

This ceremony of cutting the hair was performed when the age of childhood was passed, and that of youth entered upon. The ancient Salique law, that is to say, that which was enacted by our monarchs when pagans, as it is pretended, informs us, that this custom of cutting the hair was in usage among the Franks, and was practised upon youths after they had attained the age of twelve years. The terms of this law shew, that the children were presented to the adopting father by their parents, who, in course of time, chose godfathers to act for them: these latter are called Spiritual Fathers in the chronicle of Novalesse. This was done by Charles Martel when he chose Luithprand to cut the hair of his young son Pepin.

The same ceremony was practised, when the beard was cut for the first time. Aimoin says, that Clovis sent ambassadors to Alaric to negotiate

a peace with him, and to entreat of him to touch his beard ; that is to say, to cut it, and become by this means his adopted father. This was no new custom, but one of great antiquity, and had been observed, as well by the Greeks as by the Romans, who were accustomed to have the first hairs of their beards cut off by their friends, and afterwards consecrated them to their deities.

The Romans solemnized the days of this ceremony with festivals and much pomp, as their histories shew, when speaking of the emperors Augustus, Caligula and Nero. This last even gave the name of *Juvenales* to this solemnity, as Xiphilinus writes in the life of Nero ; and adds, that having put the locks of his beard in a golden box, like Trimalcion in Petronius Arbiter, he consecrated them to Jupiter Capitolinus.

The Christians sanctified the ceremony of cutting the hair of children by offering up prayers, as well as when the beard was first cut. M. de Valois writes, that this ceremony was called *Barbatoria*.

In these adoptions by cutting the hair and beard, there was a sort of spiritual affinity between the parties, which caused the name of Father to be given to him who had been chosen as godfather, and that of Son to the child whose hair or beard was cut. This same affinity was contracted with their godfathers on more solid grounds when children were baptised ; for on these occasions, as the sponsors took the title of spiritual fathers, so those who were baptised took that of adopted children. Procopius says, this was the usual mode of adoption among Christians. The sponsors in this ceremony bore the children in their arms ; or, if they were grown-up persons, they took them by the hand, and presented them to the priests to be baptised, offering themselves as pledges for their faith and belief, and in this quality answering for them to the interrogations of the priests ; and finally they bound themselves to instruct them, and take the same care of them, as if they were their own children. Hence was formed that strong affinity between godfathers and godchildren, which was such that no marriage-alliance could legally be contracted between them.

After the example of these ancient emperors and foreign princes, who made honorary adoptions of those with whom they were desirous of forming

a close union, the kings and princes of the latter centuries invented another mode of adoption, by a participation which they granted of their name and of their armorial bearings to their favourites, whom they thus admitted into their families, which was only meant as an honour, without giving any right whatever to those adopted to inherit the estates or privileges of the family. Thus we read, that Ferdinand king of Naples adopted Philippe de Croy, count of Chimay, and permitted him to bear the surname and arms of Arragon.

DISSERTATION XXIII.

ON THE CROWNS OF THE KINGS OF FRANCE—OF THE FIRST, SECOND AND THIRD RACES.—ON THE CROWNS OF THE EMPERORS OF THE EAST AND WEST,—OF THE DUKES AND COUNTS OF FRANCE, AND ON THOSE OF THE GRAND SEIGNIORS OF THE EMPIRE OF CONSTANTINOPLE.

I AM about to treat of the crowns which our kings have worn. To begin with those with which the kings of the first race adorned their sacred heads, I find there were four sorts. The first was, the diadem of pearls, made in the form of a fillet, with lappets hanging down behind the head; this diadem resembles that which is seen in the greater part of the medals of the roman emperors, whence our kings have borrowed it. Julius Cæsar refused to wear a diadem. Caligula made the same refusal, by the advice of his courtiers. It was Heliogabalus who first wore a single row of pearls round his head for a diadem; but he only wore it when in his palace.

Aurelian afterward appeared in public with a diadem. From the time of Constantine the great, that of pearls was much in use; and the coins of our kings of the first race commonly represent them with a diadem of a single row of pearls. Sometimes these same coins represent the head with a radiated crown. Kings of the remotest antiquity have adorned their heads with crowns of this description, to render themselves more august, and to appear in the eyes of their subjects like the sun radiant with splendour.

The roman historians remark, that Julius Cæsar was presented, in a full theatre, with a crown resplendent with rays; and that the one which

Caligula wore, when he attempted to arrogate to himself divinity, was similar to it.

The diadem with which the head of Theodobert is covered is the same as that which the emperors of Constantinople then used. This sort of crown, the use of which Constantine introduced, was not so much a crown as a cap, called 'Camelauque' by the Greeks of his time, and which he commonly wore: it was afterward enriched with pearls and precious stones, and considered as the principal diadem of the emperors.

This crown is composed of a diadem of one or two rows of pearls, which encircle the forehead, and is also tied behind by two pendant lappets of pearls. From this diadem rises a sort of cap ornamented with precious stones, on the top of which is a circle of pearls whose brilliancy is heightened by another ornament in the form of plumes: this circle, beginning at the back of the head finishes in front like the crest of a casque, whence these crowns have been called 'Cristatæ.' The ornament that appears at the top of these diadems was a sort of tuft or bunch of plumes, with which the helmets of soldiers were usually adorned. In process of time, the emperors, wishing to shew some external marks of their piety, had a cross fastened to the top of the diadem, instead of the tuft of feathers. I have no doubt but that the crown which the emperor Anastasius sent to Clovis, with the commission of consul, was of the shape of the camelauques; that is to say, a close crown.

The third sort of crown worn by the kings of the first race was the mortier, such as the great presidents of the courts of justice now wear.

M. Bouteroue has had engraven two coins of these kings, with this hood on their heads. It is certain, that our monarchs have also borrowed this from the emperors of Constantinople, who had one of the same form, as may be seen in an ancient mosaic painting in the town of Ravenna, which the learned Alamanus has had represented in his observations on the secret history of Procopius, where the emperor Justinian appears with this mortier, ornamented at the bottom and top with a row of pearls on the part covering the forehead. On the sides of the ears hang two lappets having at the bottom large pendant pearls. This kind of diadem was continued to the second and third races of our kings. M. Petau has given a representation

of an old painting taken from an ancient manuscript, in which Charlemagne is figured with a mortier *.

On the windows of the holy chapel at Paris, St Louis is painted with a similar ornament. Chiflet writes, that in the old paintings in which the counts of Flanders and Hainault are represented with their peers, they have the mortier on their heads. It is a common tradition, that when our kings gave up their palace at Paris for a court of justice, they at the same time conceded to those who were to preside therein, their royal ornaments, in order that the sentences they might utter should have greater weight and authority, and should be received by the people as if emanating from the mouth of the monarch. It is to these concessions we must attribute the mortiers, the scarlet and ermined robes of the chancellors of France and presidents of the parliaments, the hoods of whose mantles are to this day made in the ancient fashion, being thrown over the left arm, and fastened to the shoulder by a gold clasp, like to the manner of the mantles of our kings.

The mortier of the chancellor is of black cloth, that of the presidents of black velvet, with a border of cloth of gold round the upper part.

The name of Mortier is given to this diadem, because it is made like mortars which are used to pound any thing in, and are wider at the top than at the bottom.

The fourth sort of diadems, or rather kerchiefs, that I observe on the coins of our kings is in the shape of a pyramidal cap, ending in a point surmounted by a large pearl; in others, the diadem and a row of pearls meeting in the front with lappets. This may incline us to believe that in these representations what covers the head was a secondary ornament, or for the convenience of the prince who might be desirous to have his head covered. The royal bonnet, with which the head of Theodat king of Italy is adorned on one of his brazen coins, has some resemblance to the shape of that of our kings. We may say also that this pyramidal cap was the common head-dress of our first monarchs, being made in the form of an umbrella, to preserve them from the sun and rain. Such were the caps

* Paul. Pet. in Gnorism. veter. numm.

of the last emperors of Constantinople, which they called 'Ombelle,' from their being made to shadow the face, and guard it from the rays of the sun.

The Ombelle, or Sciade, has been, as I have said, in use among the emperors of Constantinople, so that it is uncertain whether our monarchs have borrowed it from them, or the emperors from the kings; which last is the more probable, for Nicetus says in express words, that this sort of cap had been borrowed from barbarians, that is to say, strangers, by the Greeks.

Old paintings, and the vignettes which are in the Louvre editions of the Byzantine historians, give representations of these sciades, which differ only in the border from those of our kings of the first race, which had it not, this border making a sort of beak. This inclines me to believe, that the cap Charles V. king of France wore when he went to meet the emperor Charles VI. on his coming to Paris, was of the same shape with the sciades of the emperors of Constantinople, as may be collected from the words of an author who has written the history of this interview: 'et avoit sur sa teste un chapeau à bec, de la guise ancienne, brodé et couvert de perles très richement;' for the sciades were made and adorned precisely in this manner.

In short, the last covering for the head that I have noticed on the coins of our kings of the first race is the 'Aumusse:' I call by this name what M. Bouteroue styles 'hood.' The aumusses were not then worn, as now, over the arm, but served to cover the head; and were not particularly used by canons of the church, but all men wore them indifferently.

The chronicle of Flanders informs us, that the cap was worn over the aumusse; for in speaking of Charles V. when he went to meet the emperor Charles VI. it says, 'Or issirent-ils hors de Paris, et encontra le roy l'empereur son oncle, assez près de la chapelle, entre St Denis et Paris, à leur assemblée l'empereur osta aumusse et chaperon tout jus: et le roy osta son chapel tant seulement.' The continuer of Nangis' history says, that 'l'empereur osta sa barette et son chaperon, et aussi le roy.' So that a barrete, which is the Birreto of the Italians, is the same as the aumusse.

Our kings put on the aumusse prior to the crown, as we see in an ancient account of Stephen de la Fontaine, the king's master of the robes,

of the year 1351, communicated to me by M. d'Herouval. Under the article of jewellery, are these words: '99 grosses perles rondes baillées à Guillaume de Vaudetar pour mettre en l'aumusse qui foûtint la couronne du roy, à la feste de l'estoille.'

The first kings, and first emperors of the second race, exhibit, on their coins, their head encircled with double rows of pearls. On their seals, their heads are in profile, crowned with a wreath of laurel. Father Chifflet has represented to us in this manner the head of Louis le debonnaire, round which are these words, XPE. PROTEGE. HLUDOVVICUM IMPERATOREM.

The annals of France, drawn from the monastery of Fulda, tell us, that after Charles le chauve was crowned emperor, he laid aside the crowns and dresses of the kings of France, his predecessors, for the diadems and vestments of the greek emperors, clothing himself in robes that touched his heels, over which was a broad baldrick, that descended to his feet, covering his head with a filken hood, on which he placed his crown.

We have no reason to doubt but that the other emperors of the west, who succeeded the french emperors, continued to wear the same diadem as Charles le chauve, and this is the more probable, because Adam of Bremen writes, that they always affected to imitate the Greeks in their dresses and imperial ornaments. Suger, in his life of Louis VI. says, that the head dress of the emperor Lotharius was composed of a mitre, surrounded at the top by a circle of gold in the form of a casque, so that this circle of gold, which gave the form of an helmet to the diadem, began at the front, and ended at the back part of the head.

An ancient chronicle of Flanders, speaking of the coronation of the emperor Henry of Luxembourg, says, 'Le legat avec tous les barons lui mit le diademe en son chef, qui estoit fait en guise de couronne, puis couvert par dessus en aiguissant contremont: et par dessus sied une fleur pleine de pierres precieuses en signifiante, que sa couronne surmonte toutes les autres. Car entre celles des autres rois, elle est seule couverte par dessus.'

This description is defective, in not expressing distinctly the form and shape of the diadem, although it notices the difference of the imperial crown from that of our kings.

Among the kings of the third race, I only observe one sort of crown on their coins and seals; namely, a circle of gold, enriched with precious stones, and ornamented with flower de luces. Dominique has represented the seals of Robert and Henry I. kings of France, with this sort of crown, but the flower de luces are badly drawn. The coins of Philip le bel, and the kings who succeeded him, bear the image of these princes with similar crowns. Some authors have advanced, that it was Francis I. who first wore a close crown, in opposition, as they say, to Charles V. king of Spain, who had been elected emperor, and to shew that he was king over a realm which he held only from God.

Although this opinion may have some foundation, we, nevertheless, read, that at the public entry of Louis XII. into Paris, in the year 1498, the great master of the horse bore 'son heaume et tymbre, sur lequel y avoit une couronne de fines pierres precieuses, et au dessus du heaume, au milieu de la dite couronne, y avoit une fleur de lys d'or comme empereur.' Such are the words of the 'Ceremonial de France,' which seem to shew that this crown was closed, having a flower de luce on the top. At the justings that took place on this entry, we read in the above Ceremonial, 'qu'il y fut planté un lys au milieu des lisses, en la grande rue S. Antoine, duquel fortoient six fleurons, et audessus d'yeux un lion vert, au haut duquel estoit posé un escu de France, à trois fleurs de lys d'or, richement bordé tout autour d'un collier de l'ordre de St Michel, semé de coquilles, et par dessus ledit escu estoit une riche couronne tymbrée en forme d'empereur.'

We must, however, acknowledge, that on the coin of this prince the crown is but a circle, ornamented with flower de luces, similar to the golden coin which he caused to be struck on the occasion of his quarrel with pope Julius II. which had, for inscription, on the side of the effigies of the king, 'Ludo. Franc. Regni. Neap. R.' &c.: on the reverse was a shield with the arms of France crowned, with the motto of 'Perdam Babilonis Nomen.' The same king, in the testoons which he coined at Milan, is represented with a turned-up cap, and on the part turned up is a crown of flower de luces.

Francis I. is likewise figured on some testoons with a similar cap, but with this difference, that the crown of flower de luces is over the turned up

part. He appears on others with a crown intermixed with flower de luces and rays; and again on some, with a crown ornamented with flower de luces and blossoms, closed at top, and this his successors have continued.

It is certain that our kings have worn a close crown only in the last centuries, which has occasioned the author of the chronicle of Flanders to say, that among the crowns of kings, that of the emperor was the only one closed at the top.

I know not if we ought to believe those who have written that Francis I. took the close crown in opposition to Charles V. for I should rather suppose he did so, because he perceived that the kings of England, who were inferior to him in dignity, had for a very long time worn such.

It may also have happened that Francis I. chose the closed crown to distinguish himself from princes who were no sovereigns, dukes and counts, who had a right to wear crowns, and who had them imprinted on their coins. The learned Selden, in his titles of honour, has advanced that this sort of crown is a modern invention, and that in the year 1200 dukes and counts had not any. He proves this from a passage in the history of Villehardouin, who thus makes the duke of Venice address the deputies from the marquis of Montferrat, the counts of Flanders, of Blois, of St Paul, of Brienne, and others, ‘*Bien avons quenu que vostre seigneurs font li plus hauts homes, que soient sans couronne.*’ This speech seems to prove decisively that the marquis and the other counts did not wear crowns: in fact, the crown belongs only to a king.

I have no doubt but that the dukes and counts of France appeared with their crowns on occasions of ceremony, more especially at those open and solemn courts of our kings: it is at least certain, that at coronations dukes, and such as were qualified as peers of France, or their representatives, appeared with coronets on their heads.

The ‘*Ceremonial François*’ says, that at the coronation of Charles VIII. the secular peers were there, ‘*Vestus de manteaux, ou socques de Pairie, renverfés sur les épaules, comme un epitoge, ou chappe de docteur, et fourrez d’hermines, ayans sur leur testes des cercles d’or, les ducs à deux fleurons, et les comtes tout simples.*’ The author makes the same remark when he treats of the coronations of Henry IV. and Louis XIII; but what

confirms my belief, that dukes and counts appeared at great solemnities with coronets on their heads, is, that in the inventory of the goods and moveables of the count d'Eu, constable of France, made after he was beheaded, there is a description of 'toute sa vaisselle, des couronnes, des chapeaux, des anneaux, des pierreries, des joyaux, et d'autres biens,' as may also be seen in inventories made the last day of February 1350, and the 18th March 1353, which are in the chamber of accounts at Paris. It is therefore probable that these coronets were the circles of gold belonging to the constable in his quality of count. It even seems that not only dukes and counts had the privilege of wearing them, but also simple gentlemen; and I am induced to think this was so from the following circumstance, that among the great number of seals which I have seen attached to many original letters communicated to me by M. d'Herouval, I have met with several bearing the arms of gentlemen not dignified with the titles of duke or count, having helmets surmounted with a ducal coronet, whence sprang the crest. This I have particularly noticed on the seals of Louis viscount de Thouars attached to letters of the date of 1340; on those of Aymar, lord of Archiac, of the year 1343; on those of John de Corberon, viguier chevalier capitaine de Pierraguers, in the year 1349; of John d'Ogier de Montaut, lord of St Front of 1349; of Arnaud d'Espagne, chevalier, seigneur de Montefpan, sénéchal of Perigord, in the year 1351; of John de Chauvignet, lord of Blot, esquire, of the date of 1380; of John de Sacqueville, chevalier, lord of Blaru, of the same date; of Raymond, lord of Aubeterre, knight, of 1395; of Guichard Dauphin, knight, counsellor and grand master of the king's household in 1413; and, lastly, of Renaud du Chastelet, counsellor and chamberlain to the king, and bailiff of Sens, in the year 1479.

These instances are sufficient to prove, that without any pretence, some gentlemen have thought they had a right to bear coronets over their arms because they may have seen them stamped on seals or carved on the tombs of their ancestors. This I have heard formerly remarked respecting the family of Halluin, originally from Flanders; inasmuch that these coronets were usurped indiscriminately by gentlemen, who had not any dignities that could afford them such privilege, and this has been handed down from

an abuse of passed ages unto our times, when the greater part of the nobility, have arrogated to themselves imaginary titles of marquis and count, bearing coronets on their arms, without any other right than what the irregular times of the minority of our princes have suffered.

It is probable, that Charles le chauve was the first of our kings who granted the wearing of a coronet to dukes; and I may say farther, that as he followed the customs of the greek emperors, whose dress and ornaments he adopted, he followed their example in this particular also. The emperors of the west usually granted the coronet to the Cæsars and principal officers of the empire, which custom had taken place before the time of Constantine, for Constantius Chlorus, his father, being only invested with the title of 'Nobilissimus Cæsar,' appears on a copper medal, with a radiated coronet, with the inscription of 'Constantius Nob. C.' &c. and on the reverse, 'Virtus Augg.'

It was likewise in imitation of the princes and great officers of the court of Constantinople, that the dauphins, eldest sons to our monarchs, wore similar coronets; for I have noticed in the 'Ceremonial François,' that at the interment of François dauphin of Viennois, eldest son to Francis I. the effigy of this prince, 'avoit par dessus le bonnet de veloux cramoisy une couronne d'or, plus eminente que celle d'un duc, comme déjà préparé à succéder au royaume, et porter la fleur de lys entiere.'

DISSERTATION XXIV.

ON THE GRANTING OF ARMORIAL BEARINGS TO FAMILIES, AND RESPECTING
SUCH AS HAVE BEEN GRANTED BY PRINCES TO VARIOUS PERSONS, BY
WAY OF FAVOUR OR RECOMPENCE.

It was likewise a sort of honorary adoption, which princes and kings have practised when they granted their arms to be borne by different gentlemen, as well their subjects as foreigners; for, as armorial bearings are the true marks of a family, such as are honoured by the permission of bearing them ought, in like manner, to participate in all the prerogatives of that family.

They are the means that have been chosen to recompense the actions of those to whom the granters wished to make some return, and also to attach them, and their descendants, still more firmly to their service.

This ‘*attribution de partie d’armoiries*,’ according to Guy Coquille in his history of the Nivernois, ‘*se fait avec diminution notable par changement de couleurs, ou diminution du nombre des pieces qui font es armes des bienfaiteurs, en sorte qu’ on peut connoître qu’ ils ne font pas du lignage, mais qu’ ils tiennent par bienfaict.*’

Princes have likewise often granted this honour as a mark of protection. For, as on the one hand, those persons so gratified with bearing the arms of the prince have a particular obligation to serve him, from remembrance of the honour they have received at his hand, and to support the dignity of him, whose arms they bear; so, on the other hand, the prince is bound to

protect him to whom he has granted his arms, acknowledging him as one whom he has gained, and who, in some sort, participates in the prerogatives of his family, the honour of which he is obliged to preserve.

This privilege of bearing the arms, or a part of the arms of the prince, has been at all times considered as a very particular favour, being only conferred on those who had deserved well from the state, and had done it signal services. This justifies the maxim of politicians, who maintain, that princes have often innocent modes of recompensing not only men of merit, but also their favourites, without doing any essential harm to their finances, which are the nerves and foundation of their state; for in fact it is honour which is the sole stimulant to virtuous acts, and not the intrinsic value of the things granted that gives value to such recompences. Crowns of laurel, and of other trees, were too insignificant, in regard to the brilliant actions which they were supposed to recompense, if more honourable feelings did not add a value to them.

Nothing was more easily granted than those surnames, which the senate gave to great leaders who had signalized themselves in battle, or conquered provinces; yet these could not find a more agreeable reward for their courage than making them known to posterity by a name that comprehended, in a few letters, their eulogium and their gallant acts, explaining at once the greatness and worth of their conquests.

I place in the same rank with the above rewards those privileges, trifling in appearance, but glorious in fact, which princes have granted to their subjects, or other foreign lords who have deserved well from their states, of bearing their arms, or a part of them intermixed with those of their own families. They have of course only conceded this favour to persons of high rank, and who had performed essential services, which kind of recompence has been used by emperors, kings, dukes, and other sovereign princes.

The lord de Joinville writes, that Scecedun chief of the Turks, who was considered as '*le plus vaillant et le plus preux de toute payennie*,' bore on his banners the arms of the emperor Frederick II. who had made him a knight, and had probably given them to him. While Sigismund was at Avignon, he permitted Elfeas de Sado, lord des Effarts, a gentleman of Provence, to charge the star of his arms with the eagle fable. Maximilian I.

conferred the imperial eagle on Raphael Grimaldi, surnamed de Castro, by letters patent, the 16th day of January of the year 1497, creating him knight and count palatine. The same emperor, having made the town of Cambray a duchy in favour of Jacques de Croy, bishop of the place, granted to him and his successors in the bishoprick, by his letters patent, dated 28th June of the year 1510, to bear en chef, in the arms of his family, the imperial eagle brisé by a label gules.

The same rewards have been usual in France. St Louis, when in Palestine, gave the arms of France to the teutonic order: passing through Antioch, he permitted the young prince Boëmond VI. to quarter on his arms, which, according to the lord de Joinville, were 'vermeillées,' the arms of France. Philip de Valois, according to some, allowed Guillaume de la Tour to bear his shield variegated with the arms of France: but M. Justel, in his history of the counts of Auvergne, page 247. thinks this permission much more ancient, observing, that in the castle of La Tour, before it was ruined, were seen two escutcheons of the arms of the house of La Tour carved on a chimney built in the year 1218; one with a plain tower, which are the old arms, the other having a tower argent on a field azur, besprinkled with flower de luzes or, which are the arms borne by the lords de la Tour d'Auvergne to this day. The same king permitted sir Peter de Salvain, lord of Boiffieu, a person of great credit in the council of Humbert last dauphin of the Viennois, to add to his arms a bordure of France, for having been one of the chief advisers of the cession made of this province in favour of France.

Charles VI. when at Toulouse in the year 1389, in presence of his brother the duke of la Touraine, his uncle the duke of Burgundy, and many french and gascon lords, gave to his cousin-german Charles d'Albret and his descendants the privilege of quartering his arms, which were simply gules, with two quarterings of those of France full, without any brisure 'laquelle chose,' says Froissart, 'le seigneur d'Albret, tint à riche et à grand don.'

Charles VII. by letters patent of the 10th day of May 1432, granted, according to Monstrelet, (vol. 2. page 70.) to the viscounts of Beaumont, the liberty of besprinkling their shield with flower de luzes. He bestowed

the like honour on the Pucelle d'Orleans. Henry IV. granted to the captain Libertas, for having delivered the town of Marseilles from the tyranny of Cazaud, who had held it a long time for the league, and was in treaty with the Spaniards to deliver it into their hands, a chef azur, with three flower de luces or, in addition to his own arms of gules, with a castle argent. He did the same to Pierre Hostager, a gentleman of Marseilles, who assisted his majesty in the reduction of the same place in 1596, by giving him a shield azure, with a flower de luce or, in the centre of his own arms. In consideration of the essential services the lord de Vic, vice-admiral of France, and governor of Calais, had done him during his troublesome wars with the league, he ordered him to bear, in memory of them, a flower de luce or in his arms. He granted a similar favour to the sieur Zamet.

Louis XIII. his son, recompensed, in the same manner, Guichart Deagent, knight, lord of Bruffon, baron of Viré, first president of the chamber of accounts of Dauphiné, permitting him to charge the eagle on his arms with a shield azure, bearing a flower de luce or, as a reward for his fidelity in the important state-affairs which he had been employed to transact.

Spain and other kingdoms have followed the same practice on several occasions. Henry III. king of Castille, made Begues de Villaines, that knight so renowned in Froissart, quarter the arms of Spain with his own, which were three lions sable, on a field argent, with the orle gules.

The MS. Chronicle of Bertrand du Guesclin mentions this gratification. Ferdinand and Isabella, monarchs of Castille and Arragon, to recompense Christopher Columbus, a Genoese, for the discovery of the western Indies, granted him, beside the tenth part of the royal revenues, the title of perpetual grand admiral of the Indies, and for arms 'l'escu en manteau, le premier de gueules au château d'or, l'autre de l'argent au lyon de pourpre, en pointe d'argent ondé d'azur à cinq isles, et un monde croisé d'or,' having for motto,

' Por Castiglia y por Léon,
Nuevo mundo halla Colon.'

The dukes of Verragua and the marquis of Jamaica are descended from him.

The kings of Naples, of the branch of Anjou, have likewise followed this example; for the house of Andréa in Provence, originally from Naples, bears for arms, 'une bordure d'azur à dix fleurs de lys d'or, au lambel de quatre pieces de gueules au dessus du chef.' It is the same with the family of Alaman, which bears the shield of Anjou in the heart of its arms; and that of Beccaris, also in Provence, which bears 'le chef de France, avec le lambel de gueules de trois pieces.' The house of Ratta, in Italy, bears a label besprinkled with flower de luces, by the grant of king Robert.

René, king of Sicily, gave to René de Boliers, viscount de Reillane, governor of Marseilles, a bordure of his arms, composed of the arms of Anjou-Naples and Jerusalem, of eight pieces.

Edward I. king of England, willed that Geoffrey lord de Joinville should quarter the arms of his house with those of England, which this king granted him for his valour and gallant actions, as is recorded in the epitaph on his tomb.

I pass over the arms of the house of Goulaines, 'de gueules à trois demy léopards d'or party d'azur, à la fleur de lys et une demie d'or,' which are half and half the arms of England and France, and are said to have been granted by a king of England to Alphonso lord of Goulaines, in consideration of his successful negotiation to effect a peace between the kings of France and England, in which he had been employed by his lord the duke of Brittany.

The emperor Charles IV. king of Bohemia, gave the lion of the arms of that kingdom to the lawyer Bartholus, as he mentions himself, in his treatise on armorial bearings.

Sigismund, king of Poland, gave for arms to Martin Cromer, his historiographer, and ambassador to the emperor, 'un écu de gueules à un aigle esployé naissant d'argent, ayant au col une couronne de laurier;' to which the emperor Ferdinand added a chief of the imperial eagle; all which he himself relates in his history of Poland.

Gustavus Adolphus, king of Sweden, gave to Henry Saint George Richmond, king at arms, who had brought him the investiture of the order of the garter, three crowns or, the arms of Sweden, to be added to his own arms. Selden, in his titles of honour, quotes the letters patent.

Dukes, and petty sovereign princes, have likewise granted such concessions. The duke of Burgundy permits N. Paterin, his chancellor, to bear for crest, on his arms, a shield emblazoned with the arms of Burgundy, with this motto,

‘ Le duc me l’a donné.’

Republics, and even towns, have often granted their arms to private persons. Venice has done so to the families of Foscari, Magno, and Nani. Jean de Monluc, afterward marshal of France, obtained the privilege of bearing the arms of Sienna, for having valiantly defended that town when it was besieged by the emperor Charles V. In short, the popes have allowed some cardinals, their creatures, to bear their arms in chief. Gregory XIII. of the surname of Buoncompagno, did so, in regard to the cardinals de la Baume, Vastavillano, de Berague and Riario. With regard to what Paradin and those who have followed him have written, that the order of St John of Jerusalem entreated Amadeus IV. count of Savoy, to bear the arms of that order, in memory of the great services he had done it during the siege of Rhodes, it is controverted, for André du Chefne maintains, that the cross which the dukes of Savoy bear is the arms of the principality of Piedmont *.

* Hist. de la Maison de Bethune, p. 205.

DISSERTATION XXV.

ON THE PRE-EMINENCE OF THE KINGS OF FRANCE OVER THE OTHER
KINGS OF THE EARTH,—AND INCIDENTALLY ON SOME
CIRCUMSTANCES CONCERNING THE REIGN OF
LOUIS VII. KING OF FRANCE.

THE lord de Joinville says, that St Louis was ‘ le plus grand roy des Chrétiens.’ This eulogium was not peculiar to this great prince, but common to all the kings of France, on account of the extent of their dominions, and their power and wealth. The expression is to be seen in a deed of Amé count of Savoy, of the year 1397, in these words : ‘ Le roy de France, qui est le plus grand et le plus noble roy des Chrétiens.’

Matthew Paris, when speaking of St Louis, goes further, and says, that the king of France was the most illustrious and most wealthy of the kings of the earth. In other passages, he still adds to this by saying, that he was king of kings. It is for this reason, that in another part of his work, he calls the kingdom of France ‘ regnum regnorum.’

These eulogiums, given to our kings by a foreign author, are the less to be suspected from his living under the dominion of a powerful prince, and enemy to France. He has not, therefore, said any thing more on this occasion than what had the universal assent of mankind, more especially of Christendom. This seems sufficiently clear from what Anna Comnena has written in her *Alexiade*, that when the French undertook the conquest of the holy land, Hugh count de Vermandois, brother to king Philippes I. being about to set out from his own country wrote to the emperor Alexis Comnenus, father to the above princes, to inform him, that since he was

king of kings and the greatest of princes under heaven, he ought to come out to meet him, and receive him according to the dignity of his rank.

No one can suppose, that Hugh ever made use of such expressions in writing to the emperor of Constantinople; nor is it probable that he who was simply count of the Vermandois and Gonfalonier of the church in this expedition, should affect the pompous title of king of kings. But what imposed on this prince was the circumstance, that the kings of France were styled kings of kings by all Christendom; so that on the report of this famous expedition, it was every where said, that the brother of the greatest of kings was the leader of the troops. This high opinion of the grandeur and majesty of the kings of France, which was current among the Greeks in the time of the emperor Alexis Comnenus, continued to later centuries; for when these people saw themselves deprived of succour to defend themselves against the Turks, they looked to the king of France as the most potent and first of kings, alone capable of affording them any help.

In the library of M. Mentel, doctor of physic, is preserved a lamentation written in verse, and in modern Greek, on the capture of Constantinople by these barbarians, which confirms the universal assent of all Greece as to the pre-eminence of our kings, who are styled in these verses the first and principal monarchs of the west.

This uncontested dignity and pre-eminence of the kings of France over the other kings of the earth makes me believe, that Cinamus has been too strongly biased by his anger against them, when he writes, that king Louis VII. surnamed 'le jeune,' on his arrival at Constantinople, in his passage to the holy land, having had a conference with the emperor Manuel, took his seat on a much lower chair than that of the emperor; for it is scarcely probable that so powerful a prince as the king of France then was, would debase himself in so extraordinary a manner as to yield the first place to a greek emperor, whom the Christians of those times acknowledged only as king, more especially since the imperial title was transferred to Charlemagne, in the emperor's own palace. It is still less probable that Louis would have taken his seat at this conference on a lower chair than that of the emperor.

All the latin authors who have spoken of this interview between the two princes agree, that the king of France was received in Constantinople with

much pomp and magnificence ; that all the princes of the blood, and great lords of the court went out to meet him, which is likewise confirmed by Cinamus in exprefs terms, and that the emperor went to receive him in his porticos or galleries. The archbifhop of Tyre gives a fimilar account, which is conformable to what the king wrote himfelf to Suger, abbot of St Denis, faying, that he had been received by the emperor ‘ *gaudenter et honorificé.*’

In regard to the fitting of thefe two princes, Eudes de Dieuil does not fay that the king of France was placed on a lower feat than that of the emperor, but only, that two feats having been prepared, they feated themfelves, and converfed for fome time ; and to fhew that it is probable the interview was fo managed, that neither prince fhould feem to have any advantage over the other, the fame author relates, that when the emperor Manuel, after the king had paffed the ftraits, and was in Afia, fent to entreat him to return to his palace, to difcufs fome new matters which had juft happened, he refufed, returning for anfwer to the emperor, ‘ *ut in ripam fuam defcenderet, vel in mari ex æquo colloquium fieret.*’ This fufficiently proves that Louis was unwilling to yield in any thing to the emperor, or give him the advantage of going to his palace, but carried himfelf, on thefe occafions, like a prince of equal rank.

Arnold of Lubeck, defcribing the extravagant pride of the greek princes, fays, that the fovereigns, who came to vifit them, kiffed their knees, but that the king of France was too great a lord to debase himfelf by fuch meanneffes. Hiftory tells us, that Manuel came to receive him at the entrance of his palace, and that he fent out of the town all his nobles of high rank to meet him ; and that when the emperor wanted a fecond interview, the king fent him word, that if he were defirous of having an interview, he muft take the trouble of coming to him, on the fea-shore, where he then was, or have the conference holden on the fea, with equal diftinctions on each fide, ‘ *vel in mari, ex æquo colloquium fieret;*’ for this is the true reading, and not ‘ *ex equo,*’ as in the printed copies, feeing that this interview on horfeback could not take place on the fea, like to that of Conrad with Manuel in Conftantinople.

Since I have been led to fpeak of the conference of Louis VII. with the emperor Manuel, I will now endeavour to clear up a point of our hiftory

respecting this king. The author of his life says, that being on his departure from Palestine, 'in portu acconensi navigium conscendit, marisque nullo impediante periculo ad regnum proprium reversus est.' Yet, notwithstanding this, the greater part of other authors agree in writing, that he narrowly escaped falling into the hands of the Greeks, then at war with the Sicilians, trusting to their fleet, which was to convoy him. Vincent de Beauvais goes so far as to say, that he was taken by the Greeks, and that as they were carrying him to the emperor Manuel, then besieging Corfou, Georges admiral of Sicily returning from the neighbourhood of Constantinople, where he had burnt the suburbs and adjoining palaces, having discharged golden arrows into that of the emperor, rescued him from their hands. Cinamus confirms this, and adds, that the king very narrowly escaped being captured, which happened in this wise: Louis having determined to return to France, hired the vessels that were in the ports of Palestine, and embarked. On his passage, he joined the fleet of the Sicilians, who were on a cruise: they met that of the Greeks, commanded by Churupes. The combat began. Louis, who had quitted his own vessel to embark on board one of the Sicilians, found himself in the midst of the engagement, when, perceiving his danger, he hoisted the flag of the allies of the empire, which prevented any further attacks being made on his ship. However, some of his people were made prisoners, but the emperor, at his request, caused them to be returned, with every thing that had been taken with them.

Philadelfo Mugnos, in his genealogies of the illustrious families of Sicily, recites a patent of king Roger in favour of George Lindolino, which ascribes to this knight the honour of having, on this occasion, delivered the king, Louis VII. from the hands of the Greeks. But there must be some mistake in the date of this patent, which bears that of 1146, at which period Louis had not gone to the holy land, and may induce us to suspect the truth of the document. However this may be, it is sufficiently clear, from the authors I have quoted, that Fazello is mistaken, when he writes that Louis, on his return from Palestine, having been made prisoner by the Saracens, was delivered by king Roger of Sicily, who was then at sea with his fleet.

DISSERTATION XXVI.

ON THE PORTUS ITIUS, OR PORTUS ICCIUS.

WISSAN is a small burgh seated on the sea-shore in the county of the Boulonois, between the towns of Boulogne and Calais, consisting of about twenty-four hearths, exclusive of three or four hamlets dependent on it.

There are neither gates nor ditches, nor walls of any kind to this burgh, nor even ruins to show that it had been formerly inclosed. There is a chapel at that end towards Boulogne, but the parochial church is at the hamlet of Sombres, distant about two or three hundred paces. Between this church and the town is what is called the mount of the castle, which may be about forty fathoms in length, and of an oval form.

Some remains of old buildings are in the town, said to have served for magazines for the staple of wool brought from England; and others, which prove it has been of much greater extent in former times. Indeed, Froissart calls it a large town, and other historians shew that it was considerable for its port, which was the one usually embarked from to sail to England, which I shall hope to prove in this discussion, although at this day there are no remains of its former grandeur. The ancient law of the Boulonois gave it also the title of Town; and even at this time there are a mayor and sheriffs, who have the management of the police, and the cognizance of crimes committed within their town and its precincts: they have beside the government of the hospital. The count de Boulogne, to whom this town was a fief, had a bailiff there; and since the county has been annexed to the

crown of France, it has been formed into a royal bailiwick, under the authority of the bailiff of Boulogne, who goes thither once a-week to administer justice. A small rivulet passes through this town, whose springhead is near to the church of Sombres.

Camden, in his *Britannia*, in describing the county of Kent, was the first who published that this place was the *Portus Itius* of Cæsar; for after having refuted the opinions of those who had placed it at Calais, he adds,—
‘Itium igitur alibi quærendum existimo, ad Witfan scilicet inferius prope Blacneft, quod nos Witfan vocamus, verbo ab Itio non abludente. Huc enim omnes ex hac insula transmisisse ex historiis nostris observamus.’

And as this conjecture is the most plausible of all that have been offered by different writers, I shall attempt to establish it on such grounds as will not leave a doubt on the subject. But I must first premise what I have to say on Cæsar’s description of this port, without embarrassing myself with any tedious discourse, for it has been a matter frequently treated on by the learned.

Among the most convenient and usual ports for crossing from Gaul to Britain, Cæsar mentions three, all of which he places in the country of the Morini; but he only names the one fixed on, for the transport of his legions to Britain, because it was at the narrowest part of the channel, and afforded the shortest passage to the opposite coast. Beside this port, he notices two others in the same country; the one higher up, and the other lower down the coast. All authors who have written on the *Commentaries* of Cæsar, and those who have treated of the geography of Gaul, have exerted themselves to discover the situation of this port, on which depends the knowledge of the two others in its neighbourhood; and their opinions have been found so various, that the most indifferent have been uncertain which they should embrace. I shall not stop to refute those who have advanced that it was Sluys, Bruges, le Portet*, because such opinions are quite improbable. I shall rather endeavour to establish the idea which I have, or rather which Camden has started, for he is the first who broached it, although he has but slightly proved it.

* Q. Le Portet. I cannot find it.

Cæsar tells us, in express words, that the Portus Itius was situated at that part where the passage over the sea was the most convenient; and when he says it was the most convenient, he means to say that it was the shortest. Hence it follows, that Cæsar, on this occasion, considered not so much the size of the port as the conveniency of the passage, and where the crossing would be the shortest. Now it is certain, from the report of all seamen, that the passage over the channel, from Wissan to England, is shorter than from Calais by a league, or a league and a half, and shorter than from Boulogne by two long leagues.

The passage from the Portus Itius was, according to Cæsar, about thirty thousand paces, but as this measurement depends on the spot he landed on in England, which is maintained to be Richeborough or Sandwich, it is therefore difficult to lay any certain ground for the distance of this passage. The name of Wissan would not be less favourable to the conjecture respecting the Portus Itius or Iccius; for the MSS. of the Commentaries have this word very differently, some with a single c. as Icius, others with two, Iccius, and others again with a t. Itius. It is probable that Cæsar may have expressed the first syllable of the word 'wi' by the single i; and that this place was called 'Wic, Wics,' or perhaps 'Wis,' or 'Wits,' which was a familiar common pronunciation in the gaulish language, and is now preserved in the German and Flemish, which have been derived from it, Cæsar not being able to render this syllable Wi, in Latin, but by the single I, because the W. is pronounced more in the throat than by the tongue, and is uttered like to the French 'ou,' which cannot be expressed in Latin.

The word 'Wic,' in the saxon and ancient german languages, signifies at times a bulwark, a house, a gulph, or sea-port. I own that no stress can with certainty be laid on these etymologies: therefore I make no account of that which some have given to the Portus Itius, who derive it from 'Itando,' because it was there that all embarked for England, nor on that of Heuter, who proposes to interpret 'Iccius,' 'quasi Ic-cie, hoc est, video, Scilicet Portum, aut insulam Britanniam,' for all this has very little probability. There is, however, some connection between Its, or

Itius, and Witfan ; for it is certain that this termination in ‘ an ’ is common to many names of places and families in the Boulonois. But I think the principal ground on which the Portus Itius may be established at Wiffan, is, that it is easy to prove, by the authority of many grave authors, that the town and port of Wiffan has been the place where, time out of mind, all have embarked who intended to cross from Gaul to Britain, or from Britain to Gaul. The enumeration of these proofs, which include a space of nearly eight hundred years, would be too tiresome : it will suffice that I assure my reader I have under my eyes more than sixty pages from ancient and irreproachable authors, which confirm the above from the year 569 to that of 1327, the period when the lord of Beaumont, going to the assistance of the king of England against the Scots, embarked with his troops at Wiffan, as in the following year did the ambassadors from the king of France to the king of England.

The moment Calais was in the possession of the English they not only fortified the town, and re-established and increased its harbour, but that of Wiffan was abandoned, and the passage from Calais to England was the only one made use of. On the other hand, as there were almost continual wars between the two nations, and as it was not perfectly secure to embark always at this port, that of Boulogne was made use of, because it was more considerable, and stronger than Wiffan, which, besides, had been ruined and burnt by the English during the time of the siege of Calais.

Another circumstance which proves the importance of the port of Wiffan is, that in ancient times the counts of Boulogne raised a considerable revenue from a duty which they laid on vessels, and persons who used this passage.

I do not observe that any mention is made of this port after the capture of Calais, or that any one embarked there. The sea and sand have now so overwhelmed and filled up what was the port, that the spot can scarcely be known where it formerly stood. There are nevertheless common fields that extend as far as the village of Tardingham, pretty near to Blacnez, which le Portolano calls the Cap de Witfan, and it may be supposed to be the part where the harbour was situated. These commons are bounded on the land side by elevated ground, and towards the sea by sand hills, forming

a fort of large bafon into which the fea may be introduced either towards Wiffan by the fmall rivulet that runs through the town, or toward Tardingham by another little brook that runs alfo through that place.

There is reafon to believe that commerce having been diverted from Wiffan, the fands which are perpetually drifting in great quantities have been fuffered to choak the mouth of the harbour, this part of the coaft being perfectly flat. What alfo induces me to fix on this place for the harbour is, that on thefe commons, about two hundred paces from the town, is a mount called the Pharos, and a houfe near it that ftill retains this name, as if the entrance of the port of Wiffan had been there.

It is not to be wondered at, that we are now obliged to feek for the place where formerly exifted the port of Wiffan which was fo much frequented in preceding ages, fince the fame thing has happened to Aigues-mortes in Languedoc, where all the troops embarked for the croifades, which fact now appears fo improbable, feeing that it is half a league diftant from the fea.

The fame has happened to divers ports of Conftantinople, which had been formed by different emperors, but of which no veftiges now remain.

DISSERTATION XXVII.

ON PRIVATE WARS, AND ON THE RIGHT OF CUSTOMARY WARFARE.

THE mention made by the lord de Joinville, in his history of the wars of the count de Châlons with the count of Burgundy his son, induces me to undertake the discussion of so important a subject in this place. There is nothing more common in the course of our history, and in those of our neighbours, than these wars between barons and gentlemen, with the knowledge and assent of their sovereigns, but without their interference. This was so universal that it may be said the vassals of princes divided with them the fairest jewel in their crown, the right of declaring and making war. But, as there were established rules and maxims for this sort of warfare, I intend to show in this dissertation, what they have been, and how the barons acted on such occasions. I undertake this the more cheerfully, because it belongs to the history of St Louis; for it is certain that he was one of our kings who most earnestly endeavoured to annihilate these unfortunate wars, which kept up perpetual divisions among the nobility of France.

But to proceed methodically in this discussion, I must first shew who were those that had this customary right of making war, then between what persons it was made, for what causes, the different manners of declaring it, who are included, and who excepted from it, and the various modes of putting an end to it. I shall conclude by pointing out how this

detestable custom of making war by the vassals of a prince has been entirely abolished.

Every gentleman, according to Philippe de Beaumanoir, had a right to make war, 'autre que gentilhomme ne poeut guerroyer.' And he thus excludes all plebeians, whom he styles 'Hommes de Poësté,' that is to say, subject to their lords, and so absolutely dependent on them, that they may dispose of them as they may please, which was not the case with fiefed vassals. He also excludes citizens, among whom, should any dispute arise, or, to use his own words, 'manéces ou deffiemens, ou mellées fourdent,' the crime was to be punished by the usual judge, according to the rank of the offender, for such persons could not use the means of war.

By the word Gentleman must be understood all who held fiefs, because in ancient times none but such as were noble could hold them. Bishops, abbots and monasteries, having lands under this tenure, had also this right; and because their profession did not allow of their bearing arms, they had their contests carried on by their vidames and proxies.

There could be no war between gentlemen on the one side, and plebeians or citizens on the other. The reason was, that if the gentleman made war on the plebeian, whom he always styled 'Homme de Poësté,' the latter not having the right of war, from being divested of the title of noble, would have been often badly treated by the gentleman, if not killed by him. So that whenever it happened that a serious quarrel arose between a gentleman and a plebeian, the latter, to shelter himself from the insults of his enemy, demanded that the peace should be kept, which was instantly assented to. But if the plebeian should neglect to make this demand, the gentleman to whom, or to whose relations, the injury had been done, might legally pursue his revenge by deeds of arms. On the contrary, if a gentleman should insult a plebeian or citizen, neither could take their revenge by arms, but they must seek reparation by the usual mode of law.

Every sort of injury could not be revenged by arms. It must have been an atrocious, capital, and public criminal act: therefore what gave rise to this sort of warfare was the atrociousness of the offence, which, according to the common practice of law, was deserving death. This is proved by Beaumanoir, who adds, that although a gentleman had the right of

purfuing the offender, who had personally injured him, or any of his relatives, by means of arms, by other opportunities than thofe offered by open war between them, that did not prevent the lord, whofe vaffal the offender was, from judging and condemning him by his court of juftice : he might arreft him, and deliver him up to punifhment, according to the exigence and atrocity of the crime. This might even take place after peace had been concluded between the two parties, if it were not prevented by the interference of the king, or the baronial lord of the perfon who had committed the crime. ‘ Car autre figneur ne poeut fere ne foffrir ces manieres de pez.’ The reafon why the lord might purfue vengeance on fuch crimes, was, ‘ que cil qui font les vilains meffez de cas de crieme, ne meffont pas tant feulement à adverfe partie, n’a lor lignage, mez au fignor qui les ont en garde, et à juftice.’

It does not appear that thefe private wars generally took their rife in the provinces from the caufes which I have mentioned, namely, crimes and offences. We read of thefe wars often taking place from differences that have arifen about fucceffions to eftates. Hiftory furnifhes us with numberlefs instances, and among others our lord de Joinville, when he fpeaks of the war that happened during the reign of St Louis, between the count of Champagne and the queen of Cyprus, refpecting the fucceffion to that county.

Private wars were declared in various ways ; firft, by the aét itfelf, of taking up arms when an open rupture happened. In this cafe, thofe prefent at the quarrel were engaged in this war, according to the party or company they were with at the time. By threatening words, when in a difpute menaces were ufed, or by challenges fent to an enemy.

Challenges, which the latin authors of the middle ages call ‘ diffidationes,’ were made by words, or by writing. They were made by words, when a defiance was fent to an enemy, and when war was declared againft him, by perfons fent purpofely to denounce it. On thefe occasions, neither heralds nor kings at arms were made ufe of, but perfons of rank, and knights who bore the challenge. It was thus the French declared war againft the emperors Ifaac and Alexis, in the year 1203, having chofen for this purpofe Conon de Bethune, Geoffroy de Villehardouin, marfhall of Champagne,

and Miles de Braibans, knights. They were sometimes borne by bishops and abbots, as may be gathered from history.

And as it was not lawful to surprize an enemy without having given him time to prepare himself for defence, the emperors ordained that he could not be attacked till after three days should have elapsed since the challenge had been given, under pain of banishment, and being branded for a traitor.

The author of the war, that is to say, he who declared it, and who pretended to be offended by an enemy, is called by Philippe de Beaumanoir 'Quievetaine,' or chief of the war. In regard to such as took part with him in it, the first were of his lineage; for the war being declared and open, all the relatives of the chief of the war were comprehended in it, without any particular declaration, and often found themselves included against their will, under pretext of revenging an injury done to their kindred, or of defending them when attacked, it being a matter of family honour. This bound them so strictly that they could not dispense with entering into the war without renouncing their family, and by this means rendering themselves incapable of succeeding to any of their kindred, or profiting from fines, or other civil interests, that might arise from assassinations attempted against their persons; for this is expressly noticed, or rather ordained, by the laws of Henry I. of England. Because it sometimes happened that the relatives of the chief of the war had not any knowledge of the war, or that challenges had been sent, and were, in consequence, surprized by their common enemy, who attacked them, before they had any information of the war, it was ordained, that those of the lineage should not commence the war till after forty days had expired after the declaration and defiances had been sent, unless they should have been present at the act, that is to say, when the war was first begun, by quarrelling, and acts of violence; but in regard to such as were not present at the quarrel, they had a truce of forty days, during which they had time and liberty to mix in the war, to make their preparations for this effect, or to seek securities for peace to mediate a truce or peace between the parties.

So that those who, in contempt of the forty days granted to the parentage of the chief of the war, attacked them, and committed any

outrage on their persons or goods, were treated as traitors ; and, as such, should there have been any person killed, were dragged to the gallows, hanged, and their fortunes confiscated. Should any be wounded, they were condemned to imprisonment, and to a fine, according to the pleasure of the lord of the barony.

Bouteiller, in his ‘ *Somme Rurale*,’ says, that this delay was called ‘ *La Quarantaine du Roy*,’ and writes, that it was first instituted by Saint Louis, who began by this regulation to make his attack on these forts of war, inasmuch that at this period the greater part of those related to the chiefs fought for means to avoid being implicated in them. Philippe de Beaumanoir, however, attributes it to Philippe le hardy, his son. It is, nevertheless, certain that St Louis was the first who declared it, as may be collected from the letters of king John, of the year 1363.

It appears by this ordinance, that the chiefs of the war did not enjoy this privilege of forty days, but that they instantly commenced the war.

It was the same in respect to the kindred who interested themselves in these wars before the expiration of this period, and who joined the chiefs of the war in arms : and as this ordinance was issued by the king, the royal judges formerly maintained that an infraction of the quarantaine, even within lordships of superior jurisdictions, was a royal case.

Because the relatives of each side were engaged in these wars, Philippe de Beaumanoir determines that two brothers-german could not make this customary war, and gives for reason that neither of them has any relations but such as are common to both ; and that the person who is equally connected with the two chiefs of the war ought not and cannot engage in it : so that, if two brothers had a difference, and one injured the other, he could not excuse himself under pretext of the right of war ; no more could any of the common relatives, who should be inclined to assist one of them through friendship or inclination. And in such cases it was the duty of the lord rigorously to punish him who had done an injury to the other.

It would have been otherwise, says the same author, between two brothers by the same mother who might engage in this warfare, because one would have relations and the other not. But in regard to relatives

common to each, they might and even ought to excuse themselves from interfering in the war.

With respect to distant relations, who were excused, or rather dispensed with engaging in these wars, they might nevertheless do so, from their own inclination, by declaring themselves for one of the parties, either by challenge or by acts of violence. ‘For instance,’ says Philip de Beaumanoir, ‘if any one should go to the succour and be in the company of either party in arms, or if he should lend him his horses or armour, or his mansion, to assist him in his warfare with his enemy; in such cases, the relation will become a party in the war, by these his acts: and should any disgrace or accident befall him, he who has been the author thereof shall have a right to exculpate himself by the right of war, although he be equally a relation to both the contending parties.’

Notwithstanding that such as had been present at the commencement of the act of war were included as accomplices, without need of other challenges than those given by the principals in the quarrel, to those who had committed the injury; such accomplices could, however, withdraw from interfering by summoning the enemy before the court of the lord, in order to deny in his presence, on oath, having ever consented to the misdeed that had caused the war, making at the same time protestations that he would never succour, directly or indirectly, either party in the war. This oath being taken, the lord was bound to assure him of his personal safety only; and he was to remain in peace, unless the adverse party wished to charge him directly with the fact.

Among the relatives, ecclesiastics were excepted, in the same manner as monks, women, minors, and also bastards, unless they made themselves parties in the war by their acts.

Those were also excepted who had retired to hospitals or lazaret-houses, or who were in Palestine or in pilgrimage at the time the war began, or sent to foreign parts by order of the king or for the public good; because it would have been unjust that those who were in distant parts should be attacked or killed in the places in which they might be met with, or on their travels, before they had known any thing of the war or of the challenges.

In such case, great inconveniences might have ensued, which could not have been considered so much as matters of revenge as of disgraceful treasons.

In regard to women, I have said they were exempted from this right of war, and were not to be comprehended among the relatives who were necessarily included because it was a matter of arms, of which they were incapable.

Beside those of the lineage, and personal friends who volunteered their services to one of the parties, the vassals and subjects of the principal were comprehended ; and, in general, all who were bound by their tenures to do service to the lord, ‘ *cix à qui il convient faire ayde par reson de signorage.*’ Such were the tenants on the estate, householders on account of their rent, and those bound to bodily service whenever their lord went to the wars, although not connected with him by blood. So that, as long as they were in the suit of their lords, or aiding them, they were supposed to be at war ; but when they were returned home, they could not be attacked, or found fault with for having borne arms for him, since on these occasions they had but fulfilled their duty, which, in quality of vassals and subjects to the lord, they were bounden to do.

Such as were in the pay of either party were supposed to be at war as long as they were following, or in the company of the principals, but when they quitted them, they were out of the war, and could not lawfully be insulted or attacked without blame accruing to those who should thus molest them.

Notwithstanding that gentlemen had this right of making war, they could not attack, by this means, or challenge the lord from whom they held lands : if they acted otherwise, they forfeited their fiefs, especially if the lord who had been accused of treason or murder should offer to defend himself by the usual mode of justice, and before his peers.

Having thus treated of those who began this warfare, it only remains for me, in following the method I laid down at the beginning, to shew by what means these wars were put an end to. Philippe de Beaumanoir mentions several, of which the first was peace. When peace was concluded, signed and confirmed by sufficient sureties and guarantees, all who had engaged in the war, as well principals as relations and friends,

were bound to preserve it. It was not necessary that all the relatives of the two parties, who had been at war, should be present at the conclusion of the peace : it was sufficient if it were signed by the two principals ; and if any relation refused his consent to it, the principal, to whose aid he had come, was to inform the other of it, and give him notice, to be on his guard against him : this notice was so essential, that if any accident or mischief ensued by his failing to give it, the principal might be brought to justice for a breach of the peace. The principals in the war were also to take care that their relatives and friends abstained from all acts of hostility, by giving them notice of the conclusion of a peace ; for it would be no excuse to say they had not had information of it. On the other hand, those who should declare they would not abide by the peace, could not be assisted by them who had made the peace, or by those of the lineage who had been at war, unless they should, in like manner, inform the other party they would not accept of the peace, otherwise they might be accused of a breach and infraction of the peace.

Peace was made in three ways, namely, by words and deeds, by deeds without words, or by words without deeds, which is thus explained by Philippe de Beaumanoir: That person made peace by word and deed, who ate or drank, or was in company, with him who was his enemy, and with whom he was at war ; so that should it happen after this, that he attacked him, or did him any violence or outrage, he might be brought to justice as a traitor, and for having broken the peace. Peace was made by words without deeds, when any one declared in presence of his friends and other honourable persons, or before the judges, that he was at peace with his enemy, and that, for the future, he was desirous of keeping it.

Those who were at peace by deed without words were the relations, or of the lineage of the principals in the war, who had made peace, and who had not issued any summons to their vassals, nor sent any challenges, but went and conversed with those who had been their enemies ; for they, in fact, shewed very plainly there was not any reason to suspect them, since they appeared in the eyes of each party as friends.

The treaties of peace which were made to terminate these customary wars were commonly admitted and enregistered on the registers of the

justices of the lords paramount; at least I have met with one, which is inserted in a register of the chamber of accounts at Paris, containing the decisions and judgments given in the year 1298, at the extraordinary sessions held at Troyes: the judges present were the bishop of Senlis, master Gilles Lambert, Monsieur Guillaume lord of Grancey, and Gilles de Compiègne.

The second, or rather the fourth, manner of putting an end to the customary war, was by 'asseurement,'—the lord paramount, or the king, commanding the principals in the war, to swear to keep the peace reciprocally with each other, which was done as follows: One of the parties who was unwilling to go to war, or having begun it, from being the weakest, wished to put an end to it, addressed himself to his lord, or to the lord's justiciary, and demanded, that the party with whom he was at war, or about to commence hostilities, should give him 'asseurement;' that is, an assurance that he would not do him any wrong personally, or otherwise, referring the cause of the difference, which had occasioned the war, to what the justice of his lord might decide. This neither the lord nor his justiciary could refuse, and in consequence he enjoined his vassal to give 'asseurement' to his opponent, who was obliged to cause it to be observed by those of his lineage; inasmuch that if the asseurement was any way infringed, he who had broken it, and he who had given this asseurement, although it was proved he was not present at the act of infringement, might be brought before the justice of the lord for the breach, which was not the case with a truce, for the infraction of which the person who had done it was alone responsible.

In cases of murder or assassination, the asseurement was demanded from the nearest relation of the deceased above fifteen years old. In cases of wounds from blows given, it was required from the person wounded or struck. Should those from whom the asseurement had been demanded hide or absent themselves, to avoid consenting to a truce or asseurement, the lord was to summon them to appear every fortnight; and inasmuch as there might be danger in these delays, he was obliged to set guards over him from whom the truce or asseurement was required; and when these delays were expired, should he then refuse to appear in the court of his lord, he was condemned to banishment. The next in kin was then applied to for an

asseurement; and if he refused to grant one, the lord took the matter into his own hands, forbidding each party to injure the other, under penalty of confiscation of body or goods.

In cases where the two principals in the war would neither ask nor grant asseurement nor truce, the king St Louis, by his edict, ordered that all who held lands in barony, when they should have knowledge of any challenges, should force the parties reciprocally to grant truces or asseurements, under the penalties above mentioned.

The asseurement was reciprocal; that is to say, it was, as is mentioned by the 'Coûtume de Bretagne,' an assurance and promise from each party, both from him who gave and from him who demanded it, that he would do no injury to the other. These acts were drawn up, and, when subscribed by the parties, and their securities for their due observance, were mutually kept on each side.

The asseurement was a dependance on the superior courts of justice, so that the under judiciary had not the right of constraining parties to grant a truce, or to make an asseurement.

As then it solely belonged to the high justices to grant truces or asseurements, so the cognizance of their infractions, or breaches of the peace, was to be entered into by them only. The edict of St Louis says, 'Se ainſinc estoit que uns home eust guerre à un autre, et il venist à la justice pour lui fere asseurer, puisque il le requiert, il doit fere jurer à celui de qui il se plaint, ou fiancer, que il ne li fera damage, ne il, ne li fieu; et se il dedans ce, li fait damage, et il en peut estre prouvez, il en fera pendus: car ce est appelé trive enfrainte, qui est un des grans trahisons qui soit: et cette justice si est au baron.'

I find, notwithstanding, that by an ordinance of the month of May 1287, permission was confirmed to the mayor and sheriffs of Amiens to take cognizance of breaches of asseurements which had been entered into before them, in opposition to the bailiff of Amiens, who maintained that the breach of an asseurement was a crime equal or similar to murder, the cognizance of which did not belong to them but to the king.

A truce, or asseurement, was not judged to be broken by any new difference between the parties, which was unconnected with the former one.

for which the truce or *asseurement* had been granted. This must, however, be understood as respecting the lineage of the two parties who had not pledged themselves for the observance of it; for those who had directly and personally given the truce or *asseurement*, could not renew the war, without incurring the penalty of a breach or *infraction* of one or other of them; but in cases of quarrel, they were obliged to have recourse to the usual mode of justice.

The third manner of ending the war, according to Beaumanoir, was, when the parties pleaded by *wager of battle*, a fact, for which they might make war; that is to say, when they had appeared before the lord's justiciary and he had adjudged the affair to be decided by duel. For revenge could not legally be fought for an outrage received from an enemy by war, and by law, at the same time and for the same offence. When, therefore, complaint of a quarrel had been made to his justiciary, the lord was in duty bound to take the matter into his own hands, forbidding either party to injure the other, and then to examine into it and administer justice.

The fourth and last mode of putting an end to the war was, when vengeance had been had by law for the crime, or *misdemeanour*, for which the war had been undertaken. For instance, if he who had killed another was apprehended by justice, and condemned to die by the usual forms; in this case, the parentage and friends of the deceased, could not make war on the relatives of him who had committed the crime and *misdemeanour*.

From what I have said, it is sufficiently clear, that the usage of this customary war was not only practised by the first Gauls, but had also been retained by the Franks who succeeded them, and generally by all the northern nations who in process of time established it so powerfully in those provinces and countries which they conquered in the western empire, that it was very difficult to restrain and entirely abolish it. This usage seems to have been grounded on the privileges granted to the nobles, in consideration of the services they had done in the conquests of foreign lands, as if they ought to partake of the rights of sovereignty with the prince under whose banners they had conjointly gained so many victories. We read, nevertheless, that our kings have repeatedly made efforts to abolish the practice, whether because they thought that these private wars impaired their authority, or that

they caused too much division among their subjects, each claiming the liberty of taking vengeance for any personal insults to themselves or their relations, without using that moderation which such cases required. Charlemagne, who laboured hard to annihilate them, complains of these disorders which were introduced into his states.

It was then this emperor, who first endeavoured to put a stop to these divisions by his constitutions; in which he orders that the counts and judges shall be obliged to pacify all differences that may arise within their counties, and to put away all cause of quarrel and war between his subjects. They were to make the guilty pay damages to those who had been ill treated, to bind them, on their oaths, to make peace, and to preserve it, enjoining the same judges to condemn to banishment all who should disobey these their orders.

Charles le chauve issued similar edicts, after the example of his grandfather; but this rigour and these menaces of the sovereign could not check the course of so inveterate an evil; and it was so much the more difficult to effect this as gentlemen were jealous of this right, it being a mark, or rather a participation, of the royal authority, so that they would not consent to its abolishment, but on the contrary have always made strenuous opposition when their kings were desirous of any way abridging it, and even revolted against them.

It was then very important to repress the disorders and inconveniences of these private wars, the principal effects of which were murders, thefts, pillaging, fires, all committed under this pretext.

The councils of Clermont in Auvergne in the year 1095, of Troyes in Champagne in 1107, of Rome in 1139, and lastly that of Rheims, held in the year 1148, issued several decrees to remedy similar proceedings.

Many princes also published severe ordinances on this subject; but it was St Louis, the most holy and pious of our kings, who laboured the most effectually to abolish the usage of these customary wars, which were so hurtful to the kingdom that they frequently put a stop to all freedom of commerce: the high roads were rendered unsafe, and an end was put to all work. He not only issued that excellent edict respecting the Quarantaine, but he published another entirely to prohibit this sort of warfare within his

kingdom. It was probably in consequence of this edict, and of others similar to it issued by the princes his successors, that the king's officers of justice prosecuted Odoard lord of Montagu, and Erard de St Verain, gentlemen of the Nivernois, to the imprisonment of their persons, for having appointed and fought a battle on St Denis' day in the year 1308, in which were concerned Dreux de Mello, Miles de Noyers and the dauphin of Auvergne.

But as these prohibitions only irritated a nobility ever jealous of its privileges, the king Philip le bel was forced to renew them more than once in spite of the resistance of the barons, and especially in the year 1311. Three years after, the same king reiterated these prohibitions, under pretext of his wars against the Flemings, urging the impossibility of his vassals joining his armies when they were so occupied with these intestine wars.

Philip le bel, in the first of these edicts, shews indeed that he was unwilling entirely to deprive gentlemen of this right, or of a hope that, at a calmer and more convenient season, he would restore it to them. It is, however, probable, that these promises of our kings were solely meant to avoid alarming their nobles too much, and that they had determined rigorously to adhere to the execution of these edicts, which were both useful and profitable to those who opposed them, and gave great comfort and ease to the people. They always alleged the pretext of their own wars, to prohibit their subjects from exercising that right of war which they claimed, to avenge any insult offered to them, or to their relatives; for it was unjust that the king's vassals should excuse themselves, on account of their private quarrels, from attending him in his armies, which they were bounden to by the terms of their fiefs. On the other hand, it was unreasonable that, while they were serving their prince, their lands should be invaded, or violence should be done to their relations and friends.

King John, by letters dated from Paris in the month of April 1353, in consequence of complaints being made to him, that the inhabitants of Amiens did not observe the law of St Louis respecting the quarantine, and that, without paying attention to it, they instantly commenced a warfare, or rather an avenging of injuries, in which they were guilty of great excesses, ordered them to observe it in future, under heavy penalties. But after that

time, as the royal authority was daily increafing, the fame king iffued other prohibitions more fevere on this fubject; for I have read in the registers of the parliament another edict, of the fifth day of Oétober in the year 1361, by which he prohibits ‘ les deffiemens, et les coûtumes de guerroier,’ as well among the nobles as among plebeians, during peace as well as in war-time. By another, of the 17th September 1367, king Charles forbids wars among his fubjects, notwithstanding all custom or privilege to the contrary, and orders the provost of Paris to punifh feverely all who fhall difobey in this particular.

To conclude this differtation, and thefe remarks on fo important a fubject for the underftanding our hiftory, Jean le Cocq reports two decrees of the parliament of Paris; one in the year 1386, by which war was prohibited between the king’s fubjects, not only during war-time, but alfo during the truces. The other of the year 1395, by which an injunétion was laid on the count de Perdiac and the viscount de Carmain on the one fide, and the lord de Barbazan in Gascony on the other, to make war, or to take any further meafures towards it.

At laft Louis XI. who has been faid to have freed kings from leading ftrings, while only dauphin of Viennois, by his letters of the 10th December 1451, verified at the chamber of accounts at Grenoble, abrogated the 14th article of the liberties of Dauphiny, ‘ qui conferve expreffement aux nobles de cette province le droit de fe faire la guerre, de leur propre autorité.’

A
LIST
OF
THE KNIGHTS
WHO ACCOMPANIED SAINT LOUIS IN HIS EXPEDITION TO PALESTINE.

UNDERNEATH ARE THE NAMES OF THE KNIGHTS WHO ARE TO ACCOMPANY
THE KING, SAINT LOUIS, TO THE HOLY LAND, AND THE TERMS OF
AGREEMENT ENTERED INTO BETWEEN THEM AND THE KING.

Monsieur de Valery to be of the expedition, with thirty knights. The king agrees to pay him eight thousand livres tournois. He is to be recompensed by the king for any loss of horses during the passage, but is not to have his meals at court; and he is to remain, he and his people, one whole year, which year is to commence from the day they disembark from the voyage. Should it happen, either by consent or stress of bad weather, that the king and his army pass the winter on an island, and that he remain behind at sea, the year shall commence from the time of his arrival at winter-quarters. In regard to the payment of his knights, he is to pay them one half of their salaries at the commencement of the year, and the other moiety when the first half-year shall be expired. He is to

transport two horses for each banneret, and one horse for such as are not of that rank : with the horses are the boys who take care of them. The banneret to be attended by five persons, and poor knights with two.

The constable will attend with fourteen knights, on the same terms as M. de Valery. He will receive from the king but three thousand livres tournois.

Monsieur Florent de Varennes, the admiral, will go on the same conditions as above, himself and twelve knights, and will receive from the king three thousand two hundred fifty-five livres tournois.

Monsieur Raoul d'Estrées, the marshal, will go on similar terms, himself and six knights, to receive sixteen hundred livres tournois.

Monsieur Lancelot de St Maart, the marshal, to go on the same conditions, himself and five knights, to receive fourteen hundred livres tournois.

Monsieur Pierre de Moleines to go with five knights on the above conditions, excepting that he and his brother in arms have their meals at court, to receive thirteen hundred livres tournois, and four hundred livres as a private gift to them both.

Monsieur Collard de Moleines to go on the same terms and manner as his brother.

Monsieur Gilles de la Tournelle to go himself and four knights on these same conditions, to receive twelve hundred livres tournois, and to eat at court.

Monsieur Mahi de Roie to go himself and eight knights on the above conditions, to eat at court, and to receive two thousand livres, and two hundred livres as a private gift.

Monsieur Girard de Morbois to go himself and ten knights : three thousand livres tournois.

Monsieur Raoul de Neelle, himself and fifteen knights : four thousand livres tournois. He will eat at his own house.

Monsieur Amauri de Meulenc, himself and fifteen knights : on terms the same as the preceding.

Monsieur Anfout d'Offemont, himself and ten knights : two thousand six hundred livres tournois, and their meals at the palace.

Monfieur Raoul le Flamant, himfelf and fix knights : one thoufand five hundred livres tournois, and their meals at the palace.

Monfieur Baudouin de Longueval, himfelf and four knights : eleven hundred livres tournois.

Monfieur Loys de Beaujeu, himfelf and ten knights : two thoufand fix hundred livres, and their meals at the palace.

Monfieur Jean Ville, himfelf and four knights : twelve hundred livres, and their meals at court.

Monfieur Mahi de la Tournelle, himfelf and four knights, twelve hundred livres : meals as above.

The archbifhop of Rheims, four thoufand livres.

The bifhop of Langres the fame.

Thefe two to be attended by thirty knights, and to be embarked on board the fame fhip.

Monfieur Guillaume de Courtenay, himfelf and ten knights : two thoufand two hundred livres, and their meals at court.

Monfieur Guillaume de Patay, himfelf and brother : four hundred livres, and their meals at the palace.

Monfieur Pierre de Sarz, himfelf alone : eight fcore livres, and his meals at court.

Monfieur Robert de Bois-Gencelin, alone, on the fame terms as the preceding.

Monfieur Eftienne Granche, alone, on the fame terms.

Monfieur Maci de Louë, alone, on fimilar conditions.

Monfieur Gilles de Mailly, himfelf and ten knights : three thoufand livres, tranfport of horfes going and returning, with his meals at the palace.

Monfieur Itier de Maignac, himfelf and five knights : twelve hundred livres, tranfport of horfes, and his meals as the preceding.

Fouriers de Vernuel, himfelf and four knights : twelve hundred livres : his meals at court.

Monfieur Guillaume de Frefnes, himfelf and ten knights : two thoufand fix hundred livres, and their meals at court.

The count de Guignes, himfelf and ten knights, on fimilar conditions.

The count de St Paul, himself and thirty knights, passage and return of horses: twelve thousand livres, including food and all other things, with twelve hundred livres as a private gift.

Monsieur Lambert de Limous, himself and thirty knights in the pay of the king; that is to say, ten sols tournois to each daily for their subsistence, the sum of eighteen hundred and twenty-five livres.

Monsieur Girard de Campendu, himself and fifteen knights at the king's pay, subsisting themselves like to monsieur Lambert: two thousand seven hundred thirty-seven livres, ten sols.

Monsieur Raimon Aban, himself and five others in the pay of the king, nine hundred twelve livres, ten sols.

Monsieur Jean de Belnes, himself and ten others: three thousand livres, passage and return of his horses, and meals at court.

The marshal of Champagne will go himself with ten others, but will not receive any thing from the king.

Monsieur Guillard d'Arce, himself and five others, in the king's pay, nine hundred twelve livres, ten sols.

Monsieur Guillaume de Flandres, himself and twenty others: six thousand livres, passage and return of their horses, and their meals at the palace.

Monsieur Aubert de Longueval, himself and five more: eleven hundred livres, passage and return of horses, and meals at court.

KNIGHTS

OF

THE HOUSEHOLD

WHO ATTENDED THE KING, SAINT LOUIS, IN HIS EXPEDITION TO TUNIS.

MONSIEUR DE WALERY.
Ly Boutillers.
Ly Conneftables.
Monfieur Guillaume de Flandres.
Ly fire de Neelles.
Ly fire de Montmoranci.
Ly fire de Harcour.
Meffire Jean fes fils.
Meffire Baudouin de Longueval.
Meffire Lancelot ly Marefchaux.
Meffire Guillaume de Courtenay.
Meffire Florent de Varennes.
Meffire Amaury de Mellenc.
Meffire Jean de Ville ly eftous.
Meffire Guillaume de Prunay.
Meffire Raoul d'Eftrées.
Meffire Simon de Contes.
Ly Maiftres des Arbaleftriers.
Meffire Guillaume Clignez.
Meffire Renault de Mormant.
Meffire Gui li Bas.
Meffire Guinemer de Guimeri.
Meffire Jean de Chaumes.
Meffire Landry de Bonnay.

Meffire Gilles de Brienon.
 Meffire Pierre de Bailly.
 Meffire Robert Sanfavoit.
 Meffire Macé de Lyons.
 Meffire Nebert de Medionne.
 Meffire Nicolas Routier.
 Meffire Pierre d'Autoil.
 Meffire Gautier Descoz.
 Meffire Colars de Molaines.
 Meffire Pierre de Molaines.
 Meffire Mahy de Roye.
 Meffire Jehan de Varennes.
 Meffire Simon de Falloel.
 Meffire Gilles de la Tournelle.
 Meffire Gaufr. de Rinel, ou de Clermont.
 Meffire Maurice de Craon.
 Le comte de Saint Paul.
 Le comte de Pontiz.
 Meffire Jean de Neelle.
 Meffire Raoul de Neelle.
 Meffire Guillaume de Minieres.
 Ly mareschaux de Champagne.
 Le comte de Soiffons.
 Meffire Bonnables.
 Meffire Guillaume de Fiennes.
 Le comte de Dreuz.
 Meffire Jean Malez.
 Meffire Guillaume de Paroy.
 Meffire Robert de Girolles.
 Meffire Lambert de Limous.
 Meffire Gautier ly Chambellant.
 Meffire Phelipes de Nemous.
 Meffire Guillaume de Centegnonville.
 Meffire Jean Painnevaire.
 Meffire Phelipes d'Autoil.

Messire Hue Gaignars.
 Messire Renault Couperiaus.
 Messire Henry ly Baacles.
 Messire Matheu de Ron.
 Messire Jean de Rochefort.
 Messire Raoul Flamenz.
 Messire Hubert Chefnars.
 Messire Robert de Bois-Joffelin.
 Messire Jean de Rivellon.
 Messire Simon de Menon.
 Messire Hue de Villers.
 Messire Jean de Bebreie.
 Messire Pierre de Bebreie.
 Messire Renault de S. Méart.
 Messire Pierre de Villenoive.
 Messire Geuffroy de Boïsmenard.
 Messire Robert de Boïsgautier.
 Messire Jean Davion.
 Messire Hector Dorillac.
 Messire Renault de Precigni.
 Messire Guillaume de Aunoy.
 Messire Ansout d'Offemont.
 Messire Jean de Clery.
 Messire Amori de S. Cler.
 Messire Johens d'Amiens.
 Ly mareschaux de Mirepoix.
 Messire Guillaume de Coardon.
 Messire Henry de Gaudonvillier.
 Messire Gocerem de Lorris, Cofins.
 Messire Nesbert de Medion.
 Messire Jean de Chambly.
 Ly feneschaux de Champagne.
 Messire Engerens de Bailloil.
 Messire Jean de Soins.
 Messire Pierre de Loon.

Mefsire Otes de Toucy.
 Mefsire Guillaume de Chasteaunou.
 Mefsire Jean Malez.
 Mefsire Guillaume de Sandreville.
 Mefsire Girards de Campendu.
 Mefsire Pierre Rambauz, parent, l'apostole Climent.
 Mefsire Flaftre de Henequerque.
 Mefsire Jean de Chaftenoi.
 Mefsire Pierre de Blemus.
 Mefsire Estienne Granche.
 Mefsire Jean de Soilly.
 Mefsire Jean de Tornebu.
 Mefsire Enfans Chevalier au Connétable.
 Mefsire Pregent ly Bretons.
 Mefsire Pierre de Saux.
 Mefsire Jean de Beaumont.
 Mefsire Gaultier ly povre Homme.
 Mefsire Aufroy de Montfort.
 Mefsire Gilles de Boiffavesnes.
 Mefsire Baudouin de Wandieres.
 Mefsire Raoul de Wandieres.
 Mefsire Gilles de Mailly.
 Mefsire Jean Britauz.
 Monfieur Galerens de Yury.
 Monfieur Raoul de Jupilles.
 Monfieur Guitier fes fils.
 Monfieur Roger de Morteigne.
 Mefsire Anguerrans de Jorni.
 Mefsire Pierre de Bautru.
 Mefsire Simon de Baugenci.
 Mefsire Estienne Jaunoy.
 Mefsire Vorez.
 Ly Fouriers de Vernoil.
 Ly Bruns fes fils.
 Mefsire Guillaume de Precigni.

EXTRACTS

FROM SUCH

ARABIAN MANUSCRIPTS

AS SPEAK OF

HISTORICAL EVENTS RELATIVE TO THE REIGN OF SAINT LOUIS.

AN Extract from an Arabic Manuscript entitled, *Effoulouk li Marifet il Duvel il Mulouk*; that is to say, ‘The Road to Knowledge of the Reigns of Kings.’ It is the History of the Sultans *Curdes-Eioubites*, of the Race of Saladin, and of the two Dynasties that have reigned in Egypt; the one of Turkish Slaves, known under the name of *Mamelukes-Baharites*, the other of Circassians. This Work was composed by *Makrifi*, who was born in the 769th Year of the Hegira, or one hundred and twenty Years after the Expedition of St Louis.

THE sultan Melikul-Kamil died at Damascus the 21st of the moon Regeb, in the 635th year of the Hegira*. Melikul-Adil-Scifeddin, one of his two sons, was proclaimed on the morrow, in the same town, sultan of Syria and of Egypt. He was the seventh king of the posterity of the Eioubites, who descended from Saladin.

* An. J. C. 1238—10th of March.

On the 17th day of the moon Ramadan, there arrived an ambassador from the caliph of Bagdad, who was the bearer of a standard and rich robe for the sultan, weak remnants of the vast authority the caliphs who succeeded Mahommed * formerly enjoyed, and of which the sultans had not thought it worth their while to deprive them.

Melikul-Adil, when scarcely on the throne, instead of attending to the government of his kingdoms, gave himself up to all sorts of debauchery. The grandees of the state, who might have reproached him for the dissipated life he led, were banished under various pretexts, and replaced by more complaisant ministers. He believed he could have nothing to fear, if the troops were attached to him; and, in order to gain them, he made them great presents, which, added to those his pleasures required, exhausted the treasures his father had amassed with so much difficulty.

A conduct so unworthy a sovereign made him contemptible, and his subjects offered up vows that his brother Nedjm-Eddin would deprive him of his crown. This prince had no other wish, but he was afraid of entrusting a project of this nature in the hands of a fickle populace. At last all the orders of the state, oppressed by the tyrannies of Melikul-Adil, called Nedjm-Eddin to the throne. He made his entry into Cairo the ninth day of the moon Chuwal, in the year 637 †, and was proclaimed sultan of Syria and Egypt. Melikul-Adil was imprisoned, after having reigned two years and eighteen days.

Nedjm-Eddin on mounting the throne found only one solitary piece of gold, and one thousand drachms of silver, in the public treasury. He assembled the grandees of the state, and those in particular who had had any

* The caliphs, successors to Mahommed, were formerly masters of Syria, Egypt, and in general of all the conquests made by the Mahomedans. Corrupted by luxury and indolence, they suffered Egypt and Syria to be taken from them by the Fatimites, at the time of the expedition of St Louis, and they retained Irak-Arabia. They, however, still preserved a shadow of power over the provinces captured from them. The sultans of Egypt submitted to a sort of inauguration on their part, which consisted in the investiture of a dress which the caliphs sent them. This custom is not yet abolished: the grand seignior sends a similar dress to the Hospodars of Moldavia and Walachia, when he nominates them to these principalities.

† An. J. C. 1240. 3d May.

share in the administration of the finances, under the reign of his brother, and asked what had been their reasons for deposing Melikul-Adil. 'Because he was a madman,' they replied. Then, addressing himself to the chiefs of the law, he asked if a madman could dispose of the public money. And on their answering, that it was contrary to law, he ordered all who had received any sums of money from his brother to bring them back to the treasury, or they should pay for their disobedience with their heads. By this means, he recovered seven hundred and fifty-eight thousand pieces of gold, and two millions three hundred thousand drachms of silver.

In the year 638 *, Salih-Imad-Eddin, who had surprised Damascus, under the reign of Melikul-Adil, fearful that the new sultan would deprive him of this unjust conquest, made an offensive and defensive alliance with the Franks of Syria. He gave them, the better to secure their support, the towns of Safet † and Chakif ‡, with their territories, half of the town of Sidon §, and a part of the country of the Tiberiad ||. He added also the mountain of Aamileh ¶, and several other places on the sea-shore, permitting them to come to Damascus to purchase arms. This alliance displeased good Mussulmen, who were indignant to see Franks purchase arms

* 1240. A. D.

† Safet,—a moderate sized town in Palestine. It has a fortress which commands the lake of Tiberias, and is situated in 57 degrees 35 minutes longitude, 32 deg. 30 min. latitude.—*Abulfeda*.

‡ Chakif.—*Abulfeda* mentions two fortresses under the name of Chakif, Chakif-Arnoun, and Chakif-Tiroun: the first, partly cut in a rock, is on one of the roads leading from Sidon to Damascus. It is the second called Tiroun, which is noticed in the text. It lies towards the sea, in regard to Safet. Chakif-Arnoun is, in like manner, distant from the sea, on the top of Lebanon.

§ Sidon,—a small town in Syria, on the shore of the Mediterranean. It is situated in longitude 58 degrees 55 minutes, latitude 35 deg.—*Abulfeda*.

|| A part of Palestine has been thus called from the town of Tiberias, built on the side of a mountain near to the lake of the same name. The lake is 12 miles long by six wide, and is surrounded by mountains. This town was famous in former times, but Saladin, on reconquering it from the Franks, had it destroyed. It owes its name to the emperor Tiberius. There were in its confines many hot springs celebrated for the cure of different disorders. It was but six miles from Tiberias to the well into which Joseph was cast by his brethren.—*Abulfeda*.

¶ Aamileh,—a celebrated mountain of Syria. It spreads eastwardly and southerly from the sea-shore as far as Tyre. It had a fortress on its summit.

in a mahommedan town, which these infidels might one day turn against the fellers.

Salih-Imad-Eddin resolved to make war on Egypt, and, assembling his troops, joined the army of the Franks. The sultan of Egypt was informed of this movement, and sent, in consequence, a body of men as far as Acre. The two armies met; but the Egyptians corrupted the musliman soldiers of Damascus, who, according to their secret conventions, fled on the first attack, and left the Franks singly to bear the shock. They, however, made but a feeble resistance: great numbers were slain, and the rest, loaded with chains, were led to Cairo.

In the 640th year of the Hegira*, the Franks surprised the town of Napoulous† on a Friday, the 4th day of the moon Djemazilewel, and made slaves of the inhabitants, after they had plundered them of all they had, and committed all sorts of cruelties.

The whole year of 641 (A. D. 1243) was employed in negotiations between Salih-Imad-Eddin and Nedjm-Eddin. The latter consented to allow the former to be master of Damascus, but on condition that the town should be a fief to Egypt, and that the coin should be struck in his name. However, as they could not agree, Imad-Eddin made another treaty with the Franks, by which he gave up to them Jerusalem, the whole country of the Tiberiad and Ascalon‡.

The Franks took possession of these towns, and instantly fortified all the castles in the neighbourhood of Tiberias and Ascalon. They expelled the Muslims from the mosque Akfa§, made a church of it, and hung bells in the minaret.

* An. D. 1242. Friday 30th October.

† Napoulous,—a town in Palestine, anciently called Samaria. Jeroboam caused a temple to be built on a mountain near the town, to prevent the ten tribes from going to Jerusalem.

‡ Ascalon,—a town in Palestine, on the Mediterranean shore, six leagues from Gaza. It is built on a rock, but wants a harbour and fresh water. It was taken by the Franks in the 548th year of the Hegira, A. D. 1153. It is situated in 56 deg. 10 min. longitude, 32 deg. 55 min. latitude.—*Abulfeda*.

§ The name of the mosque which the Mahommedans built after the capture of Jerusalem, on the ancient foundations of the temple of Solomon, and on the stone whence Jacob was

Nedjm-Eddin, on his side, connected himself with the Kharefmiens*, a people whose lives were passed in war and plunder. They hastened from the farthest part of the east, crossed the Euphrates, to the amount of ten thousand combatants, under the command of three generals. One division fell upon Balbeck, and another marched to the very gates of Damascus, pillaging and destroying all that came in their way. Salih-Imad-Eddin shut himself up in Damascus, without attempting to stop the torrent that inundated his dominions. When they had despoiled all the country near to Damascus, they advanced to Jerusalem, took it by storm, and put all the Christians to the sword. The women and girls, having suffered every insult from a brutal disorderly soldiery, were loaded with chains. They destroyed the church of the holy sepulchre; and when they found nothing among the living, to glut their rage, they opened the tombs of the Christians, took out the bodies, and burnt them.

After this expedition, they marched to Gaza, and deputed some of their principal officers to Nedjm-Eddin. This prince caressed them much, had them clothed in superb dresses, and presented them with rich stuffs and horses of great value. He desired they would halt their troops at Gaza, where he proposed making a junction of the two armies, promising to march them to Damascus. The troops of the sultan were soon ready to take the field, under the command of the emir Rukneddin-Bibars, one of his favourite slaves, and in whose bravery he wholly confided. Bibars joined the Kharefmiens at Gaza †.

said to have conversed with God, and which the Mussulmen affirm to be that which this patriarch named the gate of heaven, in consequence of his vision. The Christians, when they conquered Jerusalem from the Mahomedans, erected a golden cross on the top of this temple, but Saladin, on regaining the town, made them take it down.—*D'Herbelot Bibl. Orient.*

* Kharefmiens,—a people of Khouarefm, which country is situated on this side the Gion, or Oxus, on the side of Khorassan, and a part beyond it, bounding the Mawaralnahar, or the Transoxane. It is bounded on the west and north by Turquestan, on the east by Transoxane, and by Khorassan on the south. It is five or six days march from the mouth of the Oxus without any town intervening. Vast deserts surround it, and the climate is very cold. After several revolutions these provinces have fallen under the dominion of the Usbecks, and at present form part of their states.—*D'Herbelot.*—*Abulfeda.*

† Gaza,—a town in Palestine near the sea. Its territory is very fertile, particularly in palm trees. It is situated in 56 deg. 10 min. longitude, 32 deg. latitude.—*Abulfeda.*

Imad-Eddin, on his part, raised troops in Damascus: they marched under the orders of Melik-Manfour, prince of Hemeffe*. The Franks were likewise ready to take the field; and the two bodies met at Acre, when they formed but one army. Nafir-Daoud, prince of Karak†, and Zahir, son of Songour, also brought some soldiers to the prince of Damascus. This was the first time the standards of the Christians, on which was a cross, were seen intermixed with those of Mussulmen. The Christians formed the right wing, the troops of Nafir-Daoud the left, and the emir Manfour formed the centre with his Syrians.

The two armies met near to Gaza. The Kharefmiens made the first onset, which was but faintly opposed by the Syrians, who instantly fled. Zahir, who commanded the left wing, being made prisoner, there only remained the Franks, who for some time defended themselves, but were soon surrounded by the Kharefmiens: the greater part perished on this occasion, except a few that had the good fortune to escape. Eight hundred prisoners were made; and there lay on the field of battle upwards of thirty thousand dead, as well Christians as Syrian-mussulmen. Manfour returned to Damascus with a few soldiers. The Kharefmiens made an immense booty.

The news of this complete victory arrived at Cairo on the 15th of the moon Gémazilewel, in the year of the Hegira 642‡. Nedjm-Eddin was so delighted with it that he ordered public rejoicings to be made, and they were announced to the people by sound of drums and trumpets. The town and the castle of the sultan§ were illuminated for several nights. The heads of the enemies that had been slain in battle were sent to Cairo, and

* Hemeffe or Hems,—an ancient town, and one of the principal in Syria. It is situated on a plain, a mile distant from the river Orontes. It is the most fertile country of the whole province. 60 deg. 20 min. longitude, 34 deg. 20 min. latitude.—*Abulfeda*.

† Kerek or Karak,—a celebrated town on the confines of Syria, where it joins Arabia Petræa. This town formerly possessed an impregnable fortress, and was one of the keys to Syria. 56 deg. 50 min. longitude, 31 deg. 30 min. latitude.—*Abulfeda*.

‡ A. D 1244. 9th October.

§ Castle of the sultan.—It was the castle of Cairo built by the sultan Saladin, with stones taken from many small pyramids destroyed near ancient Memphis, opposite to old Cairo. The bashaws, governors of Egypt, make this castle their residence. It is situated at the foot of the mountain of St Joseph.

exposed on the gates of the town. The captive Franks arrived at the same time, mounted on camels : as a mark of distinction, horses had been given to the most considerable among them. Zahir-ben-Songour, one of the syrian generals that had been taken, marched next, with the other officers of the syrian army. They were paraded with much pomp through the town of Cairo, and then confined in prisons.

The emirs Bibars and Abouali had orders from the sultan to lay siege to Afcalon ; but the place was too strong, and too well defended, to be taken. Bibars remained before Afcalon, and Abouali advanced to Napoulous.

The other generals of Nedjm-Eddin took possession of Gaza, Jerusalem, Khalil, Beit-Djebril* and Gaur†. Nasir-Daoud lost nearly all his territories ; for there only remained to him the fortress of Kerck, Belka‡, Effalib§ and Adjeloun.

Nedjm-Eddin had promised the Kharefmiens to lead them to Damascus ; for he counted as nothing the last victory, if he did not regain that town ; and he resolved to make so important a conquest in person. The Kharefmiens followed him with joy, and Damascus was besieged. Battering rams, and other machines for casting stones were erected ; but the besieged made a vigorous resistance, and the siege lasted upwards of six months without any breach being made. Provisions, however, began to fail in the town ; and Manfour prince of Hemeffe had a conference with Berket, one of the kharefmien chiefs, for the surrender of the place. It was at length agreed that the town should be surrendered to the sultan, and that Imad-Eddin, Manfour and the other syrian chiefs, should have liberty to retire with all their riches. The town of Balbeck|| and all its territory were given to Imad-Eddin :

* Beit-Djebril,—a small town between Jerusalem and Gaza.

† Gaur,—a deep valley that traverses the country of Jourdan from the lake of Tiberias to the Dead Sea.

‡ Belka, or Al-belka, is a country beyond Jordan.

§ Effalib, or, according to some authors, Effolet,—is a castle near to, but on the other side of Jordan. So is Adjeloun.

|| Balbeck or Heliopolis,—a town in Syria famous for the ancient monuments still remaining. Its territory is one of the most fertile of the province. Situation, 60 deg. longitude, 35 deg. 50 min. latitude.—*Abulfeda*.

Hemeffe and Palmyra were allotted to Mansour. The Kharefmiens, who had flattered themselves with the hope of pillaging Damascus, in despair at being frustrated, quarrelled with the sultan, and, the ensuing year, formed an alliance with Mansour and the other syrian leaders. They marched conjointly to the siege of Damascus, and reduced the town to the utmost distress from want of provision. The inhabitants, after they had consumed the vilest food, did not scruple to feed on the bodies of such as died to preserve their lives. Nedjm-Eddin had returned to Egypt; but he hastened to Syria again with a numerous army, attacked the Kharefmiens, and totally defeated them in two battles.

In the year 644 *, the emir Fakreddin won from the Franks the castle of Tiberias and the town of Ascalon, both of which he razed to the ground. This year was fatal to the Franks from their intestine divisions.

In the year 645 †, the sultan returned to Egypt, and passed through Ramlé ‡. He was there attacked with an abscess which turned to a fistula; but in spite of this accident, he continued his journey and arrived at Cairo. New troubles which had arisen in Syria, called him again into that province; but having learnt at Damascus §, that the French were preparing to invade Egypt, he preferred defending his own kingdom in person. In spite of the violence of his sufferings from pain, he mounted his litter, and arrived at Achmoum-Tanah ||, at the beginning of the year 647 ¶.

* A. D. 1246.

† A. D. 1247.

‡ Ramlé. Reml signifies sand. Ramla is a town some leagues from Jaffa or Joppa, on the road to Jerusalem.

§ Having learnt at Damascus. The historian Makrifi, in his description of Egypt, says, that in the year of the Hegira 647, (A. D. 1249) the emperor sent an ambassador to the sultan Nedjm Eddin, who was then ill at Damascus: that this ambassador was disguised as a merchant, and informed the sultan, in the name of his master, of the preparations of the king of France against Egypt. The words of the text are 'Imperador el Alamanié,' emperor of the Germans, but he adds, that he resided in the island of Sicily.

|| Achmoum, or Achmoum Tanah,—a town on the Nile, and the capital of one of the provinces of Egypt called Dahkalié, 54 deg. longitude, 31 deg. 54 min. latitude.—*Abulfeda*.

¶ A. D. 1249,—in April.

As he had no doubt but that Damietta would be the first place attacked, he endeavoured to put it in a state of defence, and formed there magazines of every sort of provision, arms and ammunition. The emir Fakreddin was ordered to march toward that town, to prevent a descent on the coast. Fakreddin encamped at Gizé de Damietta, with the Nile between his camp and the town.

The disorder of the fultan, however, grew worse; and he caused proclamation to be made, that all to whom he owed any thing should present themselves at his treasury, when they would be paid*.

On Friday, the 21st of the moon Sefer, and in the year of the Hegira 647 (A. D. 1249, Friday 4th June), the french fleet arrived off the coast, at 2 o'clock of the day, filled with an innumerable body of troops under the command of Louis, son to Louis, king of France†. The Franks, who were masters of Syria, had joined the French. The whole fleet anchored on the strand opposite to the camp of Fakreddin.

The king of France, before he commenced any hostilities, sent by a herald a letter to the fultan Nedjm-Eddin, conceived in the following words:

‘ You are not ignorant that I am the prince of those who follow the religion of JESUS CHRIST, as you are of those who obey the laws of Mahommed. Your power inspires me with no fear. How should it? I who make the Mussulmen in Spain tremble! I lead them as a shepherd does a flock of sheep. I have made the bravest among them perish, and loaded their women and children with chains. They endeavour by presents to appease me, and turn my arms to another quarter. The soldiers who march under my standards cover the plains, and my cavalry is not less redoubtable. You have but one method to avoid the tempest that threatens you. Receive priests, who will teach you the Christian religion: embrace it, and adore

* It is one point of the mahommedan law to pay all debts before death, and those who pretend to strictness of doctrine never fail to observe it.

† The opinions of chronologists, as to the year of our Lord, which answers to that of the Hegira, being divided, it is not surprising that Joinville and Makrisi disagree. Joinville fixes the expedition of St Louis in the year of our Lord 1254, Makrisi in the year of the Hegira 647, a year which, according to the tables of Greaves's, which I have followed, answers to the year 1249 of our Lord.

the Crofs : otherwife I will purfue you every where, and God fhall decide whether you or I be mafter of Egypt.'

Nedjm-Eddin, on reading this letter, could not refrain his tears. He caufed the following anfwer to be written by the cadî Behaedin, his fecretary :

' In the name of the Omnipotent and All-merciful God, falvation to our prophet Mahommed and his friends. I have received your letter: it is filled with menaces, and you make a boaft of the great number of your foldiers. Are you ignorant that we know the ufe of arms, and that we inherit the valour of our anceftors? No one has ever attacked us without feeling our fuperiority. Recollect the conquelts we have made from the Chriftians: we have driven them from the lands they poffeffed: their ftrongeft towns have fallen under our blows. Recal to your mind that paffage of the Alcoran which fays, ' thofe who make war unjuftly fhall perifh ;' and alfo another paffage, ' how often have the moft numerous armies been deftroyed by a handful of foldiers.' God protects the juft ; and we have no doubt of his protection, nor that he will confound your arrogant defigns.'

The French difembarked on the Saturday, on the fame fhore where Fakreddin had made his encampment, and pitched a red tent for their king.

The Muffulmen made fome movements to prevent their landing ; and the emirs Nedjm-Eddin and Sarimeddin were flain in thefe skirmifhes.

At the beginning of the night the emir Fakreddin decamped with his whole army, and croffed the bridge which leads to the eastern fhore of the Nile, whereon Damietta is fituated. He took the road to Achmoum Tanah, and by this march the French were left mafters of the weftern bank of that river.

It is impoffible to paint the defpair of the inhabitants of Damietta when they faw the emir Fakreddin march away from their town, and abandon them to the fury of the Chriftians. They were afraid to wait for the enemy, and quitted their town precipitately during the night. This conduct of the muffulman gênerâ was fo much the lefs excufable as the garrifon was compofed of the braveft of the tribe of Beni-Kéanâ, and as

Damietta * was in a better state for resistance than when it was besieged by the Franks during the reign of the sultan Elmelikul-Kamil; for, although

* Damietta—is situated a little above one of the mouths of the Nile. This river divides itself into two great branches at the town of Schatnouf, somewhat below Cairo. The western branch flows by Roletta, and there enters the sea. When the eastern branch comes to the small town of Djewdjer, nearly opposite to Manfoura, it subdivides itself into two other branches, the most eastern of which runs by Achmoum-Tanah, thence into the lake of Tinnis, which discharges it into the sea. The other, which may be called the western, relatively to the one preceding, takes its course between Damietta, and what is called the ‘Gizé’ of Damietta, on the western bank. This arabic word signifies ‘extremity, angle, shore, bank.’ Damietta then, according to this signification, is situated between the two outermost branches of the river.

This town had been captured many times before the invasion of St Louis. The grecian emperors made themselves masters of it in the 121st and 238th years of the Hegira, and of JESUS CHRIST 738 and 852. The son of Roger, king of Sicily, took it in the 550th year of the Hegira, and of our Lord 1155.

The princes croisaders besieged it under the reign of Salah-Uddin, or Saladin, in the 565th year of the Hegira, of our Lord 1169, for fifty-five days, without being able to take it. According to Makrifi, their fleet consisted of twelve hundred vessels. Lastly, in the 615th year of the Hegira, and of J. C. 1218, thirty-one years before the arrival of St Louis in Egypt, Damietta was besieged by the croisaders, during the reign of the sultan Melikul-adil, father to Nedjm-Eddin. Their army, according to Makrifi’s account, consisted of seventy thousand cavalry, and four hundred thousand infantry. They landed opposite to Damietta, on that part called the Gizé of Damietta, the same place where St Louis, thirty-one years after, made his descent. What proves this is, that this prince landed on the strand where Fakreddin was encamped; now this emir had formed his camp on the shore, called the Gizé of Damietta, of which St Louis found himself master, by the retreat of the egyptian general. To return to the first siege of Damietta by the croisaders: As soon as they were landed, they surrounded their camp with a deep ditch, surmounted by a strong palisado. There was on each side of the mouth of the Nile a tower, guarded by a numerous garrison; and a thick chain was extended from one tower to the other, so that no vessels could enter that branch of the Nile. The croisaders besieged the tower on the side next their camp, namely, the western tower, gained it, and broke the chain.

The son of the sultan, who was encamped near to Damietta, threw a bridge on the Nile, near its mouth, to prevent vessels sailing up it, but the Christians broke the bridge down. Upon this he resolved to choke up the mouth of the river, and caused several large vessels to be sunk at the entrance, which rendered it unnavigable. At length, after various success, and a siege of sixteen months and twenty-two days, the Franks carried the place by storm, in the 616th year of the Hegira, but of our æra 1219.

This year of the Hegira 616 was fatal to the Mussulmen, for the Franks on one side, and Gengis Khan on the other, put infinite numbers to the sword: the prisoners were not less considerable. Three

plague and famine afflicted the town, the Franks could not conquer it until after sixteen months siege.

On the Monday-morning (6th June 1249), the French came before the town; but, astonished to see no one, they were afraid of a surprise. They were soon informed of the flight of its inhabitants, and, without striking a blow, took possession of this important place, and all the ammunition and provision they found there.

When the news of the capture of Damietta reached Cairo, the consternation was general. They considered how greatly this success would augment the courage and hopes of the French; for they had seen an army of Mussulmen timorously fly before them, and were in possession of an innumerable quantity of arms of all sorts, with plenty of ammunition and provision. The disorder of the sultan, which daily grew worse, and hindered him from acting in this critical state of affairs, overwhelmed the Egyptians with despair. No one now longer doubted but that the kingdom would be conquered by the Christians.

The sultan, indignant at the cowardice of the garrison, ordered fifty of the principal officers to be strangled. In vain did they alledge in their defence the retreat of the emir Fakreddin: the sultan told them they deserved death, for having quitted Damietta without his orders. One of

years and four months afterward, the sultan regained Damietta by compromise; and this place remained in the power of the Egyptians until St Louis took it in the year of the Hegira 647, and of our æra 1249.

Two years after the departure of St Louis, during the reign of Maazeddin-Aibeck, the Turcoman, first sultan of the dynasty of Mamelukes-Baharites, or Turks, reports having gone abroad that the Franks menaced Egypt a second time, it was resolved to destroy Damietta, and the place was razed, so that no vestige remained of it but the great mosque.

The ruin of Damietta did not remove the fears of the Egyptians; and eleven years after, during the reign of Bibars-Elbondukdari, the mouth of the Nile was so effectually choked, to prevent the fleets of the Franks from entering it, that since then no vessels can enter the Nile, but are forced to anchor in the road, and to load and unload their cargoes by means of flat-bottomed boats, which have been constructed for this purpose.

The present town of Damietta was built on the ruins of the old one, but a little higher up: it is become, by its commerce, one of the most considerable towns in Egypt, and the port for ships of all nations. It is situated in 49 deg. 35 min. longitude, 31 deg. 21 min. latitude. The ancient town was about two minutes farther north.

these officers, condemned to death with his son, requested to be executed first; but the sultan refused him this favour, and the father had the misery to see his son expire before his eyes.

After this execution, the sultan, turning to the emir Fakreddin, asked with an enraged tone, 'What resistance have you made? what battles have you fought? You could not withstand the Franks one hour. You should have shewn more courage and firmness.' The officers of the army, fearing for Fakreddin the rage of the sultan, made the emir understand by their gestures that they were ready to massacre their sovereign. Fakreddin refused his assent, and told them afterward that the sultan could not live more than a few days; and that, if the prince wished to trouble them, they were able at any time to get rid of him.

Nedjm-Eddin, notwithstanding his melancholy state, gave orders for his departure for Mansoura. He entered his boat of war *, and arrived there on Wednesday the 25th of the moon Sefer †. He put the town in a posture of defence by employing his whole army on this service. The boats ordered by the prince before his departure arrived laden with soldiers, and all sorts of ammunition. Every one able to bear arms ranged himself under his standards, and he was joined by the Arabs in great numbers.

While the sultan was making his preparations, the French were adding new fortifications to Damietta, and placed there a considerable garrison.

On Monday, the last day of the moon Rebiulewel ‡, thirty-six Christian prisoners were conducted to Cairo: they had belonged to the guard of the camp against the inroads of the Arabs, among whom were two knights. The fifth of the same moon, thirty-seven were sent thither: on the seventh, twenty-two; and on the sixteenth §, forty-five other prisoners, and among these last were three knights.

* *Boat of war*.—The arabic word signifies properly 'fire-work boat.' Such were probably made use of to carry the greek fire, and the machines to throw it. Makrifi, in the history of the first siege of Damietta, speaks much of these fire-ships, saying that the Mussulmen made use of them to set fire to the vessels of the Christians.

† 9th June 1249.

‡ A. D. 1249, 12th July.

§ 20th, 22d, 30th June.

Different Christian princes, who held lands on the coast of Syria, had accompanied the French, by which their places were weakened. The inhabitants of Damascus seized this opportunity to besiege Sidon, which, after some resistance, was forced to surrender. The news of this, when carried to Cairo, caused an excess of joy, and seemed to compensate for the loss of Damietta. Prisoners were made almost daily from the French, fifty of whom were sent to Cairo the 18th of the moon Diemazilewel*.

The sultan continued daily to grow worse in health; and the physicians despaired of his recovery, for he was attacked at the same time by a fistula and an ulcer on his lungs. At length he expired, on the night of the 15th of the moon Chaban†, after having appointed as his successor his son Touran-Chah. Nedjm-Eddin was forty-four years old when he died, and had reigned ten years. It was he who instituted that militia of slaves, or of Mamelukes-Baharites‡, thus called from being quartered in the

* 29th August 1249.

† Monday, 22d November.

‡ Melikul-Salih-Nedjm-Eddin, son to Melikul-Kamil the last but one of the princes of the dynasty of the Eioubites, opened, if I may so express myself, the road to the throne to these slaves. When this prince was besieging Napoulous, his troops timorously abandoned him, but the baharite slaves alone supported the enemy's charge, and gave time to Nedjm-Eddin to escape. From that moment this prince gave them his whole confidence. Called some time after by the Egyptians to be sultan, in the place of his brother, Melikul-Adil-Seif-Eddin, he loaded these slaves with his bounties, and elevated them to the highest dignities. He quitted the castle, the usual residence of the sultans, to inhabit one which he had built in the small island of Roudah, opposite to old Cairo. The baharite slaves had the guard of it, and thence took the name of Baharite, or Maritime, the Arabs calling all great rivers by the name of sea, as well as the sea itself. The historian Makrisi says, that these slaves, or Mamelukes-Baharites, amounted to eight hundred at the time of St Louis's invasion, and that it was they who, at the battle of Mansoura, repulsed this prince, who had advanced as far as the palace of the sultan. They contributed greatly to the last victory of the Egyptians over St Louis; and, as the historian remarks, after these two battles their name and power greatly increased. A short time after, they assassinated Touran-Chah, the last prince of the dynasty of the Eioubites, and seized the throne. Azzeddin-Aibegh, the Turcoman, was the first who mounted it, and took the name of Melikul-Muez. Chegeret-Eddur, his wife, having caused him to be murdered, his son, who was twelve years old, occupied his place, but reigned only two years. Khotouz succeeded him. Bibars Elbondukdari, the same who, at the head of the Mamelukes, charged the french cavalry with such fury as forced them to abandon Mansoura, ascended this throne the 658th year of the Hegira, and of

castle which this prince had built in the island of Roudah, opposite to old Cairo. This militia, in course of time, seized on the throne of Egypt.

As soon as the sultan had expired, the sultana Chegeret-Eddur, his spouse, sent for the general Fakreddin and the eunuch Diemaleddin, to inform them of the death of the sultan, and to request their assistance in supporting the weight of government at such a critical period. All three resolved to keep the sultan's death a secret, and to act in his name as if he were alive. His death was not to be made public until after the arrival of Touran-Chah, to whom were sent messengers after messengers.

Notwithstanding these precautions, the French were informed of his death. Their army instantly quitted the plains of Damietta, and encamped at Fariskour*. Boats laden with provision and stores came up the Nile, and kept the army abundantly supplied.

The emir Fakreddin sent a letter to Cairo, to inform the inhabitants of the approach of the French, and to exhort them to sacrifice their lives and fortunes in the defence of the country. This letter was read in the pulpit† of the great mosque, and the people answered only with sighs and groans. Every thing was in trouble and confusion; and the death of the sultan, which was suspected, added to the consternation. The most cowardly thought of quitting a town which they believed unable to withstand the French; but the more courageous, on the contrary, marched to Mansoura, to join the mamluk army.

On Tuesday, the first day of the moon Ramadan‡, there were some trifling skirmishes between different corps of troops of each army. This, however,

our æra 1289, and took the name of Melik-ul-Daher. After a glorious reign of seventeen years, he died at Damascus. This dynasty reigned in Egypt and Syria during one hundred and thirty-six years, and had twenty-seven sultans. The Mamelukes-Baharites were originally Turks, and had been sold to the sultan, Nedjm-Eddin, by merchants from Syria. The slaves, or Mamelukes-Circassians, dethroned them in their turn, in the 784th year of the Hegira, and of our æra 1382, and formed a new dynasty, which governed Egypt until the conquest of that kingdom by Sultan Selim, emperor of the Turks, in the 923d year of the Hegira, A. D. 1517.

* Fariskour,—a town situated on the eastern bank of the Nile, 13 leagues from Damietta.

† It has been customary, since the time of Mahommed, to assemble the people in the mosques, to announce to them any interesting event. His successors have always practised it.

‡ A. D. 1249, 7th December.

did not prevent the french army from encamping at Charmefah *: the Monday following, being the 7th of the same moon †, the army advanced to Bermoun ‡.

On Sunday, the 13th day of the same moon §, the Christian army appeared before the town of Mansoura ||: the branch of the Achmoum was between it and the egyptian camp. Nafir Daoud, prince of Karak, was on the western bank of the Nile with some troops. The French traced out their camp, furrounding it with a deep ditch furmounted by a palisado, and erected machines to cast stones at the egyptian army. Their fleet arrived at the same time, so that there were engagements on water and on land.

On Wednesday, the 15th day of the same moon ¶, six deserters passed over to the camp of the Mussulmen, and informed them that the french army was in want of provision.

The day of Bairam **, a great lord, and relation to the king of France, was made prisoner. Not a day passed without skirmishes on both sides, and with alternate success. The Mussulmen were particularly anxious to make prisoners, to gain information as to the state of the enemy's army, and used all sorts of stratagems for this purpose. A soldier from Cairo bethought himself of putting his head withinside of a water-melon, the interior of which he had scooped out, and of thus swimming toward the french camp: a Christian soldier, not suspecting a trick, leaped into the Nile to seize the melon; but the Egyptian was a stout swimmer, and, catching hold of him, dragged him to his general ††.

* Charmefah,—a town situated on the eastern bank of the Nile, 42 miles from Damietta.

† 13th December 1249, A. D.

‡ Bermoun.—Small town between Damietta and Mansoura, 12 miles distant from the last place.

§ 19th December.

|| Mansoura—is a town of Egypt seated on the Nile, almost opposite to Djewedjer, at the part where the eastern branch of this river subdivides itself into two others: one of them runs westerly by Damietta, the other to Achmoum. The sultan Melikul-Kamil, after the capture of Damietta by the croisaders in the year of the Hegira 616, and of our æra 1219, had this town built between Cairo and Damietta, to check the entrance of the Franks further into Egypt. It is situated in longitude 53 deg. 30 min. 30 deg. 35 min. latitude.—*Makriji*.—*Abulfeda*.

¶ Wednesday, 21st December.

** The grand Bairam, the first day of the moon Chewal, was on Thursday, 6th Jan. 1250.

†† The Egyptians are, at this day, perfect swimmers, and they exhibit extraordinary specimens of their art in this line.

On Wednesday, the 7th day of the moon Chewal *, the Muffulmen captured a large boat, in which were one hundred soldiers, commanded by an officer of distinction. On Thursday, the 15th of the same moon, the French marched out of their camp, and their cavalry began to move. The troops were ordered to file off, when a flight skirmish took place, and the French left on the field forty cavaliers with their horses.

On the Friday †, seventy prisoners were conducted to Cairo, among whom were three lords of rank. On the 22d of the same moon ‡, a large boat belonging to the French took fire, which was considered as a fortunate omen for the Muffulmen.

Some traitors having shewn the ford over the canal of Achmoum to the French, fourteen hundred cavaliers crossed it, and fell unexpectedly on the camp of the Muffulmen, on a Tuesday, the 15th day of the moon Zilkadé §, having at their head the brother of the king of France. The emir Fakreddin was at the time in the bath: he instantly quitted it with precipitation, and mounted a horse without saddle or bridle, followed only by some slaves. The enemy attacked him on all sides, but his slaves, like cowards, abandoned him when in the midst of the French: it was in vain he attempted to defend himself: he fell pierced with wounds. The French, after the death of Fakreddin, retreated to Djédilé; but their whole cavalry advanced to Mansoura, and, having forced one of the gates, entered the town: the Muffulmen fled to the right and left. The king of France had already penetrated as far as the sultan's palace, and victory seemed ready to declare for him, when the baharite slaves, led by Bibars, advanced, and snatched it from his hands: their charge was so furious that the French were obliged to retreat. The french infantry, during this time, had advanced to cross the bridge: had they been able to join their cavalry, the defeat of the egyptian army, and the loss of the town of Mansoura, would have been inevitable.

Night separated the combatants, when the French retreated in disorder to Djédilé, after leaving fifteen hundred of their men on the field. They

* 12th January 1250.

† 14th Jan. 1250.

‡ 27th January 1250.

§ 8th February 1250.

surrounded their camp with a ditch and wall, but their army was divided * into two corps: the least considerable body was encamped on the branch of the Achmoum, and the larger on the great branch of the Nile that runs to Damietta.

A pigeon had been let loose to fly to Cairo † the instant the French had surprised the camp of Fakreddin, having a note under its wing, to inform the inhabitants of this misfortune. This melancholy event had created a general consternation in the town, which the runaways had augmented, and the gates of Cairo were kept open all the night to receive them. A second pigeon, bearing the news of the victory over the French, had restored tranquillity to the capital. Joy succeeded sorrow; and each congratulated the other on this happy turn of affairs, and public rejoicings were made.

When Touran-Chah heard of the death of his father, Nedjm-Eddin, he set out from Huns-Keifa ‡. It was the 15th of the moon Ramadan when he departed, attended by only fifty horsemen, and he arrived at Damascus toward the end of that moon. After receiving the homage of all the governors of the towns in Syria, he set out on a Wednesday, the 27th day of the moon Chewal, and took the road to Egypt. The news of his arrival raised the courage of the Mussulmen. The death of Nedjm-Eddin had not yet been publicly announced: the service of the sultan was performed as usual: his officers prepared his table as if he had been alive, and every order was given in his name. The sultana governed the kingdom, and found, in her own mind, resources for all. The moment she heard of Touran-Chah's arrival, she waited on him, and laid aside the sovereign command, to invest him with it. This prince was anxious to appear at the head of his troops,

* *Divided*.—Joinville speaks of a camp separate from that of the king, commanded by the count of Burgundy.

† This custom is very ancient in the east. Forty years ago it subsisted at Aleppo, when pigeons, sent from Scanderoon to Aleppo, gave information of the arrival of ships. This usage is now entirely abolished.

‡ Huns-Keifa,—a town of Diarbekir, on the banks of the Tigris, in the peninsula Ibnomar, or Miafarikein.—*Abulfeda*.

and fet out for Mansoura, where he arrived on the fifth of the moon Zilkadé*.

Boats sent from Damietta brought all sorts of provision to the french camp, and kept it abundantly supplied. The Nile was now at its greatest height †. Touran-Chah caused many boats to be built, which, when taken to pieces, he placed on the backs of camels, and had them thus carried to the canal of Méhalé‡, when they were put together again, launched on the canal, and filled with troops for an ambuscade.

As soon as the french fleet of boats appeared at the mouth of the canal of Méhalé, the Mussulmen quitted their hiding-place, and attacked them. While the two fleets were engaged, other boats left Mansoura filled with soldiers, and fell on the rear of the French. It was in vain they fought to escape by flight: a thousand Christians were killed or made prisoners.

In this defeat, fifty-two of their boats laden with provision were taken, and their communication with Damietta by the navigation of the Nile was cut off, so that within a short time the whole army suffered the most terrible famine. The Mussulmen surrounded them on all sides, and they could neither advance nor retreat.

On the first of the moon Zilhigé§, the French surprised seven boats; but the troops on board had the good fortune to escape. In spite of the superiority of the Egyptians on the Nile, they attempted to bring up another convoy from Damietta, but they lost it: thirty-two of their boats were taken, and carried to Mansoura, on the 9th of the same moon ||. This new loss filled the measure of their woes, and caused them to propose a truce, and

* 8th February 1250.

† How could Makrifi say the Nile was at its greatest height when it was only the 8th of February? and this river is never in that state but in the month of September. The date is exact, and agrees with Joinville, who notices this same event happening on the Shrove Tuesday.

‡ Méhalé is one of the principal towns in the Delta, at a small distance from the great eastern branch of the Nile. There are many canals between the Nile and Méhalé.

§ 7th March, A. D. 1250.

|| 16th same month.

send ambassadors to treat of it with the sultan. The emir Zeineddin and the cadi Bedreddin were ordered to meet and confer with them, when the French offered to surrender Damietta *, on condition that Jerusalem, and some other places in Syria, should be given in exchange for it. This proposal was rejected, and the conferences broken up.

On Friday the 27th of the moon Zilhijé†, the French set fire to all their machines of war and timber for building, and rendered almost all their boats unfit for use. During the night of Tuesday‡, the 3d day of the moon Mahafem§, in the year of the Hegira 648, the whole of the French army decamped, and took the road to Damietta. Some boats which they had

* I return, once more, to the expedition of the crusaders against Egypt, in the year of the Hegira 616; for it resembles, in many circumstances, that of St Louis. Damietta was first taken by the Christians: the two Frank armies encamped on the same spot. The communication between Damietta and their camp was cut off: they were both reduced to the last extremity; and these two invasions ended by the restoration of Damietta. To judge better of the comparison, we must read the detail Makrifi gives of this war, which lasted from the year 616 to that of 618.

The sultan Melikul-Kimil, after the capture of Damietta by the crusaders, retreated two days march from that town, and encamped at the angle formed by the eastern branch of the Achmoum, where he built the town of Mansoura. The crusaders quitted the plains of Damietta, and encamped opposite to the sultan's army, on the other side of the branch Achmoum.

The communication of the Christian army with Damietta having been soon interrupted, the crusaders offered to surrender that town, on condition that Jerusalem, Ascalon and Tiberias should be given them. On the rejection of this proposal, they were in the utmost danger; for the sultan ordered his troops to cross the branch of the Achmoum during the night, and they made an opening in the banks of the Nile, then at its greatest height, and overflowed the whole camp of the crusaders, excepting a narrow causeway. The sultan then caused bridges to be thrown across the branch of Achmoum, over which his troops marched, and gained possession of the causeway. The crusaders burnt their tents, their engines of war, and attempted to gain the road to Damietta, but it was impossible. They offered to give up that town, and peace was concluded in the year 618 of the Hegira, and 1221 of our æra.

There cannot be a doubt but that the army of St Louis was encamped on the same place which the crusaders had chosen thirty-one years before, namely, near the entrance of the canal Achmoum, since, by their engines, the French cast stones into the camp of the Mussulmen at Mansoura. The branch of Achmoum separated the two armies.

† 1st April 1250. A. D.

‡ Joinville dates this event on the Tuesday evening after the octave of Easter.

§ 5th April,—Tuesday after Low Sunday, 1250.

reserved fell down the Nile at the same time. The Muffulmen having, at break of day of the Wednesday, perceived the retreat of the French, pursued and attacked them.

The heat of the combat was at Fariškour. The French were defeated and put to flight: ten thousand of their men fell on the field of battle, some say thirty thousand. Upwards of one hundred thousand, horsemen, infantry, tradespeople and others were made slaves. The booty was immense in horses, mules, tents, and other riches. There were but one hundred slain on the side of the Muffulmen. The baharite slaves, under the command of Bibars Elbondukdari, performed in this battle signal acts of valour. The king of France had retired, with a few of his lords, to a small hillock, and surrendered himself, under promise of his life being spared, to the eunuch Djemaddelin Mahfun-Elfalihi: he was bound with a chain, and in this state conducted to Mansoura, where he was confined in the house of Ibrahim-ben-Lokman, secretary to the sultan, and under the guard of the eunuch Sahil. The king's brother was made prisoner at the same time, and carried to the same house. The sultan provided for their subsistence.

The number of slaves was so great, it was embarrassing, and the sultan gave orders to Seifeddin-Jouf-ben-tardi to put them to death. Every night this cruel minister of the vengeance of his master had from three to four hundred of the prisoners brought from their places of confinement, and, after he had caused them to be beheaded, their bodies were thrown into the Nile: in this manner perished one hundred thousand of the French.

The sultan departed from Mansoura, and went to Fariškour, where he had pitched a most magnificent tent. He had also built a tower of wood over the Nile; and, being freed from a disagreeable war, he there gave himself up to all sorts of debauchery.

The victory he had just gained was so brilliant that he was eager to make all who were subjected to him acquainted with it. He wrote with his own hand a letter in the following terms, to the emir Djemal-Edden-ben-Jagmour, governor of Damascus:

‘ Thanks be given to the All-powerful, who has changed our grief to joy: it is to him alone we owe the victory. The favours he has condescended to shower upon us are innumerable, but this last is the most precious. You

will announce to the people of Damascus, or rather to all Mussulmen, that God has enabled us to gain a complete victory over the Christians, at the moment they had conspired our ruin.

‘ On Monday, the first day of this year, we opened our treasury, and distributed riches and arms to our faithful soldiers. We had called to our succour the arabian tribes, and a numberless multitude of soldiers ranged themselves under our standards. On the night between Tuesday and Wednesday, our enemies abandoned their camp with all their baggage, and marched toward Damietta: in spite of the obscurity of the night, we pursued them, and thirty thousand of them were left dead on the field, not including those who precipitated themselves into the Nile. We have beside slain our very numerous prisoners, and thrown their bodies into the same river. Their king had retreated to Minieh: he has implored our clemency, and we have granted him his life, and paid him all the honours due to his rank. We have regained Damietta.’

The sultan, with this letter, sent the king’s cap, which had fallen in the combat: it was of scarlet, lined with a fine fur. The governor of Damascus put the king’s cap on his own head when he read to the public the sultan’s letter. A poet made these verses on the occasion:

‘ The cap of the French was whiter than paper: our sabres have dyed it with the blood of the enemy, and have changed its colour.’

The gloomy and retired life the sultan led had irritated the minds of his people. He had no confidence but in a certain number of favourites, whom he had brought with him from Huns-Keifa, and whom he had invested with the principal offices of the state, in the room of the ancient ministers of his father. Above all, he shewed a decided hatred to the Mamelukes, although they had contributed so greatly to the last victory. His debaucheries exhausted his revenue; and, to supply the deficiencies, he forced the sultana Chegeret-Eddur to render him an account of the riches of his father. The sultana, in alarm, implored the protection of the Mamelukes, representing to them the services she had done the state in very difficult times, and the ingratitude of Touran-Chah, who was indebted to him for the crown he wore. These slaves, already irritated against Touran-Chah, did not hesitate to take the part of the sultana, and resolved to assassinate

the prince. To execute this design, they fixed on the moment when he was at table : Bibars-Elbondukdari gave him the first blow with his sabre, and, though he parried it with his hand, he lost his fingers. He then fled to the tower which he had had built on the banks of the Nile, and which was but a short distance from his tent. The conspirators followed him, and, finding he had closed the door, set fire to it. The whole army saw what was passing ; but, as he was a prince universally detested, no one came forward in his defence.

It was in vain he cried from the top of the tower, that he would abdicate his throne, and return to Huns-Keifa : the assassins were inflexible. The flames at length gaining on the tower, he attempted to leap into the Nile ; but his dress caught as he was falling, and he remained some time suspended in the air. In this state, he received many wounds from sabres, and then fell into the river, where he was drowned. Thus iron, fire and water, contributed to put an end to his life. His body continued three days on the bank of the Nile without any one daring to give it sepulture. At length, the ambassador from the caliph of Bagdad obtained permission, and had it buried.

This cruel prince, when he ascended the throne, had his brother, Adil Chah, strangled. Four mameluke slaves had been ordered to execute this ; but the fratricide did not long remain unpunished, and these same four slaves were the most bitter in putting him to death. With this prince was extinguished the dynasty of the Eioubites, who had governed Egypt eighty years, under eight different kings.

After the massacre of Touran-Chah, the sultana Chegeret-Eddur was declared sovereign of Egypt : she was the first slave who had reigned over this country. This princess was a Turk, but others said an Armenian. The sultan Nedjm-Eddin had bought her, and loved her so desperately that he carried her with him to his wars, and never quitted her. She had a son by the sultan, called Khalil, but who died when very young. The emir Azeddin-Aibegh, of the turcoman nation, was appointed general of the army ; and the name of the sultana was imprinted on the coin.

The emir Abou-Ali was nominated to treat with the king of France for his ransom, and for the surrender of Damietta. After many conferences and

disputes, it was agreed that the French should evacuate Damietta, and that the king, and all prisoners in Egypt, should be set at liberty, on condition of paying down one half of such ransom as should be fixed on. The king of France sent orders to the governor of Damietta to surrender that town; but he refused to obey, and new orders were necessary. At last it was given up to the Muffulmen, after having remained eleven months in the hands of the enemy. The king paid four hundred thousand pieces of gold, as well for his own ransom as for that of the queen, his brother, and the other lords that had accompanied him.

All the Franks that had been made prisoners during the reigns of the sultans Hadil-Kamil, Salih-Nedjm-Eddin and Touran-Chah, obtained their liberty: they amounted to twelve thousand one hundred men, and ten women. The king, with all the French, crossed to the western branch of the Nile, and embarked on a Saturday for Acre *.

The poet Effahib-Giémal-Edden-Ben-Matroub made, on the departure of this prince, the following verses:

‘ Bear to the king of France, when you shall see him, these words, traced by a partisan of truth: The death of the servants of the Messiah has been the reward given to you by God.

‘ You have landed in Egypt, thinking to take possession of it. You have imagined that it was only peopled with cowards! you who are a drum filled with wind.

‘ You thought that the moment to destroy the Muffulmen was arrived; and this false idea has smoothed, in your eyes, every difficulty.

‘ By your excellent conduct, you have abandoned your soldiers on the plains of Egypt, and the tomb has gaped under their feet.

‘ What now remains of the seventy thousand who accompanied you? Dead, wounded, and prisoners!

‘ May God inspire you often with similar designs! They will cause the ruin of all Christians, and Egypt will have no longer to dread any thing from their rage.

* 7th May 1250. Joinville says the Saturday after Ascension-day.

‘ Without doubt, your priests announced victories to you : their predictions were false.

‘ Refer yourselves to a more enlightened oracle.

‘ Should the desire of revenge urge you to return to Egypt, be assured the house of Lokman still remains, that the chain is ready prepared, and the eunuch awake*.’

Great rejoicings were made at Cairo and throughout Egypt, for the restoration of Damietta. The army broke up its encampment, and returned to the capital, when the sultana loaded the officers with presents, and her liberalities extended to the meanest soldier.

The king of France †, having fortunately escaped from the hands of the Egyptians, resolved to make war against the kingdom of Tunis. He chose a time when a horrible famine ravaged Africa, and sent an ambassador to the pope, whom the Christians consider as the vicar of the Messiah. This pontiff gave him permission to take for the support of this war the wealth of churches. He also sent ambassadors to all the kings in Christendom, to demand assistance, and to engage them to unite with him in this expedition. The kings of England, of Scotland, and of Arragon, the count of Toulouse and many other Christian princes accepted of his invitation.

* The poet, in this stanza, alludes to the prison of St Louis and the eunuch who guarded him.

† The Egyptians repented having suffered the king of France to escape from their hands, for it was commonly reported that he was meditating another war against Egypt. Makrifi, in the description of this kingdom, says, that this report was renewed under the reign of Bibars-Albondukdari. This sultan assembled his council, when it was resolved, that, in order to gain access to succour Damietta, which had lately been rebuilt, not far from the site of the ancient town, that had been ruined, a bridge should be constructed from Kiloub to the town. Kiloub was a village two days march distant from Damietta, and when the Nile is at its height the road to that village is impassable. The emir Achoub, one of the mameluke chiefs, had the superintendence of it. Thirty thousand men were employed in building this bridge, and six hundred oxen transported materials and earth. This bridge was finished in a month. It was two days march in length, and six horsemen could pass it in front. This bridge, however, could not be very high, since it was not built over the Nile, where it would have been impossible to construct one ; and this proves it was erected on the land, and of use only in the time of inundations. It was rather a causeway than a bridge, and sufficiently high to be above the country flooded by the Nile. Similar ones are built at this day, to prevent the land from being overflowed.

Abouabdoullah-Muhammed-Elmouftaufir-Billah, fon to the emir Abizikeria, then reigned at Tunis. The report of this intended expedition came to his ears, and he fent an ambaffador to the king of France to fue for peace, offering eighty thoufand pieces of gold to obtain it. The king took the money, but did not the lefs carry his arms into Africa. He landed on the fhore of the plains of Carthage, and laid fiege to Tunis the laft day of the moon Zilkadé, in the 668th year of the Hegira *.

His army was compofed of thirty thoufand infantry and fix thoufand cavalry. The fiege lafted fix months.

On the 15th of the month Muharrem, the firft month of the year 669, there was a bloody battle, in which numbers were flain on each fide. The Tunifians were on the point of being destroyed, when the death of the king of France changed the face of affairs. The French, after this event, only thought of making peace and returning to their own country.

One Ifmäel-Erreian, an inhabitant of Tunis, made the following verfes during the fiege :

‘ Frenchman, art thou ignorant that Tunis is the fifter of Cairo? Think on the fate that awaits thee! Thou wilt find before this town thy tomb, inftead of the houfe of Lokman; and the two terrible angels, Munkir and Nakir, will take the place of the eunuch Sahil†.’

This king of France had a good underftanding, but was of an artful character ‡.

* July 21. 1270. A. D.

† *Munkir and Nakir*,—are two angels who, according to the muffulman creed, interrogate the dead the moment they are in the grave. They begin their interrogatories with thefe words, ‘ Who is thy Lord?’ and ‘ Who is thy prophet?’

‡ *Of an artful character*.—It is difgraceful to Makrifî, otherwife a tolerably faithful hiftorian, to fuffer himfelf to be blinded by the common averfion of Muffulmen to Chriftians. Aboul-Mouaffèn, though a Muffulman, renders more juftice to St Louis, in the enfuing extract.

EXTRACT

FROM AN

ARABIAN MANUSCRIPT

ENTITLED,

‘ ENNUD’JIOUM USSAHIRAK FI MULOUK MASR VÉ KAHIRAH,’ *that is to say,*
‘ *The fortunate Stars of the Kings of Egypt and of Cairo,*’ composed by
Gemal-Eddin-Aboulmoassen-iousef, Son to Makar-tagri-bardi, Governor
of the two Kingdoms of Damascus and Aleppo.

IN the 646th year of the Hegira *, Salih-Nedjm-Eddin, a prince of the race of the Eioubites, reigned in Egypt. He was at war with the fultan of Aleppo for the town of Hems, and besieged that place in person. Thirteen battering rams, one of which was of a most extraordinary size, battered the town day and night; and he expected to be soon master of the place, notwithstanding the rigour of the season, for it was during the winter that he carried on this siege. Hems was hard pressed; but the fultan of Egypt hearing that the Franks threatened to invade his kingdom, this intelligence, added to the infirm state of his health, made him listen to propositions for peace. It was concluded, and he set out in a litter for Egypt, and arrived

* A. D. 1248.

at Achmoum-Tanah at the commencement of the 647th year of the Hegira.

The reports he had heard of the intended expedition of the Franks was confirmed by the intelligence that the french fleet had wintered at Cyprus, and that it had on board an immense army, commanded by the king of France, one of the most powerful monarchs of Christendom, and the most courageous prince of his time.

Nedjm-Eddin, convinced that the first effort of the Christians would be directed against Damietta, provided it with ammunition and provision, and placed in it a numerous garrison. Fakreddin, general of his army, covered the town with a body of troops.

The french fleet at length appeared, in the month of Sefer, and anchored opposite to the camp of Fakreddin. On the morrow, the French disembarked on the ground where the egyptian general was encamped, and the Christians, on their landing, marched against him. The emirs, Nedjm Eddin and Veriri, being killed at the first shock, Fakreddin retired in disorder, crossed the Nile by a bridge, and retreated as far as Achmoum Tanah.

The garrison, and inhabitants of Damietta, witnessing the flight of the musliman army, were, in their turn, panic-struck. They abandoned the town during the night, and on the morrow morning the French gained possession of it without striking a blow, and found therein an immense collection of arms, warlike engines, and provision of all sorts.

The cowardly flight of Fakreddin was the cause of the loss of this place, which might have made a long resistance. Thirty-two years before, it had stood a siege for upwards of twelve months, although it was then neither so strongly fortified nor so well provisioned.

The sultan, enraged at this disaster, caused the whole garrison to be hanged, and retreated to Mansoura. He issued a proclamation throughout Egypt, for all men able to bear arms to hasten to his camp, and by this means found himself at the head of a numerous army, composed of Egyptians and Arabs.

Many months passed in mutually observing, and in attempts to surprise each other; and there were daily skirmishes between different corps of the

two armies. The disorder of the sultan, however, was so much increased that the physicians despaired of a cure. He expired in the month of Chaban, in the year 647, after having reigned nine years, seven months and twenty days.

This prince would have eclipsed all his predecessors by his great qualities, had they not been tarnished by his cruelties and an insupportable pride. Therefore, notwithstanding the critical state Egypt was then in, Nedjm Eddin was but little regretted by his subjects: his ministers, courtiers and domestics rejoiced at the death of a prince before whom they continually trembled for their lives.

The sultana Chegeret-Eddur governed the realm until the arrival of Touran-Chah, son to Nedjm-Eddin, who took possession of the throne at the beginning of the 648th year of the Hegira. The first moments of the reign of this prince were a happy omen for the Mussulmen: the day he took the command of the army, his troops gained some advantage over the enemy.

The French had been encamped some months near to Mansoura, where the Egyptians continually harassed them. All these skirmishes added to the illness which afflicted the Christian army, and the difficulty of procuring provision had considerably diminished its numbers. The mortality even affected their horses. At length the king, seeing the melancholy state of his army, resolved to decamp during the night, and return to Damietta. To facilitate his retreat, he caused a bridge of pine trees to be thrown over the Nile; but the design of the French could not be so secret that the Egyptians were not acquainted with it. They cross the same bridge which their enemies had done, overtake them, and, in spite of the darkness of the night, attack them.

The French, surrounded on all sides, make but a feeble resistance, and retire in disorder to a village called Minieh. While this engagement takes place on land, the fleet of the Egyptians attacks that of the French on the Nile: all their boats are taken, and those on board made prisoners. The king, followed by five hundred of his bravest knights, had intrenched himself in the house of Abiabdaallah, lord of Minieh. This prince, noticing the defeat of his troops, and seeing resistance vain, and that it

would be madness rather than courage, to oppose a whole army with so small a company, sent for the eunuch Rechid and the emir Seiffeddin Elkanieri, and consented to lay down his arms, on condition that his and his companions lives were spared.

The Egyptians kept pursuing the French, who were all massacred except two knights, who leaped their horses into the Nile, and found in the waters of that river the death they wished to avoid on land. The tents and baggage became a prey to the victors, who made an immense booty.

The king of France was carried on board a boat of war on the Nile, and escorted by an infinite number of other egyptian boats, who thus conducted him in triumph to the sound of drums and cymbals. The egyptian army was on the western bank, and kept pace in its march as the fleet fell down the river. The prisoners followed the army, their hands bound with cords. The Arabs were on the eastern bank. Joy sparkled in every eye, and each felicitated the other on this happy event.

Saad-Eddin relates in his history, that if the king of France had pleased he might have escaped, either on horseback or by a boat; but this prince never abandoned his troops, nor ceased from animating them to the combat. Twenty thousand were made prisoners, among whom were princes and counts, and seven thousand men slain. The same historian says, that he went over the field of battle, which was covered with dead bodies; but what was the most extraordinary, there did not perish more than one hundred Mussulmen.

The sultan sent to the princes and counts who had been made prisoners fifty dresses, in which they clothed themselves. The king alone disdained to submit to this custom, saying, proudly, that he was sovereign of a kingdom as extensive as Egypt, and that it was unbecoming him to wear the dresses of another king *. The sultan had a great feast prepared, and entreated him to be present, but the king was equally inflexible. He made no difficulty in shewing that he perceived nothing in all these attentions of the sultan but a desire to expose him as a spectacle for his army. This

* This usage of distributing robes still subsists in the east. St Louis was the more in the right not to submit to this ceremony, as it is never practised but from a superior to an inferior.

prince was of a handsome figure, was possessed of a good understanding, of firmness, and of religion. His good qualities gained him the veneration of Christians, who had an extreme confidence in him.

Some historians assure us, that this prince was confined at Mansoura, in the house of Lokman, under the guard of an eunuch, who had orders to treat him with every respect due to a king; but others say, that he was conducted to Cairo, and confined in the house of Lokman, which last account seems to me more probable.

Touran-Chah, after the battle, caused all his prisoners to be massacred, reserving only such as, by their profession or trade, might be useful to him. He informed the governor of Damascus of the victory he had just gained, and sent him the cap of the king of France, which had fallen from the head of this prince in the heat of the combat. The governor put the cap on his head, and, in answer, sent the following verses to the sultan :

‘ God, without doubt, destines the conquest of the universe to you, and you will march from victory to victory. Who can disbelieve it, when your slaves already clothe themselves with the spoils which you take from kings?’

The king of France remained a prisoner until the death of Touran-Chah, who was assassinated by the baharite slaves. Hufsam-Eddin-ben-Ali was nominated to treat with the vanquished prince. The conditions were, that he should surrender Damietta, and pay the sum of five hundred thousand pieces of gold for his own ransom, and that of all the other French. The king set out for Damietta, followed by a detachment of the egyptian army; but how great was his astonishment, when he saw the mussulman banners waving over the ramparts of that town: convinced that he had been betrayed, he lost all hope of his liberty. Hufsam-Eddin thought the same, and wanted to take advantage of this event, but the Turcoman, Aibegh-Elfalihi, who governed Egypt and the other baharite slaves, would not consent to it. The fear of losing the five hundred thousand pieces of gold was the cause of a generosity which was only feigned, and which they palliated under the specious pretext of not infringing the fidelity due to treaties.

Hufsam-Eddin, during his conferences with the king of France, asked him of what numbers his army was composed when he landed at Damietta..

He told him, that he had nine thousand five hundred cavalry, and one hundred and thirty thousand infantry, including workmen and servants.

Saad-Eddin, whom I have before quoted, relates what concerns the surrender of Damietta in another manner. He says the conditions were, that the French should surrender Damietta, and pay the sum of eight hundred thousand pieces of gold, in recompense for all the stores and ammunition they had found in the town, when it was taken; and that they should deliver up all the mahomedan prisoners they had made during the war. They swore to observe these articles, and a detachment of the army marched to take possession of Damietta. The egyptian troops, incapable of discipline, entered the town as if it had been a place taken by storm, and began to pillage and cut the throats of all the French they met, inasmuch that their officers were obliged to use force to put an end to the carnage, and drive them out of the town. The ammunition remaining was estimated at four hundred thousand pieces of gold, which was deducted from the eight hundred thousand they were to receive. The king paid down the balance of four hundred thousand pieces of gold, and had liberty to quit Egypt. He embarked about three o'clock in the afternoon. When he was at sea, he sent a sloop with an ambassador to the Mamelukes. On his coming to their presence, he told them by order of the king, and in his name, that he had never known any persons with less religion, gratitude or understanding than themselves; that they had manifested their want of religion and gratitude when they massacred their sultan, whose person was to them sacred, and who was the son of their founder* and benefactor; that in regard to sense, they had proved the want of it in releasing for a moderate sum a prince like him, who was master of the sea, and who would have given his kingdom to have recovered his liberty.

This prince, on his return to his own country, meditated another expedition to Egypt. The Mamelukes now repented having suffered him to depart, but death prevented his designs.

* Nedjm-Eddin, father to Touran Chah, had instituted this militia of baharite slaves.

AN
EXTRACT
FROM AN
ARABIAN MANUSCRIPT

ENTITLED,

‘ELMUTHASAR FI IHBAR,’ or ‘*An Abridgement of the History of the Universe.*’—*The Author of this Book is the Sultan Abulfeda, Prince of Hamah.*

THE king of France, one of the most powerful monarchs of Christendom, wintered with his army, the 647th year of the Hegira *, in the island of Cyprus, and afterward appeared with his fleet before Damietta. The sultan Nedjm-Eddin then reigned in Egypt, and had long before received information of the designs of the French. He had concluded that Damietta would be the first point of attack, and consequently had caused it to be strongly fortified, and well provided with stores, ammunition and provision of all sorts.

The tribe of Beni-Kénané, renowned for its courage, formed the garrison; but the sultan, not satisfied with these dispositions, had sent Fakreddin at the head of a numerous body of troops to oppose the descent

* A. D. 1249.

of the French. This general, however, on the appearance of the fleet, far from attempting to oppose their landing, crossed from the western to the eastern bank of the Nile. The whole army disembarked the 9th of the moon Sefer, and encamped on the western branch of the above river.

The arrival of the French, and the retreat of Fakreddin, filled the inhabitants of Damietta with fear : the garrison, like cowards, abandoned the town, leaving the gates wide open. Thus this important place fell into the hands of the enemy, with all its stores and provision that had been there collected.

Nedjm-Eddin, in despair at the capture of Damietta, came in person to Mansoura to offer combat to the French, notwithstanding the weak state of his health ; for he was disordered with a fistula and ulcers on his lungs, and had for some time dragged on a miserable existence. He shortly after expired, in the 40th year of his age, after having reigned nine years, eight months, and twenty days.

This prince was enterprising, courageous, and more occupied with the affairs of government than with his pleasures. He would be informed of every thing himself, and none of his ministers dared to act without his orders. He thought it beneath the majesty of a sultan to converse with his subjects: of course, he spoke little. His servants never came into his presence without trembling. Every affair was discussed by memorials, to which he made answers himself.

As soon as he was dead, the sultana Chegeret-Eddur gave information of it to the general Fakreddin, and to the eunuch Djemal-Eddin-Muhfun. They determined to keep the death of Nedjm-Eddin secret, lest this should be favourable to the French, and all orders were given as usual in the sultan's name, just as if he had been alive. They dispatched a courier to his son Touran-Chah, by whom Fakreddin exhorted him to hasten as quickly as possible to Egypt, to take possession of the throne, and to defend it against the enemies who were attacking it.

Notwithstanding all these precautions, the news of the sultan's death transpired. The French determined to take advantage of so favourable an event, and their whole army quitted the plains of Damietta, and marched to the neighbourhood of Mansoura, where they encamped. There was a smart

action between the two armies at the end of the month Ramadan, when a great number of officers, and persons of distinction, on the side of the Musulmen perished. The French, after this combat, advanced to Charmefah.

On Wednesday, the 25th of the moon Zilhigé, a body of their troops, at day-break, gave alarm to Mansoura. The emir Fakreddin was at that moment in the bath. He instantly mounted his horse, but was surrounded on all sides, and pierced with wounds. Had it not been for the baharite slaves, all would have been lost; but they rallied the runaways, and charged the French with such fury that they forced them to retreat in their turn, and abandon the town.

Touran-Chah, on hearing of the death of his father, began his journey, and arrived at Damascus in the month Ramadan. Thence he set out for Mansoura, where he arrived on Thursday, the 21st of the moon Zilkadé.

Scarcely a day passed without some action between the two armies: they fought with bitterness by land and water. The fleet of the Egyptians attacked that of the French on the Nile, and captured thirty-two boats. This loss weakened them so much that they offered to surrender Damietta, on condition that Jerusalem, and some maritime places on the coast of Syria, were given them in exchange. These propositions were rejected; and, shortly after, their army suffered severely from famine, in consequence of their intercourse with Damietta being interrupted.

At length, during the night of Wednesday, the third day of the moon Muharem, in the year 648, they broke up their camp, and began their march back to Damietta. The Egyptians pursued, and came up with them about day-break, when they made a dreadful carnage: upwards of thirty thousand French were left dead on the field, their king, and all the lords who had accompanied him, were made prisoners, and conducted to Mansoura. The king was loaded with chains, and confined in the house of Fakreddin Lokman.

Touran-Chah, after this victory, went to Fariskour, where he had built a tower on the banks of the Nile. The baharite slaves, being discontented with this prince, assassinated him in his tent: Bibars, afterward king of Egypt, gave him the first blow. The prince fled to his tower; but the

conspirators having set fire to it, he was forced to precipitate himself into the Nile, when they finished putting an end to his life by piercing him with arrows.

Chegeret-Eddur was proclaimed queen of Egypt, and the Turcoman Azzeddin-Aibegh became general of the army. It was during the reign of this princess that the king of France treated for his ransom. He offered to surrender Damietta: the articles were agreed on; and he recovered his liberty, with all the French who were prisoners in Egypt. Damietta was restored to the Muffulmen on a Friday, the third day of the moon Sefer, and on the morrow the king embarked for Acre.

AN

EXTRACT

FROM AN

ARABIAN MANUSCRIPT

ENTITLED,

‘ LETHAIFAHBAR EL EWEL FI MEN TESSARÉFÉ FI MESR MEN ERBABIL
DUVEL,’ or ‘ *A History of the Dynasties that have reigned in Egypt,*
composed by Ishaki.

THE fultan Effalih-Nedjm-Eddin, son to Melik-Kamil, succeeded his brother, Adil-Aboubekr, who was dethroned the 637th year of the Hegira *, and was the last king but one of the dynasty of the Eioubites.

It was during the reign of this prince that the king of France came before Damietta. Never did any conquest cost less. The garrison and inhabitants, panic-struck, abandoned the town, and left the gates wide open. The French, astonished to see no person show himself on the walls, were afraid to approach, lest there might be an ambuscade, but being soon informed of the desertion of its inhabitants, they entered the town. The

A. D. 1239.

loss of this place was attributed to the illness of the sultan; but the cowardice of the garrison was the sole cause, and it remained not long unpunished, for the sultan, indignant at their conduct, ordered fifty of the principal officers to be strangled.

Having made this example, he went to Mansoura, in spite of the miserable state of his health, and endeavoured to fortify the place in the best possible manner. His disorder continued to increase until the 14th of the moon Ramadan, in the year 647, when he died. The arrival of the French in Egypt, and the fear lest they should take advantage of the sultan's death to push forward their conquests, caused it to be kept secret. The sultana Chegeret-Eddur, his spouse, communicated intelligence of the event to no one but the emir Fakreddin and the eunuch Djemal-Edden-Muhfun.

A messenger was dispatched to inform Touran-Chah of the death of his father, and to press him to come instantly to Egypt. The public orders continued to be issued in the name of Nedjm-Eddin, as if he had been alive.

The French, notwithstanding these precautions, heard of the sultan's death: they quitted Damietta, and marched to Fariškour, where they encamped. The death of the sultan being no longer any mystery to those from whom it was so much wished to keep it secret, the inhabitants of Cairo were informed of the event, and at the same time told of the enemy's approach. The letter was read from the pulpit in the great mosque, when the consternation was general, and nothing was heard but sighs and groans. It seemed as if the enemy were at the gates of the town, and no one doubted but that Egypt, deprived of its king, would be a conquest to the Christians. Troops were raised in Cairo, and sent for from all parts of Egypt to the general rendezvous without the walls of the town.

The French left their position at Fariškour, and marched to Charmesah on the side of Barmoun, where they encamped. They then laid siege to the town of Mansoura: battering rams and other engines of war were pointed against its walls, and at day-break the besiegers entered the place by surprise. The emir Fakreddin was then at the bath: he instantly quits it, mounts his horse, and puts himself at the head of a body of troops to repulse the enemy. The combat was long and obstinate. The French were already masters of

the greater part of the town, and their king had penetrated as far as the palace of the sultan : had it not been for the baharite slaves, he would have gained it ; but these courageous Mamelukes, who had before given proofs of their valour under Nedjm-Eddin, charged the French with such impetuosity that they threw their army into disorder, and then put them to flight. Fifteen hundred horsemen of the enemy perished on this occasion : not one would have escaped ; but, as the battle took place in narrow and crooked streets, this circumstance favoured their retreat.

During the combat, Touran-Chah arrives, captures fifty-two of the enemy's boats, and a thousand French are killed or made prisoners. Their army is soon distressed for provision. The Mussulmen take advantage of their weakness, surround them on all sides, and make a general charge. The Christians offer no resistance : they abandon their tents and baggage, and take to flight. Thirty thousand were put to the sword, not including those who precipitated themselves into the Nile and were drowned. Their king took refuge at Minieh, a village near Damietta, and surrendered on condition of his life being spared. Touran-Chah consented to it ; and this unfortunate prince was loaded with chains, and conducted to Mantoura, with his brother and many of his nobles. All these illustrious prisoners were confined in the house of Fakreddin-Lokman, under the guard of the eunuch Sahib.

The king of France had, when retreating, let fall his cap, which was found on the field of battle : it was of scarlet velvet, lined with the fur of petit-gris. The town of Damietta was restored, after having remained eleven months and seven days in the hands of the French. By means of the restoration of this place, the king, the queen, his brother and his nobles regained their liberty.

Scarcely was this prince returned to his own country, when he raised another army, crossed over into Africa, and laid siege to Tunis. His death, however, delivered the Tunisians from the danger they were in. One Ismael-Eraian, an inhabitant of that town, made during the siege the verses which have before been related. It seemed as if this poet had foreseen the king's death.

The sultan Nedjm-Eddin had built, on an island formed by the Nile, a fortress, the guard of which important place he had intrusted to turkish slaves, who were surnamed Baharites, or Marines, because this place was on the banks of the Nile. The chief of these slaves was named Khatai.

Touran-Chah was massacred in the month Muharrem, of the year 647. The menaces he used to the sultana, on demanding the treasures of his father, were the cause of his death. The sultana, alarmed and fearing for her life, resolved to be beforehand, and exasperated the baharite slaves against him. The dark, gloomy and suspicious character of the sultan had alienated the affections of all the grandees of his kingdom. The baharite slaves, in serving the resentment of the queen, revenged their own injuries; for Touran-Chah had scarcely ascended the throne, when he dismissed them from all the offices they held, and seemed to hold them in contempt. They were not ignorant that when he was intoxicated he had candles lighted, and with his naked sabre cut off their tops, saying, 'It is thus I intend treating the baharite slaves.'

They one day entered his tent with their sabres drawn, and, the prince taking flight, they pursued, giving him several blows; but he escaped, and took refuge in a wooden tower on the bank of the Nile and barricaded the door. The conspirators set fire to it, in spite of the promises he made them to quit his throne, and retire to Keifa. The flames consume the tower so fast that the sultan leaps into the Nile, when these barbarians finish their murder! so that iron, fire and water were alternately made use of to put an end to his life. His body remained for three days on the bank of the river: at last, it received sepulture.

After the murder of Touran-Chah, the sultana was proclaimed queen of Egypt: the emir Azzeddin-Aibegh, of the turcoman nation, was declared generalissimo of the army and first minister. This princess, after reigning three months, voluntarily abdicated the throne; and the emir Aibegh from first minister became king, and began the dynasty of the baharite slaves. When he had reigned seven years, the sultana, who had married him, and laid down the crown to put it on his head, caused him to be assassinated. Aibegh had for some time quarrelled with her: he was

tired of having only the name of king, and of obeying all the caprices of a jealous and imperious woman. She incessantly and reproachfully reminded him that she had placed him on the throne, and given up to him all the treasures of the sultan Nedjm-Eddin. She had carried her jealousy so far as to force him to repudiate one of his wives, the mother of his son Nouredin.

Aibegh, when he separated from the sultana, had quitted the castle, the usual residence of the kings, and had taken a palace in another quarter of Cairo, and shortly after had betrothed himself to the daughter of the prince of Moufol. The sultana, on hearing this, became furious, and vowed revenge against him: she, however, dissembled her real feelings, and sent to him a man of confidence, under pretext of wishing for a reconciliation. Aibegh fell into the snare, and returned to the castle.

At the end of some days, the sultana chose the moment when this prince was in the bath, and entered it followed by five murderers: some seized him by the throat, others by those parts which modesty does not allow to be named. He endeavoured to move the sultana, and, whether she were really affected, or only feigned compassion for him, she bade the assassins spare him; but they finished their business, telling the sultana, that if they gave Aibegh his life, he would revenge himself on her, and on them.

Nouredin, son of this prince by another of his wives, conceived the most violent hatred against the sultana, and resolved to avenge the murder of his father. By dint of gold he corrupted the private slaves of this princess, who beat her brains out with their galoches*. Her body was thrown naked into a ditch, and remained in this state some days, when it was buried in a tomb which she had caused to be built for herself during her lifetime.

The sultan Nouredin succeeded to the throne of his father Aibegh, and was the second sultan of the baharite dynasty. After a reign of two years and eight months, he was assassinated.

Elmelik-Eldaer, otherwise called Bibars-Elbondukdari, was the third prince of this dynasty. He reigned with glory seventeen years two months

* Galoches are a sort of pattens which the slaves wear when within doors.

and a half, and died at Damascus. It is the same Bibars who, at the head of the Mamelukes, prevented the king of France from gaining Mansoura.

The sultan Echref-Hagi was the last of the baharite slaves who sat on the throne of Egypt. He ascended it when six years old, under the tutelage of one Berkoukiel Boga, who expelled his ward, and seized the kingdom in the 784th year of the Hegira. He was driven from it, in his turn, and the sultan Echref-Hagi remounted it; but, shortly after, disgusted with royalty, he voluntarily abdicated the throne, when Berkouk succeeded him. This Berkouk began the dynasty of the circassian slaves, which reigned in Egypt one hundred and twenty-one years, under twenty-two different kings. The last of this dynasty was Toumanbey, whom the sultan Selim, emperor of the Turks, after he had conquered all Egypt, caused to be hanged on one of the gates of Cairo.

AN
EXTRACT
FROM A
TURKISH MANUSCRIPT

ENTITLED,

‘ TEVARICHI MASR,’ *that is to say, ‘ Annals of Egypt,’ composed by Salih,
Son to Gelaleddin.*

IN the beginning of the 640th year of the Hegira * the French presented themselves before Damietta, and made themselves masters of it without striking a blow : the garrison and inhabitants had, in a cowardly manner, fled from the town.

Salih-Nejm-Eddin then reigned in Egypt. On the news of the capture of Damietta, he advanced to Mansoura, and there assembled his army. This prince had, for some time, been in a languishing state of health, and expired in the midst of his warlike preparations. The sultana Chegeret-Eddur, his favourite slave, kept the sultan’s death secret, imparting the news of it only to some grandees of the court. She sent a messenger to Touran-Chah, to inform him of the death of his father, who instantly set off from Huns-keifa; and the young prince arrived in forty-five days in Egypt. To be proclaimed

* A. D. 1242. It is certain that this historian has committed an error in chronology ; for every other author fixes on the 647th year of the Hegira for the expedition of St Louis to Egypt.

fultan, to put himself at the head of his army, to give battle, and to gain it, were, for the new fultan, but the affair of one day. Thirty thousand French lost their lives.

The cadi Gazal-Uddin was present at the battle. This holy person perceiving victory incline to the enemy, from the wind blowing in the faces of the Mussulmen, and bringing with it such a dust as prevented their fighting, addressed himself to the wind, and cried to it with a loud voice, ‘O wind, direct thy blast against our enemies!’ The wind obeyed his voice, and this event contributed greatly to the victory. The king of France was made prisoner. During the combat on land, a violent storm arose on the Nile: the boats of the French were driven against each other and broken, and all the troops on board drowned.

Touran-Chah did not long enjoy his victory. The baharite slaves murdered him, and thus ended in Egypt the dynasty of the Eioubites. The Syrians and Egyptians had equal claims on the throne, and much blood was shed on both sides: at last, by common assent, the sultana Chegeret Eddur was declared sovereign of Egypt. The caliph of Bagdad, indignant at the choice of the Egyptians, wrote to tell them it was a weakness on their part to suffer themselves to be governed by a woman; and that, if there were none among themselves worthy of the throne, they ought to have made it known to him, and he would have provided properly to fill it.

Although the French had been defeated, Damietta still remained in their hands. The queen Chegeret-Eddur assembled her council, when it was resolved, to offer the king and all the french prisoners their liberty, on condition that he agreed to pay for the ransom eight hundred thousand pieces of gold, and restore the town of Damietta. Peace was concluded on these terms, and the king set at liberty. This prince, on his return to France, had formed a project for another invasion of Egypt; but death put a stop to his designs, and delivered the Egyptians from all uneasiness on this head.

EXPLANATIONS

RELATIVE TO

SOME CIRCUMSTANCES

OF THE

HISTORY OF THE OLD MAN OF THE MOUNTAIN,

PRINCE OF THE ASSASSINS.

BY M. DE L'ÉVESQUE DE LA RAVALIERE.

In the 16th Volume of the Memoires de l'Academie des Inscriptions.

WHOEVER has read the history of the croisades is acquainted with the sovereign of a small district of Phœnicia, who from the summit of his mountains seemed to exercise the power of life and death over the other sovereigns of the earth: a prince the more formidable, because the fanaticism of his subjects constituted the foundation of his power. The eastern writers call him ‘Scheikh,’ or ‘Scheikh-al-gebal;’ the latin historians, ‘Senex,’ or ‘Senex de Montanis *;’ the french authors, ‘the old man of the mountain,’

* William of Tyre, Jacques de Vitri, and Rigord, call him ‘Vetus, feu Senex;’ Guillaume de Nangis sometimes ‘Vetulus,’ at others ‘Vetulus de Montanis.’

or simply 'le vieux.' It was the title of his dignity, not the expression of his age: the name of 'seigneur' has the same derivation*.

William of Tyre, in the 31st chapter of his 20th book, describes the principality of this old man of the mountain as consisting of ten castles built on inaccessible rocks, and some hamlets scattered through the valleys which separated the mountains. He reckons 60,000 subjects†, called 'Ismaëliens' by the eastern nations, 'Arfacides' by Guillaume le Breton, Rigord and Nangis, 'Affiffins' by the archbishop of Tyre, 'Assaffins' by Jacques de Vitri.

This last name is the true one: it comes from the arabic word 'hassa,' to kill. It has passed into our language, to signify what in fact each of the subjects of this monarch was. Educated in the abominable prejudice, that they should enjoy eternal happiness if they lost their lives in obeying the orders of their sovereign, just or unjust, assassination was to them a duty of religion‡.

All authors agree in attributing to them this impious dogma; but the particular facts which have been transmitted to us as proofs of the barbarism of the prince, and the monstrous subjection of his people, are not equally certain.

If we believe our old chroniclers, Conrad marquis of Montferrat, was killed by order of the old man of the mountain. Philippe Auguste was, shortly after, menaced with a similar fate. The old man sent his assassins to France to poinard St Louis. However, M. L'Evesque de la Ravalierre challenges the three last charges as false. His defence now follows, preceded by an exposition of the facts.

First fact.—Philippe Auguste and Richard I. king of England having taken the cross, set out in 1191 for the holy land. When they had reconquered the town of Acre from the Saracens, they thought of terminating the quarrel

* From 'senior,' old, which in the Latinity of the middle ages signified 'seignior,' lord.

† Jacques de Vitri reduces the number to 40,000.

‡ I shall not here enter into any details respecting the country of the Assaffins, the grounds of their history, nor their dogmas. M. Falconet has exhausted these subjects in the two following dissertations.

between Guy de Lusignan and Conrad, marquis of Montferrat, respecting the kingdom of Jerusalem. Philippe favoured Conrad, and Richard took the part of Guy de Lusignan. To prevent the consequences that might ensue from such a contest, between two princes mutually jealous, and disposed to hate each other; the impetuous character of the one, wishing to carry every thing, and the more moderate character of the other, being proud, and unwilling to yield any thing; a mode of conciliation was proposed that seemed to satisfy both. This was, that Guy de Lusignan should reign over the kingdom of Jerusalem during his life, and that on his decease that crown should devolve on the marquis of Montferrat and his children, to the exclusion of all others. After this accommodation Philippe went to Tyre, and thence to his own kingdom. He was scarcely arrived in France, when he received intelligence of the death of the marquis, who, it was said, had been killed in open day by the Assassins*. Richard had remained in Palestine: it was known that he did not love the marquis: the suspicion of the murder fell on Richard, and it was firmly believed that he was the author of it, when the measures he took, immediately on the death of Conrad, were noticed, shewing clearly how much he was interested in the making away with him. These suspicions were spread abroad; and Richard, on his return home, passing through the territory of Leopold duke of Austria, a relation to Conrad, was arrested, and put into the hands of the emperor Henry VI. who detained him a prisoner. It is pretended that, on this occasion, the old man of the mountain, affected by the misfortune of Richard, wrote to duke Leopold, to accuse himself of this murder, which had been unjustly imputed to the king of England.

M. de la Ravaliere thus translates this letter from the latin text, which Nicholas de Tréveth has preserved †, and which Rymer has published in the *Fœdera* ‡.

* Alberic des Trois Fontaines, in the year 1191, says, ‘Ab octo haffacinis.’ Father Daniel says, ‘Par deux affaffiniens.’ He speaks after Guillaume de Nangis and Tréveth, who say, ‘A duobus affaffinis.’

† Spicil. d’Archer, t. 3. edit. in fol. p. 175. col. 1.

‡ *Fœdera*, Hague edition 1745. t. 1. p. 23. col. 1.

‘ The old man of the mountain to Leopold duke of Austria.

‘ Since several kings and princes beyond sea accuse the lord Richard, king of England, of the death of the marquis, I swear by the God who reigns from all eternity, and by the religion we follow, that he was no way accessary to his death. I will explain the true cause of it. One of our brethren, returning from Satalia, was driven by a tempest near to the town of Tyre: the marquis had him killed, and took his money. We sent to claim his money, and to demand restitution for his murder. He threw the blame on Renaud de Chastillon, lord of Sidon: but our friends, from the exact inquiries they made, discovered that it was by his order the man was put to death, and robbed of his effects.

‘ We sent to him again our deputy Eudrife. The marquis threatened to have him cast into the sea; but our friends saved him, by forcing him instantly to quit the town. On his return, he certified to us the truth of these facts. From that moment we formed the resolution to have the marquis slain; and in consequence we sent to Tyre two brothers, who assassinated him in presence of all the inhabitants of the town. Such was the cause of his death; and we again repeat, that king Richard was no way concerned in it. Should any wrong be done him respecting this death, it will be unjustly done, and without cause. Know for a truth, that we never have any one put to death for his money, nor for any reward, but solely in revenge for any injury done to us.

‘ Know also, that these presents have been drawn up by us, the middle of September, in our castle of Meffiat, the fifteen hundred and fifth year from Alexander *.’

It is on this letter that M. de la Ravalierere says is founded the tradition which attributes the murder of the marquis of Montferrat, to the old man of the mountain; but it bears, he adds, such visible marks of being supposititious that the blindest critics ought not to have been deceived by it. In the first place, there is great want of probability. Is it probable that the prince of the Assassins would have avowed himself thus publicly the author of the assassination of Conrad, in a country where Conrad had left powerful

* ‘ Et sciatis quod litteras fecit istas in domo nostra ad castellum nostrum Meffiat in dimidio Septembris, anno ab Alexandro millesimo quingentesimo quinto.’

friends, interested to avenge it? and that he would have made this declaration to the man in the world who most regretted the loss of the marquis, his relation—to duke Leopold-of Austria? To say, that the old man was unwilling by his silence to leave the king of England exposed to an unjust suspicion, would be presuming too much on the delicacy of conscience of a phœnician tyrant. Secondly, a manifest falsehood. The letter is dated in the month of September—a month unknown to the eastern nations. It is written in Latin, (for the historian who gives it us does not say that it was a translation.) Now the latin tongue was not that of the old man: he spoke Arabic.

Should these observations tend to disculpate the old man of the mountain, as M. de la Ravière thinks they do, who then remains charged with the death of the marquis? According to Jacques de Vitri, the marquis of Montferrat was assassinated by some converted Saracens, whom he had maintained for a time in his house. Guillaume de Nangis writes, that he was poinarded by two assassins, whom he calls ‘Herfacides.’ These two passages do not clear up the point; but Albericus adds something more. In naming the Assassins as the authors of the murder, he does not dissemble that the king of England was concerned in it, and leaves us only in suspense whether Richard expressly ordered it, or only permitted it. ‘Rex Anglorum Richardus marquisum Conrardum ab octo Hassacinis interfici vel permitit, vel persuasit.’

May we assert, that the vices which tarnished the brilliant qualities of Richard afford us but too much reason to adopt the opinion of Albericus! Richard was suspected from the moment of the murder, and prior to the letter from the old man of the mountain being made public. He alone seems to have had any interest in causing such a letter to be fabricated, in order to turn aside all suspicion from himself*.

We have before said that Rymer has printed this letter: we add, that he has rendered it still more suspicious, by new marks of forgery which he

* Father Daniel does not notice this letter, but does not the less positively say, that it was the old man of the mountain who had himself given, and caused to be executed, the order to put to death the marquis of Montferrat.—*Hist. of Phil. Aug. anno 1192.*

has inserted. In the text of Tréveth, the letter is dated in the year 1505 from Alexander, and this date is true. The year 1505 of the æra of the Seleucidæ, otherwise the æra of the Greeks, which has been called by some the æra of Alexander *, although posterior, by twelve years, to the death of that prince, answers to the year 1193 of our æra, during which Richard was detained prisoner in Germany.

In Rymer this letter is dated the fifth year of the pontificate of Alexander. ‘Anno ab Alexandro papa quinto.’ Was Rymer ignorant that it was not customary for the Assassins to date their acts according to the succession of popes? and that the pope who reigned at the time this letter is supposed to have been written was not Alexander, but Celestinus.

Second fact.—Rigord, the historian of Philippe Auguste, relates, that in 1192, when the king was at Pontoise, he received letters from Palestine, which brought him advice, that the old man of the mountain, at the solicitation of the king of England, had sent to France two of his subjects, whom he names Arfacides, to assassinate him: that, upon this intelligence, Philippe instituted a company of guards, armed with brazen maces, who were to watch day and night, for the safety of his person: that, shortly afterward, he sent to know from the old man himself, if what had been imputed to him was true, and that the old man, in his answer, had positively denied it.

M. de la Ravalierre insists that this recital, which has been copied by all posterior authors, is neither probable in the principal fact, nor in its concomitant circumstances. As to the fact, it is improbable; because it is not at all likely that the old man of the mountain, to whom the death of Philippe Auguste could not have been of the smallest advantage, would have voluntarily exposed himself to the vengeance which the french army, that had remained in Syria, under the command of the duke of Burgundy, would have inflicted on him for such a crime.

As to the circumstances attending it: It is incredible that Philippe Auguste, to discover the truth of this crime, would have addressed himself

* The æra of the Seleucidæ commenced the 312th year before our Lord. To 312 add 1193; the amount will be 1505.

to the very person accused of it. Secondly, Because Philippe had in his army in Syria a thousand persons capable of privately making every inquiry he wanted, and therefore would not, for this purpose, have sent extraordinary ambassadors. To send expressly such persons from the further parts of France to Palestine was advertising the culprit and his accomplices to be upon their guard.

The most essential part of this passage from Rigord is, that on account of the advice Philippe Auguste received at Pontoise from Palestine, this prince instituted a company of sergeants at arms, ‘servientes armorum,’ or, ‘sergens à masse,’ to watch over his safety; and that this was the epocha of the first establishment of the guard of our kings*.

M. de la Ravière does not push this matter further. It will, without doubt, be entering into his views, to concur with him in the justification of the old man of the mountain, whose defence he has so generously undertaken. Guillaume Guiart, a poetical historian, who composed, in 1306, ‘Le Roumans, appelé la Branche des Royauls Lignages †,’ directly charges the king of England with the act which Rigord attributes to the old man of the mountain. If he is to be believed, Richard had a certain number of youths educated in the principles and belief of the Assassins; that is to say, in the opinion that they ought always to be ready to expose their lives in attacking the enemies of their sovereign, whenever he should command them, and that if they perished in executing his orders, the crown of martyrdom would be the reward of their blood.

‡ ‘Que le roi Richart d’Angleterre
Faisoit enfans endoctriner,
Pour lui occire et afiner §;

* See Father Daniel, Mil. Franc. t. 11. p. 93. and the historians of the city of Paris, article Sainte Catherine, (la Culture.)

† This is the title of the work, No. 10,298. MS. in the National Library at Paris. Guillaume Guiart wrote in verse the history of France from Philippe Auguste to the year 1306, the time he lived. M. du Cange has printed, in his edition of Joinville, those parts that concern the reign of St Louis; but the above MS. a small 4to on vellum, contains the whole work. It is from such parts that have not been printed we have copied what is introduced into the text.

‡ Page 39. col. 1. of the MS.

§ Put to death:

Qui ja ierent tous embarnis *
 Et de telle aprison † garnis,
 Que chacun d'eux homme occeist,
 Tel con son mestre li deist ;
 Et puis qu'il l'eust mort rué,
 Ne li chaufist ‡ d'estre tué :
 Car il devoit tantôt § estre
 Selon la promesse du mestre ||.'

The object of Richard, in the institution of this school for murder was to train up fanatics who might one day assassinate Philippe Auguste.

' Par ceux avoit Richart béance ¶
 De mettre à mort le roi de France :
 Dont il fut forment ** esjoï.'

But Philippe, informed of this design, took proper precautions against a surprise, by establishing a guard of sergeants at mace, who watched day and night over his person; and this institution was in force during the time Guiart lived :

* Full,—the verb 'embarnir' or 'enbarnir,' in the romances of Merlin, Lancelot and others, signifies 'to increase.' The root may perhaps be 'ber,' 'baron,' to become a strong man, like a baron.

† Instruction, lesson, from the verb 'apprendre.'

‡ Care for.

§ Sains (sanctus.)

|| In comparing this passage of Guiart with one in the 39th chapter of the 3d book of the chronicle of Pepin, published, for the first time, by Muratori, (Script. Rer. Italic. tom. 9.) we may judge that Richard, if, however, we dare credit the poet, had taken the model of his school from the practice of the old man of the mountain. Pepin was a dominican monk of Boulogne, and wrote at the commencement of the fourteenth century a chronicle, that includes the history of the monarchy from our earliest kings to his time. Muratori observing, that all which preceded the year 1176 was copied from more ancient chronicles, has only printed what immediately followed that year. It ends in 1314. See the preface of the editor.

¶ Intention, desire, hope, from the word 'béer,' 'bayer,' which is still preserved in the proverb 'Bayer aux corneilles,' to gape at crows.

** Strongly.

‘ Puis que li roi dire l’oï,
 Ne fu il qu’il ne se feïst,
 Douteux qu’on ne le soupriest,
 Eschangaitier * en toutes places,
 Nuit et jour des fergens à maces,
 Soit par chaleur et par froidure.
 Ceste coustume encore dure,
 Et durra, si com ge pourpose,’ &c.

The above passage has appeared to us worthy of insertion at length; for it notices a particularity which we have not met with elsewhere, and which perhaps no other author has mentioned. We shall not, however, do so great an injury to the memory of Richard as to suppose him capable of the horrible design Guiart imputes to him. We may perhaps believe, at the most, that his enemies spread abroad this odious report, and that the suspicions that had fallen on him for the death of the marquis of Montferrat may have caused credit to be given to them.

The third fact related by Guillaume de Nangis, in the year 1236, is,—
 ‘ The old man of the mountain sent some Arfacides to France to murder the king St Louis; but, during the time they were on their journey thither, God changed his murderous dispositions into sentiments of peace. This prince sent other persons to inform the king of the danger he was in, who arrived time enough to discover to him the first messengers. The king loaded them with presents, and sent by them some magnificent ones to their sovereign as testimonies of the peace and friendship he wished to subsist between them.’

M. de la Ravalieri insists, in the first place, that this recital is not less contrary to probability than the preceding one. On the arrival of the second messengers, he says, the order to assassinate St Louis must either have been executed or not yet obeyed. In the first case, the advice sent to the king to take care of himself was useless. Secondly, the old man of the mountain would have been very impolitic to have directly informed the king of a

* To watch.

design which it was his interest to keep secret; for the least to be expected from it would be to fill the mind of Louis with distrust and suspicion, which would irritate him against the old man. Supposing this prince had conceived, and then abandoned the design in question, it would have been enough to have sent other messengers to revoke, as secretly as possible, the orders with which the former had been charged.

These observations are judicious, but they do not amount to a demonstration. M. de la Ravalieri, therefore, attacks this fact, by opposing to this passage of Nangis the induction drawn from another fact related by Joinville, under the year 1250. 'While the king resided at Acre, messengers came from the old man of the mountain. The admiral (he was the chief of the embassy) held this discourse with the king: 'My lord sends me hither to demand from you, if you are acquainted with him?' and the king replied, that he was not, for he had never seen him, although he had heard speak of him. The admiral answered, 'I am much astonished, that since you have heard speak of him, you have never sent him any ambassadors to retain him as a friend, as the emperor of Germany, the king of Hungary, and the sultan of Babylon, and others do every year; for they are certain they shall no longer live, than as it may please my lord.' It is not possible, continues M. de la Ravalieri, to reconcile the fact of 1236 with this last; for it results from it, that in 1250 St Louis was acquainted with the old man of the mountain by hearsay only, and that he had never sent him any presents. The testimony of Nangis, who relates the first fact, cannot balance the authority of Joinville, who tells us the second. Nangis wrote the life of St Louis from memoirs which others had collected: Joinville was witness to the events he relates.

If there were a manifest contradiction in the two authors, and if it were necessary to choose between them, that choice would not be difficult: but in the sitting of the Academy, when M. de la Ravalieri read his memoir, some one observed that Nangis and Joinville might be made to agree, by distinguishing the two facts as happening under two different princes of the Assassins. The name of the old man of the mountain was, as we have before observed, common to all these princes. If the one who

reigned in the year 1250 were no longer the same from whom St Louis had received letters, and to whom he had sent presents in 1236, St Louis might have said that he was unacquainted with him; and the admiral might have complained to the king of his not having sought to secure the friendship of his master by presents.

From this remark it follows, that the criticism of M. de la Ravaliere on this particular fact concerning St Louis can scarcely be considered as more than an ingenious conjecture; and that the sacred orators have not yet lost the right of employing, in their eulogiums of the holy monarch, this famous feature so often celebrated by the eloquence of his panegyrists.

A

DISSERTATION

ON

THE ASSASSINS, A PEOPLE OF ASIA.

BY M. FALCONET.

*Read at the Academie des Sciences, 3d December 1743, and printed in the 17th Volume
of the Memoires de l'Academie.*

PART I.

M. L'EVESQUE DE LA RAVALIERE read to us, some months ago, a dissertation, in which he speaks of the Assassins, an extract from which has been given in the preceding pages ; but his chief design seems to have been to discuss certain facts relative to the attempts imputed to them, on the marquis of Montferrat, on Philippe Auguste, and on St Louis ; and he clearly demonstrates the falsehood of the opinions commonly received on this subject, and adopted by our best historians.

My dissertation has not in view an object so interesting, in regard to our nation; but it may, on the other hand, have the advantage of exciting the curiosity of those who wish to be more thoroughly acquainted with so formidable and so famous a people. I propose to bring forward what every author, whether eastern or western, shall have written, that may furnish any light to the clearing up of all that concerns the origin, the religion, and the various residences of the Affassins. This discussion will naturally lead me to correct a great number of mistakes which have been fallen into by most of those who have spoken of them without sufficient information*.

I shall not be able to give a just idea of the Affassins until I shall have compared the facts of those historians who have mentioned them; but as in two different countries, separated from other nations, Affassins are to be found subject to the same laws and religion, I have thought it proper to distinguish the two divisions of this people, in regard to their different settlements. It has been, I believe, from want of this distinction, and the observations it will give rise to, that the most able writers have had but confused, and sometimes contradictory ideas respecting the Affassins. I shall relate what these authors have said, dividing their accounts into two classes; the first of which shall refer to the Affassins in the more distant countries, on whom I shall shew the others were dependant, and then proceed to the second.

The rabbi Benjamin de Tudela, and William archbishop of Tyre, who both lived about the middle of the 12th century, are the most ancient among the western authors who have mentioned the Affassins. The Jew only speaks of those we have in view; an author, I allow, not very deserving of belief, if he were not supported by those I shall hereafter quote. He had before spoken of the other Affassins, but this we shall reserve for the second class.

Benjamin, in the 15th chapter of his Itinerary, reckons nine days journey from Robabdar, the country of Mobtrat; the inhabitants of which do not believe in the laws of Mohammed, and live on high mountains. They are

* Such, particularly, who have composed dictionaries, wherein the word 'affassin' forms an article.

subject to an old man who resides in the country of the 'Alchafschichins.' This last phrase has been badly translated by Constantin l'empereur * ; but the young M. Baratier, a prodigy of erudition when only ten years of age, has given a true version of it in his french translation, chapter 15. note 9. printed at Amsterdam 1733, 8vo.

M. le Moine, a learned clergyman, had before corrected this mistake, in his letter to M. Ménage, which he has inserted under the word 'Arfaffino,' in his 'Origines Italiennes,' and afterward in his 'Origines Françaises.' The correction is just; but I will show, hereafter, that Benjamin is mistaken, if he intend to denote, by his expression, that the Affassins were subject to the old man of Syria, of whom he had before been speaking, as M. Baratier thus explains it.

This young author points out sufficiently well the territory of the first Affassins, as being in the neighbourhood of the ancient country of the Parthians. He calls this people 'Mulehet:' 'Alacdin,' one of their chiefs, and says, that 'Aloano,' great khan of the Tartars, destroyed them in the 13th century. I exculpate him from the disfiguring of these three proper names, as they may have been faults of the printer; but I can impute to him alone the making 'Holagou,' called by him 'Aloano,' great khan of the Tartars. This prince was but the lieutenant of his brother Mangou Khan, at the time of his expedition against the Affassins. The remainder of M. Baratier's note is taken from the two following historians.

Haiton, lord of Curchi †, nephew to the king of Armenia of the same name, after having followed his uncle a long time in his travels, entered into the order of Premontrès, and came to France the beginning of the 14th century. He dictated to Nicolas Falconi ‡, in the town of Poitiers,

* Seniore[m] suæ regionis Alchafschichim, quasi senes dicas, appellantes, p. 89. Itinerar. Benjam. à C. l'emper. Lug. Bat. 1633. 8vo.

† It is also written Curché, perhaps the ancient Corycus, at this day Curc, a maritime town of Cilicia, included in the kingdom of the lesser Armenia, as it existed in the time of the croisades. In the travels of Oldenburgh, it is written Cure instead of Curc, p. 141. des opusc.alat. which I quote further on. I am indebted for this note to M. D'Anville, equally well versed in the geography of all ages.

‡ Misalled Salconi or Salcoin by La Croix du Maine, and those who have followed him.

in the year 1305, those historical facts which we possess under the name of 'Histoire Orientale.' He relates, (in the 23d and 24th chapters) that the king Haiton went to the court of Mangou-Khan, fourth emperor of the Tartars, then contracted an alliance with him, and afterward accompanied 'Holagou,' whom he calls 'Haolonus,' brother to the khan, in his expedition against Persia. These are the words of the text: 'Cepitque omnes terras usque ad terram Assassinatorum: isti vero sunt infideles; et ad placitum eorum principis, qui Sexmontius dicebatur, morti se sponte offerunt: habebant castrum inexpugnabile Tigado, in cujus obsidione Tartari steterunt per 27 annos.' The Italian translation * says only seven years, 'sette anni interi.' Haiton, in his 51st chapter of the Latin text, speaks of the Assassins of Syria in the environs of 'Malbek,' Balbek, the ancient Heliopolis.

Marco Polo, a Venetian, whom his father Nicholas, and his uncle Maffeo, carried with them when he was nineteen years of age, in their second journey to Asia, about the year 1270, remained a considerable time at the court of Coblai-Khan, successor to Mangou-Khan, where he was enabled to gain information of every particular regarding the Assassins of whom we are speaking. Marco Polo is the more worthy of belief, in that he relates, not only what he had learnt himself, but likewise all that his father and uncle had seen in their first journey to Asia in 1250. His history is composed of all these materials, and he did not write it until he was forty-five years of age at Genoa, where he was long a prisoner†. But this author, though surnamed 'Millioni,' for having exaggerated the riches of the east, has regained his credit, since modern travellers daily verify what had at first been deemed fabulous‡.

Marco Polo says then, in the 28th chapter of his first book, 'In terris illis,' (that is to say, on the confines of Persia and the Transoxane, then occupied by the Tartars,) 'regio quædam mulete dicta, ubi dominatur princeps pessimus, Senex de Montanis,' (he calls him afterward Aloadin) '..... relaturus sum quæ audiui; legi Mahumeti addictus

* Second vol. 10th chap. of the collection of 'Viaggi per Ramusio.'

† This we learn from the preface to the second volume of the Collection of Ramusio.

‡ Vid. Doctor. virorum judicia in fronte editionis Andr. Mulleri.

quosdam ficarios, quos vulgo Affaffinos vocant, sibi adjunxit, et per illos quoscunque volunt, occidunt.' He then speaks of the delicious gardens of this prince, and the means he used to inspire his subjects with a courage to undertake every thing. In the next chapter, which is the 29th, he says, that Allau (meaning Holagou) in 1262 * besieged this tyrant in his castle, and, after three years, conquered it, and extirpated the nation. There are, however, many more curious particulars in the italian text, printed by Ramusio, in his collection; and, in consequence, Purchas holds it of higher value than the latin edition. 'Italica versio aurea est, si cum latinâ comparetur.' This is what Ramusio has: 'Mulehet contrada nella quale anticamente soleva stare il Vecchio della Montagna, perche questo nome di Mulehet e come à dire luogo dove stanno li heretici nella lingua Saracena, e da detto luogo gli huomini si chiamano Mulehetini, cioe heretici della sua lege, si come apresso li Christiani Patharini.' Further on, he adds, speaking of their chief, 'Havea costituito due suoi vicarii, uno della parte di Damasco, et l'altro in Curdistan, che osservavano il medesimo ordine,' &c.

The explanation of the word 'Mulehet,' and his two lieutenants, 'Vicarii,' are two remarkable circumstances that I shall hereafter make use of. I would quote here the passages from Jacques de Vitri and Brocard, did I not reserve them for the second class, because the Affaffins of Persia are only noticed in regard to those of Syria.

We have scarcely any other european authors that mention the Affaffins resident in Persia, although very many eastern writers speak of them. Among these last, I am only personally acquainted with Elmacin and Abulfaragius. M. du Guignes, a young man very conversant in the Chinese as well as in other eastern languages, in communicating to me extracts from Abulfeda † has informed me of several particularities of the Affaffins of Persia, which I have scattered through this essay; but I am

* This must be an error of the press. The date is false. Haiton and Abulfarage place this event, of which they were witnesses, about the year 1254.

† These extracts have no connection with those published by M. Schultens, at the end of the life of Saladin, as I shall in due time notice.

solely indebted to M. d'Herbelot for all that I may quote from other authors, whether Arabians or Persians.

George Elmacin*, a Christian † in the service of the sultans of Egypt, a little before ‡ the middle of the thirteenth century of our æra, says, in the eighth chapter of the fourth book of his saracenic history, in the year 483 of the Hegira (corresponding to 1090 of our æra), that the Batinéens, or Bathéniens, began to take possession of several fortresses in Irak *Agemî* (Persian), and in Dilem, or Ghilan, and among others of Roudiar: that prior to these events, Hassan their chief had gained in Egypt, among the Bathéniens resident there, a great number of followers: that after his establishment in Persia, in answer to the remonstrances made to him by the deputy from the caliph to induce him to surrender, he had, in his presence, ordered two Bathéniens, the one to stab himself, and the other to throw himself from the terrace, which were instantly done; and he added, that he had seventy thousand men animated with similar dispositions: that he had afterwards made himself master of Alamut, which he fixed on for the seat of government, and of several other places.

We shall show the conformity of these facts with those related by the other writers we shall quote. We shall only observe here, that the Batinéens, or Bathéniens, are the same as the Assassins, as will be seen in the end.

Abulfaragius, primate § of the Jacobites, describing in his ninth dynasty, the expedition of Holagou, with whom he was contemporary, against Rucnôddin, the last prince of the Molhédites||, says, that Holagou having passed the Gihon, entered the country of this people the 653d year

* See D'Herbelot, at the word Gergis Ben Amid.

† Prideaux's Chronological Abridgement of Arabian Authors, at the end of the life of Mohammed.

‡ What is quoted here is the sketch of a translation more exact than that of Erpénus, faulty in many places.

§ In the syriac tongue, it is 'Maphrianus,' which means a dignity superior to that of metropolitan, but inferior to patriarch.

|| *Molheditarum*. Pocock, the translator of Abulfarage, in explanation, adds 'Schismaticorum.'

of the Hegira, corresponding with about the 1254th of our æra: that of fifty fortified places, there were but two that resisted for two years; and that at last Mangou Khan ordered Holagou to exterminate their whole nation.

A great number of other eastern writers have spoken of the Assassins of Persia. I am only acquainted with them through M. d'Herbelot, but shall reserve the greater part of what I have taken from his *Bibliothèque Orientale*, for that place in my dissertation, when I shall use them as the most certain means of information as to the religion and origin of this people. I shall add what I have lately learnt from the works of two eastern authors with whom M. d'Herbelot was unacquainted, as he died some time before their publication.

The first is Bayadur-Khan, a descendant from Gengis-Khan, deceased about the middle of the seventeenth century. A translation of his history of the Tartars was published, with notes, in 8vo, at Leyden, 1726. We read in pages 420 and 421, that Holagou, called here Halaku, at the command of his brother Mangou-Khan, entered Persia, and put to the sword the nation called Malahadin, with their chief, the caliph Imotafim. I know not for what reason the note, contrary to the authority of the text, calls him Moadin* instead of Imotafim. Is this, as well as Aloadin, a corruption of the name of the prince Alaeddin, of whom I shall have occasion to speak? or has the name of Moadin been borrowed from Mulahaida? I learn from the notes of Thomas Hyde on Peritfol, page 156, that among many instances of proper names common to princes of the same state, the name of Molhaida was that of the kings of Khotlan, which was a country adjoining to the Khorassan, and it was in the Khorassan that the impostor Hakem, as we shall soon see, established the fanaticism of the Molhédites, before they settled in the Kouhestan. I will shortly give the

* It seems that the author of the notes gives this name to the commanders of the Assassins in Syria, in attributing to them improperly what is said of those in Persia. He would have done better to have cleared up the mistake of historians, who confound with the last scheik of the Assassins the last caliph of the Abbassides, Mostâzem, wrongly called Imotafim, whom Holagou put to death.

true meaning of the word Molhaida, corrupted in so many ways, and of which there is a new corruption in the second eastern author I shall quote.

Father Gaubil published in 1739 the dynasty of the Mongouls, that is to say, of Gengis-Khan and his successors, taken from the Chinese history. We find at page 126, that Mengko, the fourth emperor of the Mongouls, (that is Mangou-Khan) determined, in the year 1252, to send his brother Holagou, here called 'Hiuliehou,' at the head of an army against Halifa, prince of Pahota, caliph of Bagdad; and at page 128, that Holagou, before going to the country of Kichemi *, entered the kingdom of 'Moulai,' a mountainous district, and captured the town of Kitou, where he made an immense pillage. It is added, that the people of Moulai or Mounai were thought warlike, cruel, drunken and profligate. The notes give no elucidation on this subject. We cannot deny but that Moulai is the same word as Molahaida in the history of the Tartars, Molhet of Benjamin de Tudela, and Mulehet of Ramusio †. We likewise see the Assassins clearly pointed out in the cruel, profligate, and warlike character before given. We also acknowledge, even under the Chinese name of Kitou, the fortresses called Tigado by Haiton. Between these two names, there is no essential difference but the transposition of permutable consonants ‡. Pahota and Bagdad have much less resemblance.

I come now to the second class of passages concerning the Assassins of Syria, whom I call the western. I have first quoted Benjamin de Tudela and William of Tyre, as the earliest writers who have noticed them. The rabbi, prior to what I have quoted from him respecting the eastern Assassins,

* The Chinese thus call all countries to the westward of the Mongouls.

† In the 20th chapter of the Travels of Rubriques into Tartary, he calls the mountains contiguous to the Caspian, Mufiet or Mountains of the Assassins. Bergeron, who published the first edition of the above travels, adds, in the margin, 'Mulete,' and yet, in his essay on the Tartars, § 8. he writes 'Mufihet,' country of the Assassins.

‡ In Tigado and Kitou, permutation of G into K in Bagdad and Pahota, permutation of B into P and of the D into T. All mute letters are interchangeable in every language; but the Chinese prefer these mutes to the meaner ones: the P for the B, C or K for G and T for D: they know not even the B nor G.

has said in his seventh chapter, ‘ That near to Gebal (he means mount Libanus) is the people called ‘ Alchafhishins,’ who are not of the religion of Mohammed : (he says the same thing of the Affassins of Molath) they follow that of a certain Canbat, whom they hold for a prophet, obeying him in all things, whether in matters of life or death, the place of his residence is the town of Karmos or Kormos, which was formerly included in the territory of Sihon. They make themselves dreaded, because they assassinate kings with a kind of law. Their country is eight days journey in extent.’

The note of M. Baratier on the above is almost wholly taken from William of Tyre, whose text, however, he has in many instances altered, as we shall soon see. He then relates the pretended history of the Affassins sent to France to murder St Louis, which M. de la Ravalere has sufficiently confuted ; and he adds, that the Affassins continued in their ancient state until the thirteenth century, when they were exterminated by the Tartars, as if the expedition of Holagou, about the middle of that century, and not towards the end, regarded the Affassins of Syria. The author of the notes on the history of the Tartars has likewise been mistaken, with many others, on this historical fact. I return to the text of Benjamin, to observe on what M. Baratier has not condescended, or has been unable to elucidate. The rabbi ascribes to the Affassins, as their prophet, one ‘ Canbat.’ I have reason to think we should read ‘ Carmath,’ a notorious impostor, whom I shall notice. But whoever this Canbat may be, Benjamin seems to confound the prophet, that is to say, the author of their religion, with the commandant who actually governed them. The epithet ‘ certain,’ applied to Canbat, denotes a person of distant times, and of whom we do not speak with full security.

The place called Karmos in the country of Sihon, which Benjamin makes the residence of their prophet, or their chief, is most probably mount Chermon, or Hermon, which, in the book of Deuteronomy, is likewise called Sion. This mountain, to the south-east of Anti Libanus, and contiguous to it, which commands Panéas (Cæsarea Philippi) is different from another mount Chermon, or Hermon, situated very far to the southward in the vicinity of mount Tabor. It is of this last that the

133d Psalm says, ' Like as the dew of Hermon, that fell on the hill of Sion ;' that is to say, on the adjoining hills, according to the interpretation of M. Reland.

Maundrel, in his travels to Aleppo, who is as exact as curious, says, page 95, that he had felt on this mount Hermon very abundant dews.

As to what Benjamin says, that the country of the Affassins extends to eight days journey, he is not far from the truth, since other writers give nearly the same extent of territory to the Affassins, describing it as continuing from Damascus to Antioch, as we shall presently see.

William archbishop of Tyre, born, as it is believed, in Jerusalem, but who pursued his studies in the west, was living in the middle of the twelfth century. It was at the request of Amauri king of Jerusalem, who furnished him with arabian manuscripts, that he laboured on the history of the princes of the east. This book we have lost; and there only remains his history of the croisades in twenty-three books, the last of which is imperfect. There is an ancient translation of the whole work into French, with a continuation in the same language by an author of the thirteenth century. This continuation has only been printed in the fifth volume of the great collection of fathers Martène and Durand, Benedictines, who have been ignorant of the authors name, although it is quoted very often by M. du Cange, in his latin glossary under the name of Hugh Plagon.

William of Tyre says, in chapter 23, book 20, ' Circa episcopatum antaradensem est quidam populus castella decem habens: hi magistrum non hæreditaria successione, sed maritorum prærogativa solent eligere, quem senem vocant, cui tantæ obedientiæ vinculo obligantur, ut nihil sit tam difficile, quod non aggrediantur, si quos habent principes odiosos data uni de suis fica, &c. Hos tam nostri quam Saraceni (nescimus unde deducto nomine) Affissinos vocant.' As to what concerns their religion he says, ' Hi etiam quadringentis annis Saracenorum legem et eorum traditiones tanto zelo coluerunt, ut omnes alii respectu eorum prævaricatores judicarentur.'

Speaking, afterwards, of the project of their conversion, he accompanies the recital with some curious facts, and says, that their chief, in the time of Amauri, promised this king that he would become a Christian, on condition

that he should be discharged from the payment of two thousand pieces of gold, as a tribute to the Knights-Templars; that the king accepted his proposal, offering to make good this payment to the Templars, but that, by the perfidy of a Templar, who slew the envoy from the Assassins, on his return to his lord, and by the death of Amauri, the negotiation failed, &c. I shall observe on the above, that the Antaradus of William of Tyre is the town commonly called Tortosa, and that the Assassins are there considered as Mohammedans, as Marco Polo styles them, although he declares them heretics, under the name of Mulehetini, in the same manner as the Patharins and other sectaries are comprehended under the name of Christians: therefore Benjamin positively denies that they were Mohammedans. Let us recollect that William of Tyre gives four hundred years of antiquity to the Assassins, for I shall have occasion to recal this date.

John Phocas, of cretan origin, in his description * of the sacred places that he visited in the year 1185, tells us, in the third section, that from Antaradus to Tripoli extends a line of mountains inhabited by the 'Chafysiens,' *Χαυσιῖοι* †, a nation holding very particular religious tenets, considering their chief as the vicar of God, and who, in contempt of all danger, in assassinating such as he may order, view death as a martyrdom to be crowned with eternal happiness.

The cardinal Jacques de Vitri, bishop of Acre, named to the patriarchate of Jerusalem, and who flourished at the beginning of the thirteenth century, has left us, beside other works, an eastern and western history in three books. It is in the 14th chapter of the first book that he notices the Assassins, and nearly in the same terms as William of Tyre and many others ‡, but with some additions, of which I shall only quote the following, as it may incline us to place this author among those who speak of the eastern Assassins. This is the passage: 'Primus autem et summus infaustæ religionis eorum

* Leo Allatius has given the greek text with his translation, inter ejus *Συμμικτα*, edit. a Bartold. Nihusio. Col. Agripp. 1653. 8vo. Father Papebrok has only reprinted the translation. Act. Sanct. T. II. Maii.

† Fabrot, in his notes on Isaac l'Ange, writes more correctly *Χαυσιῖοι*.

‡ 'Circa fines civitatis Antaradenfis quæ hodie vulgariter appellatur Tortosa,' &c.

abbas et locus, unde principium habuerunt et a quo in Syriam venerunt in partibus ut orientalibus valde remotis, versus civitatem Baldacensem et partes Perfidis provinciæ.’

In the third book, of the edition by father Martène, he says, ‘Magistrum habent in profundum orientis, qui est caput superstitionis eorum; omnes alii principes eorum subditi sunt, et obediunt: hunc Saraceni appellant magistrum cultellorum.’

We must join with Jacques de Vitri his contemporary Brochardus, or Borchardus, a german Dominican, who, in his description of the holy land, where he had lived for ten years, after saying, in the second chapter, that to the east of Antaradus, ‘sunt quædam montana, quæ terra vocatur Affissinorum,’ adds in the twelfth chapter, conformable to what Jacques de Vitri had said, ‘hi de Perfide dicuntur originem traxisse, aucti ad numerum 40 millia armatorum.’ Here are confirmations of the strongest nature, as to what Marco Polo has said respecting the superiority of the Assassins in Persia over those in Syria.

In the passage of Jacques de Vitri, nothing can create any difficulty but the town, called ‘civitas Baldacensis.’ Marco Polo, and after him Sanuto, St Antonin, and many more have thus corrupted the name of the famous Bagdad: some have even called it Valdac. There is not the smallest likelihood that it should be this town which Jacques de Vitri has thus denominated, as Denis le Bey de Batilli has thought, in his small book on the origin of the Assassins. This Baldac should be sought for in the most distant parts of the east, ‘in profundum orientis;’ and I venture to assert, that it is the town of Balkh, the ancient Bactria, almost the last town of Persia to the eastward. Marco Polo calls it Balac, according to the writing of the Arabians. I therefore suspect we ought to read in Jacques de Vitri ‘civitas Balacensis,’ instead of ‘Baldacensis.’ I will allow that this author has placed the eastern Assassins at too great a distance; for the town of Balkh is far beyond the Kouhestan, the seat of their government, although in an adjacent province, namely the Khorassan, a country of vast extent. The great distance of this extremity of Persia from Palestine, where Jacques de Vitri wrote, may perhaps excuse his mistake, and what may serve as an additional excuse, is, that in the Khorassan, of which Balkh is one of the

considerable towns; indeed, it is regarded as the metropolis of Mussulmanism; there appeared about the end of the second century of the Hegira, a set of fanatics, called ‘*les vêtus de blanc* :’ and if Jacques de Vitry had heard of them, he might easily have mistaken them for the Assassins; for between these two sects there was much resemblance, as I shall hereafter show.

Jacques de Vitry speaks again of the Assassins, in his third book, in the year 1219, on the occasion of the murder of the son of the count of Tripoli, Raymond II. assassinated in 1148. It was to avenge his death that the Templars attacked the Assassins, and reduced them to such extremity as to compel them to pay an annual tribute of three thousand befants: in another part, he says it was two thousand.

This third book of Jacques de Vitry, first given to the public by Bongars, has been reprinted from a manuscript having a very different text, in the anecdotes of father Marténe. Besides what I have already quoted, I shall add, further on, all that concerns the religion of the Assassins.

Arnoldus, first abbot of St John at Lubec, contemporary with Jacques de Vitry and Brocard, notices the Assassins in two places of his continuation of the chronicle of the Slavi, or Sclavonians, by Helmoldus. I see nothing worthy of remark, except what he says of the lands they occupied in Syria: ‘*In terminis Damasciæ, Antiochiæ et Alapiæ, quodam genus Saracenorum in montanis, eorum linguâ vulgari Heissefim* :’ from which we learn the extent of their territory from south to north. Guillaume de Nangis, who lived at the close of the thirteenth century, says, conformably to Arnoldus, ‘*In confinio Antiochiæ et Damasci, in castris munitissimis super montes*.’

I find also, from the extracts of M. de Guignes, that the Ismaéliens, in the 523d year of the Hegira, occupied Panéas, immediately below the mount Hermon of which we have spoken, a place situated to the south of Damascus. The testimony of all these authors confirms what Marco Polo has said of two lieutenants being sent; the one to Damascus, and the other into the Kurdistan. To explain the situation of this Kurdistan, different perhaps from the country commonly so called, my readers must allow me to make a short digression. Pliny will furnish me with the ground-work of it.

The following passage from this author, the explanation of which, supported by facts selected elsewhere, will throw light on our subject by the discovery of the origin of the name given to the Afsafsins, taken from the ancient name of a nation, who in the end embraced their religion. Pliny, describing Cœlo-Syria, says, in book the fifth, chapter twenty-third, ‘Cœle habet apamiam marfya amne divisam à tetrarchiâ Nazerinorum, Bambycem, quæ alio nomine Hierapolis, Syris vero Magog.’ I shall just observe, that the Bambyce, of which Pliny speaks, is the Manbesja of the Arabs; and that the Syrians call Magog, ‘Mabougo.’ This last ought to be the reading of Pliny, and not Magog, which father Hardouin has left remaining in the text, under a vain pretence of justifying it. We are indebted to Thomas Hyde for the first correction of this word, who, to show the conformity of Bambyce and of Magog, produces instances of the permutations of the letters B, P, and M. I add also the exchange of Balbek, the Heliopolis of Syria, for Malbek. But let us come to our object, namely the Nazerini, who are mentioned in this passage of Pliny.

This nation, Nazerini *, situated in the neighbourhood of the Marfyas† and of the Orontes, has preserved its name among the Arabians. M. d’Herbelot, in his ‘Bibliothèque Orientale,’ takes notice of three sorts of ‘Noffairioun,’ as different from each other as the derivations are various of the same name, which he equally uses in speaking of them all. The last Noffairioun, in his work, are those whom we acknowledge for the Nazerini of Pliny: they are a sect of Schiites, or followers of Ali, whose religion was nearly the same as that of the Affassins. M. Asfemani, in the 320th page of the second volume of his ‘Bibliothèque Orientale,’ speaks of these Noffairioun, but so confusedly, that it is difficult to distinguish them from

* Father Hardouin, in his sixth note, is not fortunate in seeking the Nazerini among certain Arabians mentioned by Strabo.

† This river, different from the Marfyas of Phrygia, and which Pliny alone has noticed, must have been some torrent which runs into the lake formed by the Orontes, to the north-west of Apaméa. Nevertheless, father Hardouin will have this river Marfyas to be the same as the Axios on a medal, contrary to the opinion of M. Vaillant, who believes, with more probability, that it was the Orontes, called Axios by the Macedonians.

the Nazaréens. This, however, we shall attempt to clear up when we come to the religion of the Affaffins.

Maundrel, in the twentieth page of his travels, places above Jébilée (Gabala) a nation called by the Turks Nécéres, true cameleons in matters of religion. Their name declares their origin. He says also in the 15th page, that in the same place, in the midst of turkish Mohammedans, there were sectaries of Hamet and Ali, who detest Omar. M. de la Roque, in the 9th page of his 2d volume of travels through Syria, calls these last Turcomans, or Amédiens; the same, probably, as the sectaries of Hamet. This was one of three nations who inhabit Libanus and Anti-Libanus: the Maronites and the Druses are the two others. But what we read in the memoirs of the missionaries, pages 208. and 209. in the 6th vol. respecting the town of Aleppo, is more decisive. This memoir says, that the Kefbiens* and the Naffariens†, who occupy the mountains, and the plain towards the sea, near to Tripoli, may, very possibly, be the successors to the Afsafsins, that the religious tenets of these three people have great conformity, that they believe in the metempsychosis, &c. The writer of this memoir has, however, fallen into many mistakes respecting the Afsafsins, whom he has before mentioned. Hyde most positively assures us, that the Nazerini of Pliny, Nofeiri, Nofairæi, Nofeirini, of the Arabians, are a portion of the Kurdes who inhabit Mount Libanus. The same author has elsewhere observed, that Libanus was inhabited by many sectaries from Kurdistan, and that the Afsafsins were originally Kurdes. Are not these, then, sufficiently strong reasons for us to suppose, that the Kurdistan of Marco Polo may have been the northern side of Mount Libanus, whither

* The same perhaps as the Keffalfioun. See this word in d'Herbelot, and that of Schiah, where he calls them Kerfabiens; but we ought to read Kelbins for Kefbiens. In a map of Syria, in the fifth volume of the 'Memoires de l'Academie,' the Kelbins are noticed. This people is situated, in that map, between Antioch and Laodicea, and the Noffaires immediately below them, to the southward. In Hyde de Relig. Persar. p. 491. Kelbii, Calbii, id est. Canicularii. In Huntington, epist. 47. Kelbini in Coele-Syria.

† Called Naffaifies in the above-mentioned map, where they are placed more northward than Tripoli. Father Hardouin calls them also Naffairies, in the sixth note on the passage quoted from Pliny.

the Afsafsins of Persia sent one of their lieutenants, whilst the other had the southern district towards Damascus? I will not, however, deny, that a part of the Afsafsins might have resided at the same time in the real Kurdistan. In a small map of the northern part of Diarbeker, drawn up by M. d'Anville, one of the most learned geographers of the age, I have seen placed between Amio, or Diarbeker, and the lake of Van, a place called by him the 'paradise of the Afsafsins,' on the authority of a traveller whose name he has forgotten. It may be seen elsewhere how the famous Gelaléddin, son to the sultan of Khouarefm, whose empire was destroyed by Genghis Khan, was slain in the Kurdistan by a Kurde, in the house of one of his friends, whither he had retired after his last defeat. Such are the circumstances related by M. Pétis de la Croix of the afsafsination of this prince. Having fully considered this matter, I shall now leave the more positive determination of the situation of the Kurdistan of Marco Polo to others, who may be endowed with more knowledge, and who shall judge of it without prejudice. I shall merely remark on this occasion, that the true Kurdistan was by its locality the most proper place to form a communication between the Afsafsins of Persia and those of Syria.

After so long a digression, but which appeared to me necessary to my subject, and incidentally for the elucidation of Pliny, I return to the thread of my quotations. I left off at a passage of Arnold of Lubeck. I proceed with Bengertus, a learned German, who has given an edition of the chronicle of this author, at the end of that of Helmoldus, with notes. He has collected, in one of these notes, the name of almost every author whom he has known to have spoken of the Afsafsins; but he is mistaken, as well as M. Baratier, the editor of the history of the Tartars, in applying to the Afsafsins of Syria the expedition of Holagou against those of Persia, and placing, by a continuation of this error, the town of Tigado in Phœnicia.

The first author who has been the cause of this mistake, common to so many writers, was Matthew Paris, an english Benedictine of the abbey of St Albans, an historian of reputation towards the middle of the thirteenth century. In several parts of his history, where he speaks of the Afsafsins, as in the life of Stephen king of England, the period he fixes on for the

affassination of Raymond was about 1150. He copies William of Tyre almost word for word. He indeed, instead of the king Amauri, calls the monarch Baldwin IV. son and successor to the former, contrary to the direct authority of William of Tyre. But the passage we have in view is under the reign of Henry III. of England, when, after having spoken of the irruption of the Tartars into Syria, which he places in the year 1257 of our æra, he adds, that these detestable people destroyed the Afsafsins, still more detestable than themselves, ‘detestabiliores.’ As this passage may create a belief that the tartarian prince formed another expedition against the Afsafsins of Syria, it is proper to notice, that Holagou, after the capture of Bagdad, having pushed his conquests as far as Syria, it does not appear that he effected any change in the situation of the Afsafsins of that country: they escaped from him, without doubt, by taking refuge in the most inaccessible places of Mount Libanus, and made their appearance again on his departure, or, rather, having submitted without resistance, they were humanely treated by the conqueror.

However this may be, the Afsafsins of Syria were certainly in existence after 1257, the year of their pretended destruction; for the attempt of an Afsafsin, in the town of Acre, on prince Edward, son to Henry III. is related at the year 1272, in the continuation of Matthew Paris’s history by William Rishanger, a Benedictine of the same monastery, who died in 1312. Thomas Walsingham, an english historian likewise, referring this fact to the year 1371, says, ‘Laffatinus quidam eum ex improvise cultello occidit:’ now, by the word ‘occidit,’ we must understand ‘vulneravit*,’ as the remaining part of the history shews. How could he kill a prince who reigned until 1307, and of whom he himself gives the life at the commencement of his history?

I am not acquainted with any attempt of the Afsafsins of Syria about this period; and there is reason to suppose that, no longer supported by those of Persia, they were afraid to risk any very daring enterprise, as their

* Spelman, who at the word ‘Laffatinus,’ in his glossary, quotes this passage, copied afterward by others, should have explained the sense of the word ‘occidit,’ which readers, not perfectly learned, would not fail to understand in its true meaning. ‘Affassiner,’ in French, is used in both senses.

power was daily declining, until they were completely destroyed about the year 1280 of our æra.

This I have learnt from the extracts from Abulfeda by M. de Guignes, that in the 671st year of the Hegira, the lieutenants of Bibars *, sultan of Egypt, completed the capture of the remaining castles of the Ismaëliens, Kahf, Manica and Cadmous.

An author who lived at the beginning of the fourteenth century, collecting all that William of Tyre and Jacques de Vitri have said, has made the same mistake as Matthew Paris. His name was Francis Pipin or Pépin, a Dominican of Bologna in Italy, of whom we have a chronicle that remained in manuscript until M. Muratori published an edition of it †. Pépin is so much the less excusable, as he styles himself the author of a latin translation of Marco Polo, and he ought to have followed him in the tradition of the destruction of the Assassins by Holagou.

Hitherto I have only quoted authors from whom I could obtain information, or whose faults I was obliged to notice, as they may lead to error. I should make a display as tiresome as it would be vain, were I to produce all the passages of every author where almost the same things are to be found. Radevic ‡, a German, Brompton, Roger Hoveden, William of Newbridge §, Nicolas de Trivet, all english authors; Rigord, a french historian; Vincent de Beauvais, Oderic de Frejus, Sanuto, a Venetian, &c. would only repeat, with a few variations, what we have before had from the writers already quoted, without further instructing us in any thing respecting the origin or religion of the Assassins. In regard to this last point, I shall add one fact, anterior nearly a century to the expedition of Holagou, and

* Bibars IV. sultan of the second dynasty of the Mamelukes.—*D'Herbélot* at the word *Bibars*.

† Tom. 9. of the collection of 'Historians of Italy.' It is from chapter 38. to 41. inclusively, that Pépin speaks of the Assassins.

‡ Author of the *Gest. Frider.* 1. He speaks of an attempt of an assassin on this emperor during the siege of Milan in the year 1159, in his second book, chapter 37.

§ Miscalled Neubourg by M. du Cange in his *Dissertations* on Joinville, and by father le Long in his *Biblioth. Historique de France*, No. 14,681, &c.

which could not be known till the recent publication of a work that has hitherto remained in manuscript.

M. Schultens, in 1738, published the arabic text, with the translation, of the life of the famous Saladin, written by Bohadin, who had attended him in his expeditions. This historian says, chapter 15. p. 45. that Saladin, immediately after the surrender of the town of Manbesja *, besieged that of Azaza †, and that during this siege he fortunately escaped from the attempts of the Ismaelites (Ismaéliens ‡, that is to say, Assassins). In the extracts from Abulfeda, which M. Schultens has printed, with other pieces, at the end of Bohadin's life, this fact is detailed more fully; for it is there said, in the tenth chapter, that Saladin, wounded by an Ismaélite, seized him as he was repeating his blows; that his guards flew him when in his arms; and that, instantly after, two other Ismaelites were also killed, at the moment of their attack on the sultan; that Saladin, animated with a just spirit of vengeance, after the capture of Azaza, entered their country, put every thing to fire and sword, and marched to lay siege to Mafiata, the place of their retreat; but that their chief, named Sinanus §, made his peace, through the intercession of the uncle of Saladin.

The abbé Renaudot, so learned in the eastern languages, had read, without doubt, an arabic manuscript of Abulfeda, and relates this fact in the history which he published of the patriarchs of Alexandria, at Paris, in 1713; but we cannot guess whence he has taken the name of Mofiab, which he gives to Mafiata, for he frequently piques himself on not giving the name of his authorities, as if he were desirous of concealing from his readers the sources of his knowledge. The geographical index which M. Schultens has placed at the end of his work informs us || that Mafiata is a fortified town

* Mansbejum,—Mansbeja, Bambyce, Hierapolis, according to the geographical index to the life of Saladin, Mabog of Pliny. See further on what is said of Mabougo of the Syrians.

† See another Azaza hereafter.

‡ See further on, when Ismael is mentioned.

§ The same name as that of a magi. See note further on.

|| According to the extracts made by M. de Guignes from the history of Abulfeda, the Ismaéliens had seized on Mafiata from the Moncadites, in the 525th year of the Hegira. He reads

on the sea-shore, near to Tripoli, and that Abulfeda, in the additions to his description of Syria, places Mafiata on mount Affikkin, literally the 'mountain of the knife,' or of 'the poinard.' The weapon by which Saladin was wounded is called by Abulfeda in Arabic 'Sikkin,' in the translation 'Culter.' I very much suspect that the Latin has borrowed the word 'Sica' from the Arabic 'Sikkin,' or the Hebrew 'Sakin.' The learned in the eastern tongues are not sufficiently aware of such resemblances. I am also persuaded that the word 'Affikkin' bears no relation to that of Affassin, as will be seen in the second part of this dissertation, which has so much connection with the first, that they will mutually serve to elucidate each other.

'Mafiat' instead of 'Mifiaph,' which is the arabic text. It may have been from this mistake that the Mofiab of the abbé Renaudot arose. Mafiata, however, is the Mefiat whence is dated a pretended letter from the commandant of Syria, that will be noticed hereafter.

A

DISSERTATION

ON

THE ASSASSINS, A PEOPLE OF ASIA.

BY M. FALCONET.

PART II.

I RETURN to the history of the Assassins, who made so sharp an attack on Saladin; because the motives of this attempt, such as I think myself authorised to presume them to be, will at length lead me to the discussion of the religion and origin of this people, which two articles will mutually assist in the explanation of each other.

Saladin, in his last expedition to Egypt, had almost entirely abolished the tenets of Ali; that was the reigning sect under Adhad, the last caliph of the race of the Fatimites, who took their name from Fatima, daughter of Mohammed, and the first wife of Ali. Saladin himself had probably been of this sect, being of kurdish origin, of the tribe of the Ravadiens*,

* See the geographical index at the end of the life of Saladin, at the article of 'Curdi Rawadiæi.'

who believed in the metempsychosis. It is not surprising that at the time this prince was ravaging the lands near to the territories of the Assassins, or perhaps such as made part of their own dominion, they should have considered him not only as the enemy of their nation, but also of their religion, and even as a renegade, a principle of animosity infinitely more powerful than any other.

This religion, of which we are now to speak, was a branch of the sect of Ali. To give a just idea of it, I have but to put in order what M. d'Herbelot says of it in the different articles of his '*Bibliothèque Orientale*,' a treasure that cannot be sufficiently prized; but which not being printed until after his death, and before the author had put the finishing hand to it, is deserving of correction, and of being edited in a better manner.

The Mohammedans named Sunnites, who believe themselves the only orthodox, are in general called Shiites, or Schiaites, from Schiah, which signifies 'faction,' the sectaries of Ali. The division that sprung up between these two parties at the beginning of the second century of the Hegira was considerably augmented in the fourth, and finally caused the ruin of the caliphs of Bagdad. These sectaries, who on their part thought themselves the only faithful, under the name of Adelin (Justs) divided into several sects, of which there were five principal ones, whence a prodigious number of branches burst forth.

The most considerable of these five was that of the Sofis, or Sefis, who pretended to be descended by Scheikh Sefi, or Séfiéddin, from Houfain, second son to Ali, the true branch of the Imams, according to the Persians. They were mystics, considered as Mohammedans of the purest religion.

Ismaël Sophi, head of the last dynasty of the kings of Persia, between the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, derived his origin from this Séfiéddin. Travellers, ignorant of the cause of the surname of Sophi, have believed it to be the discriminating name of the kings of Persia *.

* M. Otter, in the first volume, page 243, of his *Travels in Turkey*, says, that the kings of Persia are called 'Saféviens,' from being the descendants from Cheik-Safi. M. D'Herbelot interprets the word 'Safi,' 'chosen,' whence Scheik-Safi. Nevertheless from 'Sofi,' a religious Mussulman, he

All these sectaries agree in allowing Ali to be only first Imam after Mohammed; but they count differently in respect to the Imamatus, or the sovereign power, both as to temporal and spiritual matters,—a power which they regard as divine, and which cannot be disobeyed or resisted without impiety. It is in one of the branches of these five principal sectaries that we must seek the origin of the Assassins.

Towards the middle of the second century of the Hegira, Giafar al Sadek, that is to say, the just, the sixth of the imams, admitted by the Persians, had several sons: Ismaël, the eldest, died before his father, and the sectaries pretend that the dignity of imam had descended to his issue, in preference to the collateral line. It is from this Ismaël the Assassins have taken the name of Ismaëliens. I could have wished that M. Schultens had made use of this name, in his translation of the life of Saladin, rather than that of Ismaëlites, the general name of Mohammedans, which the Jews give them, and which they have retained from the Arabians, their ancestors, long called so before the time of Mohammed. Pocock, in his translation of Abulfaragius, shews the same want of attention. M. d'Herbelot, more scrupulous in speaking of our sectaries, always says Ismaëliens, in consequence of an observation which he makes at the word 'Ismaëlioun.'

The faction we are speaking of at first excited great troubles, which ended in open rebellion. It was a branch of the descendants of Ismaël, son to Giafar, that took forcible possession of Egypt toward the end of the third century of the Hegira, and reigned there about three hundred years, under the name of Fatimite Caliphs: they were also called African Ismaëliens. Our Ismaëliens, who are those of Asia, established themselves two hundred years later; but their origin may be dated from the death of Giafar, in the middle of the second century of the Hegira, about the year 770 of our æra. This completes exactly the four hundred years which

derives the word 'Sof,' or 'Souf,' 'wool,' from the ancient Sofis wearing woollen dresses. M. Kämpfer, *Amœnit. Exotic.* clothes these religious in camlet, 'Suf, fauph,' a sort of camlet fabricated at Suph, a small town in Syria, &c.

The first derivation of Sufi seems the more reasonable, as to what concerns the kings of Persia. The religious Mussulmen may have either the one or the other of these derivations.

William of Tyre allows for the antiquity of their religion at the time he wrote, nearly in 1170.

The chief dogmas of the Assassins were the metempsychosis, and the descent of the holy Spirit * on the persons of their imams. A strong belief in this last point inspires them with that blind obedience to execute the orders of their sovereign, as if he were a god, and makes them dare death with an intrepidity that is unexampled among the rest of mankind.

Similar principles, drawn from Magic † and Judaism, as well as from Mohammedanism, infected I know not how many enthusiasts prior to the establishment of the Assassins. There is great likelihood that the religion of the Indians entered also into the monstrous mixture of which the Ismaëliens composed theirs.

Hassan-Sabah, their first chief in Persia, had gone as far as Khashgar, a town in the Turkestan, to seek, in the dogmas of the Magi and Indians, wherewith to enrich those of his own sect. Already this whole country, even the more northern parts of it, was infected with Indianism (if I may be allowed the word). One of the first khans of the turkish nation had prevailed on some Bonzes from China and India to come to him, in the seventh century of our æra, at the same moment when Mohammed began to establish his doctrines in the south of Asia. This I learnt from M. de Guignes, who told me he had found it in chinese books.

At the commencement of the Ismaëliens, there appeared a sect called 'Ravendiah:' such as embraced it were named 'Zenadecah,' and 'Revendi:' their chief was denominated, 'Alzendik,' from the word 'Zend,' the title of a book of Zoroaster, the gospel, if I may so call it, of the Magi, of which these sectaries were a branch. They believed in the metempsychosis, and vainly endeavoured to persuade Almanzor, second caliph of the Abbassides, that the spirit of Mohammed had passed into his body: far

* Called Holuliat. See d'Herbelot, article 'Imam,' who has spelt it wrong, 'Huloubiat.' Holoul Choloul means in Arabic 'descent,' and also 'repose, habitation.'

† There was Sinan, one of the Magi, in the Khorassan, who believed in the metempsychosis with Abou-Moslem.—D'Herbelot, word 'Sinan.' All these fanatics were guilty of incest, from the examples of the Magi.

from accepting of the divine honours which they consequently wished to pay him, he made it a point of religious duty to exterminate them.

Some considerable time afterward, Hakem-Bemrillah, third caliph of the Fatimites in Egypt, was not so prudent: his head being turned with pride, he believed himself in fact a god, at the persuasions of a fanatic, called Darari, of whom I shall soon speak.

A little before, the Zenadecahs uttered their visions at the court of the Abasside Caliph, there appeared in the Khorassan an impostor called Hakem-ben-Hafchem, who was pleased to suppose that the spirit of God had descended on Abou Moslem, governor of that province. Abou Moslem, though persuaded of the truth of the metempsychosis, must have been distrustful of this honour, and must have judged Giafar, who resided at Medina, more worthy of it, since he offered him the caliphate.

This Mohammedan, a great warrior, wished to destroy the dynasty of the Omniades, and, on the refusal of Giafar, he established the Abassides on the throne. Hakem, after the death of Abou Moslem, laid claim to the Divine Spirit, and excited great troubles, which ceased not after his death. Besieged, and perceiving the place must soon be stormed, he put himself to death in a singular manner, by throwing himself into a bath of aqua-fortis, without doubt, in order that his body might be so consumed, as to excite a belief that his body and soul ascended together to heaven, as his sectaries, the 'Vetus de blanc,' afterwards published.

More than one hundred years after this, in the 278th year of the Hegira, came Kerfah, another impostor, surnamed Carmath, from the place of his residence, near to Cufa. His history is in *Abulfaragius*. He spread abroad the same erroneous opinions as Hakem and the Zenadecahs; but, establishing new legal observances, he principally inculcated, that they were all but symbols of the blind obedience due to the imam, whose dignities and divine prerogatives, however, he thought might pass from one family to another. I imagine that in this Carmath we find the Canbat of Benjamin de Tudela, whom he calls the Prophet of the Assassins. My conjecture seems the more probable, from Khondemir, the persian historian, informing us that the sect of Carmath conforms to the doctrines of Ismaël, son to Giafar.

The sectaries of Carmath formed a government in Arabia, of which Hagiar* was their capital. Abou-Thaher, chief of the Carmathes, a little before the middle of the fourth century of the Hegira, after having pillaged Mecca, and profaned the temple, whence he carried off the black stone, marched a troop of 500 horse against an army of thirty thousand men, sent by the caliph. When a general from the caliph came to exhort him to submit, Abou-Thaher, to show how cheaply he held the army of the caliph, after telling him that his general wanted three such men as his, by a simple sign, ordered three of his soldiers to kill themselves, one by a stroke of a poinard on the throat, another by throwing himself into the Tigris, the third by leaping off a very high place, and instantly he was obeyed. The terror with which these self-murders inspired his enemies made him gain an easy victory. I have related a similar fact in my quotations from Elmacin, and there is another of the same sort told of the western Assassins. We read in the chronicle of Pepin, at the place before cited, that Henry the second count of Champagne, who married Ifabeau, daughter to king Amauri, and widow of Conrad, marquis of Montferrat, was invited by the commandant of the Assassins in Syria to pass through his territory. On his coming near a certain tower, the commandant, who had accompanied him, asked if he had subjects as obedient as his were. Without waiting an answer, at the first signal he made, three young men, clothed in white, precipitated themselves from the top of the tower near to which they were.

It is from similar facts that Nicetas Choniates says the Assassins, at the simple motion of the eye-brows of their prince, threw themselves into water, fire, or on the points of spears, or swords, that may be presented to them.

What is said of the young men clothed in white, in this passage of Pepin, gives me occasion to observe, that the white colour of the dress seems to be of legal observance among all these fanatics. The sectaries of Hakem of the Khorassan, whom we have mentioned, were called in Persian ‘Sifid Giameghian,’ that is to say, ‘those clothed in white.’ The Esseniens, whom

* This Hagiar is not the ancient Petra: it is another Hagiar near to the Persian gulph, in the province of Bahrein. D’Herbelot, at the word ‘Hagiar,’ has confounded them.

‘Hagr, Hagiar,’ in Arabic, means ‘stone.’

we shall demonstrate by and bye to have some conformity with the Ifmaëliens, wore nothing but white clothes : it is probable that they took them from the Nazaréens.

Some time after the commencement of the fourth century of the Hegira, Schamalgani preached, not only the metempsychosis, but also the transfusion of souls among the living. He abolished all divine worship, and permitted incest. This villain was executed shortly after, under the reign of Radhi, the twentieth caliph of the Abassides.

At the beginning of the fifth century of the Hegira, in 408, Darari, who, as I have said, had perverted the fatimite caliph, having been slain, Hamzah, protected by the same caliph, re-animated the sect of Dararioun. Hamzah established not only doctors in Cairo and in Mefrah, the ancient Babylon of Egypt, but he sent, as I may say, a colony of Darariouns to Syria, Tyre, Sidon and Beritus, whither, perhaps, he himself retired, after the death of the caliph, in the 411th year of the Hegira.

The extravagance of the dogmas and practices of Schamalgani, formed the essence of the religion of the Darariouns. The Assassins have been reproached with incest by Arnold of Lubec, (book 7. chapter 10.) by Vincent of Beauvais, (Spicil. Histo. l. 31. c. 6.) and by the author of the manuscript treatise on the holy war, quoted by M. du Cange in his observations on Joinville. The affinity of the Assassins with the Darariouns, among whom incest was permitted *, and their connections with them, of which we shall speak, may have brought on them this reproach; or, rather, both of them have, in this, followed the example of the Magi, or ancient Guebres.

During this interval the Carmathes, whose power declined on the death of Abou-Thaher, and which was shortly after destroyed by the Baridiens, a people of Arabia, remained dispersed for more than a century in Syria, Persia, and even in Egypt, the cradle of the Darariouns. It was there that Hassan Sabah collected those of either sect, the Darariouns and Carmathes, equally called Bathéniens, whom he united with such as he found in other countries

* Permiserunt fuis ducere sorores, filias atque matres, et sustulerunt pietatis studia, scilicet jejuniū, orationem, et peregrinationem.—*Elmacin*, l. iii. c. 6.

of Asia, after which, having pushed his excursions as far as Kachgar, with the design before mentioned, he fell upon the Gebal or Kouhestan of Persia, judging that the Ismaëliens, persecuted in every country whither they had dispersed themselves, could not fix on any asylum more secure than one that was mountainous, and almost inaccessible. Thus, toward the end of the fifth century of the Hegira was formed the dynasty of the Ismaëliens, of whom Hafsân was the first chief : a man of understanding, well versed in the sciences of geometry, of the magi, and others, according to the account Abulfeda gives of him in his history.

On the other hand, the remnant of the Carmathes in Irak Arabia, the place of their origin, united themselves to the sectaries of Darari, established in Syria by Hamzah ; and to the Nossairiouns, that were dispersed in the environs of Antioch and Apaméa. The Ismaëliens of Persia judged it proper, no doubt, for the union of all these sectaries which had so great an affinity with each other, that commanders should be sent them, that is to say, lieutenants from the sovereign who resided in Persia. Another motive seems also to have determined them on this measure : the croisades, which commenced early in the sixth century of the Hegira, the twelfth of our æra, furnished them with too many favourable opportunities of exercising their attempts on the Christians, the declared enemies to a religion of which they believed themselves the most just (Adelin) followers, as well as the most zealous defenders.

The same reason, however, which had induced them to form establishments in the Kouhestan of Persia, had similar effects in regard to their fixing on Syria, and in other parts of Libanus and Anti Libanus, for their residence. Many different people, who had been desirous of withdrawing themselves from the mussulman domination, whether of the caliphs or the selgiucides princes, had already chosen this spot. The historians who speak of these last Assassins mention mount Libanus by the word Gebal, ‘ a mountain’ in arabic, although this name properly belongs only to the Gebal of the persian Irak, that is to say, in Kouhestan, a persian word signifying a residence on a mountain.

M. le Moine, notwithstanding, seems to doubt, in his letter to M. Ménage, whether the Assassins did reside on mountains, when, in order to derive their

name from their place of residence, he makes them inhabit the plains. According to him, 'Affefa,' or 'Affifa,' (signifying 'herbs, pasturage,' in Arabic, and thence 'gardens,') is the derivation of the word 'assassin.'

The etymology is as false as the consequences he seems to draw from it. The gardens of the scheikh of the Kouhestan were in truth in a valley, from the description of Marco Polo: those of the Affasins of Syria may have been in the same hollow: but the fortresses of this nation were on the inaccessible mountains. The strong places of the Kouhestan had resisted, for several years, the troops of Holagou; and that which Saladin had besieged was situated on mount Afsikin in Syria. It was from this residence on mountains, that the chief of the Affasins was called the old man of the mountain, as we shall presently show.

I cannot, on the occasion of the mistake of M. le Moine, refrain from making some observations on other parts of that letter. He pretends, that the prince Alardin, mentioned by Marco Polo, has been confounded with the old man of the mountain: he misnames Alardin, him whom Marco Polo and others call Aloaddin, though wrong also. Moadin is another alteration of this name, as we have before noticed, as well as Algaydin, in Bergeron, followed by the translator of Marmol. But whatever the name may be, this confusion, which M. le Moine does not attempt to clear up, may be easily unravelled by simply laying down the succession of chiefs of the oriental Affasins.

The Ismaëliens of Persia established themselves in the Kouhestan, as we have said, in the fifth century of the Hegira, which answers to the eleventh of our æra, and maintained possession about one hundred and seventy years, under eight princes, the first of whom was Hassan Sabah, their founder, and the last Rokneddin, who only reigned one year. His predecessor Alaëddin (this is the true name) reigned for more than twenty-five years: it is not, therefore, surprising that he should be spoken of in preference to his successor, whose reign was so short, and so much the more, because the expedition of Holagou against the Affasins of Persia, which must have lasted for two or three years, must consequently have commenced during the life-time of Alaëddin.

It is astonishing that this prince, almost the last of his line, should have been represented by the greater part of modern writers under the name of Aloadin, as the founder of the dynasty of the ismaëlian princes. Marmol, R. Reineccius, followed by many more, have fallen into this error.

I shall make one other observation on this prince, by saying, that the learned authors of the 'Acta Sanctorum' are mistaken, when they attribute to Alaeddin (they name him correctly) the embassy sent to St Louis, for there is no probability of its coming from such a distance: it could only have been sent by the commandant in Syria; but to avoid this error, which they have, without doubt, felt, they have added in a note elsewhere, that the Afsafsins (whom I call eastern) had quitted Persia to establish themselves in Syria, at the period of this embassy in the year 1250. 'Ex hoc temporis spatio fatis colligitur principem Afsafsinorem tunc temporis non habitasse circa fines Persidis, licet eos ibidem antea domicilium habuisse affirmet Vitriacus.'

The mistake is manifest. The eastern Afsafsins were in existence in the year 1250, since they were not destroyed by Holagou until some years after. On the other hand, the western Afsafsins had resided in Syria from the thirteenth century. It was in the course of this century that they caused Raymond II. count of Tripoli, to be afsafsinated in 1148, and Conrad, marquis of Montferrat, in 1192; that they entered into negotiations with king Amauri, about the year 1171, in order to be converted to Christianity; and that Saladin, whom they had attempted to murder, laid siege to their fortress of Mafata, near to Libanus, in the 572d year of the Hegira, and, according to Boadin, the 1176th of our æra, without speaking of other facts anterior to the year 1250.

The dynasty of the Ismaëliens of Persia, with the name of their princes, in succession, from father to son, and the duration of each reign, are detailed in the Nighiaristan *. a book quoted by d'Herbelot, who has inserted, in

* *Nighiaristan*,—a persian word that means 'gallery, a place for walking,' taken from several historical books. We have in French, 'Galerie des femmes fortes.' In Italian, 'The gallery of Minerva,' a kind of journal.

different parts of his *Bibliothèque*, the successions of all the princes of Asia, excepting what concerns the commanders of the Assassins in Syria. D'Herbelot only gives, after the eastern writers, the name of Scheikh (old man), that is to say, prince, to the chief of the Assassins of Persia. Our historians alone honour with this title the lieutenants of Syria. Marco Polo was then well informed when he says, the Assassins of Persia sent lieutenants to command over those of Syria. It is for this reason that William of Tyre, speaking of the last, says, that their commanders succeeded each other by election, and not by any hereditary right, differing in this respect from the scheikhs of Persia. This election, however, depended solely on him, whom Jacques de Vitri calls 'Abbas, prælatus, magister cultellorum,' who resided 'in profundum orientis,' and to whom he expressly declares were subject those who commanded in Syria.

This fact appears to me completely decided; and any contrary opinion can only be supported by a very suspicious authority, that of Benjamin de Tudela, when he says, in a passage before quoted, that the people of Molhat were subjected to the old man, who resides in the country of the Alchafschichins, to which M. Baratier very thoughtlessly adds, that this old man was chief of the Assassins of Syria. Although the rabbi was fully capable of falling into this gross mistake, we may, nevertheless, interpret it more favourably. He had spoken, a little before, of 'Robabdar,' as a place nine days journey from the country of Molhat: now this castle is in the territory of the Assassins, and even one of their principal holds, as we shall see; and it may perhaps be there that he intended to say their old man resided. In this case the fault of Benjamin would only consist in not having properly distinguished the country of Molhat from that of Robabdar, as if these two countries had been under separate governments.

The territory of the Ismaëliens was very extensive. They occupied, from the Khorassan from east to west, all the country on the southern shore of the Caspian Sea. In those days were comprehended under the name of Gebal or Kouhestan *, ancient Parthia, and the northern part of what

* That is to say, the Kouhestan of this day properly so called, Eserabad, the Tabristan, the Masanderan, and the Ghilan or Dilem:

formerly composed Media. It is in the Dilem or Ghilan, which was a dependance on it, that we find Roudbar and Alamout the most considerable places of the Ismaëliens. Roudbar, which we see in the map of the Ghilan, in the travels of Olearius under the name of Pyle-Rubar, and which is described in the journal of the travels of father de la Maze, is a delightful spot near to Réi, to the north of Casbin. It is the Robabdar which Benjamin places at nine days journey from Molhat, and is called Rodiara by Elmacin, in the passage we have quoted. Alamout, the principal feat of the Ismaëliens, was built in the 246th year of the Hegira. Nafireddin, a famous astronomer, contemporary with Holagou, places this town, called by him Almut, in the Dilem, in about thirty-six degrees of latitude.

Abulfeda mentions several places that the Ismaëliens took possession of by force, such as Tabs, at the southern extremity of the Kouhestan, and others still more southerly, between the Fars and the Khouzistan, which they had surprized: but it does not seem probable that they long retained places so distant from their centre of government, fixed near to the Caspian Sea. Such expeditions were made more for plunder than for permanent conquests. With regard to Tigado, a place spoken of by Haiton alone, and after him by Marmol, who calls Tigad the paradise of the Afsafsins, it would be difficult to settle its situation, unless it be the Kitou of the Chinese, as I have reason to believe it is: then it would be a place at the eastern extremity of the Kouhestan, on the borders of the Khorasán, which would offer itself first to the prince Holagou, on his advance from the north-eastern part of the Caspian Sea, to enter the country of Mounai, that is to say, of the Afsafsins.

To conclude all that concerns the situation of the parts inhabited by the Afsafsins, I have to notice the extraordinary opinion of a learned man of the sixteenth century, but which has had, however, some success. Cælius Augustinus Curio, in the third book of his saracenic history, seduced by the false resemblance of the names, has imagined that the Afsafsins were the Afsaceni, of whom Arrian and other authors have spoken; and he places them in the same parts, which these ancient people occupied, between the Cophen and the Indus, three hundred leagues to the eastward, beyond the Kouhestan.

Marmol, whom Ortelius quotes without correcting him, has fallen into the same error : Bergeron, in his treatise on the Tartars, has followed him ; and it seems as if R. Reineccius has caused it by assigning that part of Persia nearest to the Indus for the seat of government of Aloaddin, which has been faithfully copied into some of our dictionaries. I pass over several other parts of the passage of Curio deserving of censure, and come to a single word, that will afford me the opportunity of finishing all I have to say concerning the religion of the Assassins.

Curio, at the conclusion of his article on the Assassins, says, that some call them ‘Essenos.’ I have before said something on the connection of the Esseniens with the Assassins. First, the name of Esseniens, or Esséens, (it is thus the Greeks have formed these names *Εσσηνοι* from the Arabic, *عسائى* from the Syriac), which name, I say, has as much resemblance to that of the Assassins as those of Assacini, Assanitæ, Arfacidæ, names which different authors have given to them, according to various etymological ideas, equally frivolous ; but it seems a more striking resemblance has been imagined in the thing itself.

The Esséens, or Esseniens, a Jewish sect, sprung, agreeably to the conjecture of Drufius, from the bosom of those Pharisees who allowed of the metempsychosis. This opinion spread over the east from the earliest times, where even Pythagoras had imbibed it, and was easily communicated to the Jews. The philosophers of both sects, called Mecar, generally admitted it ; but they only allowed of the regeneration of souls to the good. The soul of Phineas, grandson to Aaron, had passed into the body of the prophet Elias ; that of Adam into David, and was afterward to animate the Messiah : but as to the souls of the wicked, they were consigned, instantly after death, to eternal punishments. The metempsychosis of Pythagoras, on the contrary, was considered as a means of purifying souls imperfectly good.

The Imaëliens, as well as the Jews, admitted a successive transfusion of perfect souls, such as those of Mohammed and Ali, or the descent of the divine Spirit on the persons of their imams. * There is likewise another similarity

* According to the monk Yves le Breton, mentioned in Joinville, the Assassins believed that the soul of Abel passed into Noah, from Noah to Abraham, and from Abraham to St Peter.

between the Esseniens and the Afsafsins, in their religious conformity. Beside the three jewish sectaries, there arose a fourth during the latter periods of Jerufalem: these were the 'Sicarii,' thus called by Josephus. It was rather a faction than a sect, which caused the rebellion of the Jews, and supported it with unexampled courage. These Sicarii, called also Zelotæ, were formed from those of the Pharisees and Esseniens, whom the ill treatment of Florus, governor of Judea, had reduced to despair. Robbers of every description soon united themselves to the Sicarii. St Chrysostom, in his 46th homily on the Acts of the Apostles, styles these Sicarii, Esseniens; and Theophylactus does the same in his Scholia, on the 21st chapter of the Acts of the Apostles.

The Sicarii had for arms poniards, ξιφιδεα, Sicas, whence they had their name. They would acknowledge no other sovereign than God, and were animated with such extraordinary zeal against the enemies of their religion, that they gained the name of Zelotæ. Their constancy in the enduring of tortures was inconceivable.

These were the arms used by the Assassins: we have seen them called Sikkin by Bohadin*: such were their dispositions of body and mind: add also their supposed affinity of name, their belief in the metempsychosis, the same colour in their dress, for prejudice seeks support from every thing, and it will be sufficient to confirm the opinions of those who have imagined they had discovered the Assassins among the Esseniens.

We must not therefore be surprised if Jacques de Vitri, in his third book of the edition of father Martene, does not hesitate in making the Assassins descend from the Jews: 'Elisæi quos vulgus vocat Assesinos de Judæis tracti sunt, sed Judæorum ritus non observant.' Elisæi is manifestly a mistake for Essæi. This word is again otherwise changed in a passage of Raphael de Volterra, a learned Italian at the beginning of the 16th century, who is nearly of the same opinion in respect to the jewish origin of the Assassins. Having spoken of the Assissini of Syria, whom he admits to have come from

* It is the 'Chinger' of the Persians, 'Alchinger' of the Arabians, pronounced by the Malays 'Chanzier,' and by the Turks 'Changiar,' 'l'Acinaces' of the ancient Persians, 'Ενχειριδιον,' Parazonium, Pugio, &c.

Perſia, he thus concludes : ‘ Scripturam habent ex Chaldæo et Hebræo permixtam ; nam Edeſſæorum ſectæ adhærent, qui putant poſt mortem nec gaudii, nec pænæ locum eſſe.’

Theſe Edeſſæi are the Eſſæens, or, if more agreeable, the Haſidéens ; the philoſophers, perhaps, who, as we have ſaid, were called Mecar, unleſs, perchance, they be the Sadducees, as the cloſe of the above paſſage, where paradise and hell are excluded after death, ſeems to demonſtrate. Volterra would have been groſſly miſtaken in making Sadducees of the Aſſaſſins, but his error is as great in attributing the ſentiments of theſe laſt to the Eſſæens.

The Aſſaſſins ſeem to have another connection with the Jews, under the name of Nazaræi. This word would afford me matter for too long a diſcuſſion, I ſhall therefore content myſelf by remarking, that Noſſairioun, in M. d’Herbelot, designates, as I have before ſaid, three ſorts of people, the ancient Nazaréans of the Jews, more properly called Nazireens, the Nazaréans, a ſect that appeared in the firſt age of Chriſtianity *, and that ſect of Schiites, whoſe reſemblance to the Iſmaéliens we have noticed, and whoſe name came from the Nazerini of Pliny.

M. Aſſemani, who has recognised the Aſſaſſins in theſe laſt Noſſairioun, has confounded them with the firſt or ſecond, by calling them Nazareens. The Aſſanites or Aſſaſſanites, although he deſcribes them as a ſect of the Jacobites, appear to him alſo Aſſaſſins, under another name. Theſe Aſſaſſanites, according to him, are thus called from Aſſaſſa †, a part of the territory of Tacrit or Tecrit, in Meſopotamia. It may be that the Saracens, ‘ Aſſanité,’ of Ammianus Marcellinus, have thence derived their name ; but we can conclude nothing from this in regard to the Aſſaſſins.

I come at length to the origin of the name of Aſſaſſin. There can be no doubt but that it was an eaſtern word, and that the Arabians were the

* True Chriſtians, in the firſt ages, have alſo taken this name after JESUS CHRIST, called the Nazarean, from being born at Nazareth, and at the ſame time, in alluſion to the ancient Nazareans, See Grotius in D. Matthæ. c. 2. v. 23.

† Azaza,—a town in Meſopotamia, according to M. Schultens, different from another of the ſame name in Syria, that was beſieged by Saladin, as before noticed.

first who used it. William of Tyre, who ought to know, positively declares it, although it be not found in any translation from the eastern texts, except in that of the Hebrew of Benjamin de Tudela. The true etymology which immediately offers itself is that of Thomas Hyde: 'Assassini, significant Trucidatores, occifores:' add that from the arabic verb 'hassa, chassa, chafafa,' meaning 'to kill,' comes the active participle 'châsis,' in the plural 'hâssin, châssin,' 'occidentes,' killers, assassins. On the other hand, the word 'Sikkin,' seems to point out a different origin. We have seen that mount Affikkin, 'the mountain of the poniard,' was the residence of the commandant of the Assassins in Syria: the knives made use of by the Assassins were called 'Sikkin:' their sovereign, qualified by Jacques de Vitri with the title of 'Magister Cultellorum;' his subjects called 'Cultelliferi' by Matthew Paris: 'Sicarii' even by William of Newbridge, as well as the 'Sicarii' of the Jews. From the same cause, the thieves who infested France about the year 1180 were called 'Coterelli, Cultellarii, Cottereaux.' But all these resemblances, however happy they may be, only form one of those allusions which are but too seducing in the research after the derivations of words, and can have no weight against the etymology we have first offered.

The conjecture of M. de Cafeneuve, however probable it may appear, is of the same sort as that to which the word Sikkin gave rise. This learned man, in his 'Origines Françaises,' imagines, that without having recourse to the Arabic, the derivation of Assassin may be found in a primitive word of the ancient Teutonic, 'Sahs, Sachs, Sæhs,' 'grandis culter et brevis gladius.' Although I should agree with this author that the Saxons may have taken their name from this kind of arms, I can never admit of the proof that Abraham Mylius and Isaac Pontanus believe they can give of it, when they pretend that for this reason the Saxons bear in their arms two knives in saltire*. It is for a very different cause that the swords in saltire are this day in the armorial bearings of the elector of Saxony. In the year 1423, the elector Frederick was made grand marshal of the empire; and the

* Mylius calls these knives 'Saggares.' See this word in Suidas, with the note of Kuster and Burton. *Lexicon Veteris. Ling. Perfr.*

two fwords were added to the arms of his houle, as a mark of his dignity, which the electoral branch alone among his fucceffors has the right to bear. We cannot then, on the proofs brought forward by Mylius and Pontanus, fuppose a word, manifeltly arabic, to be derived from a teutonic origin. But it may be faid ‘Sahs’ is an eastern word alfo: the Saces, a people of Scythia, take their name from it, and the Saces are fathers to the Saxons. This is what Mylius fays in the fame paffage, after Goropius Becanus, whom he does not quote. Nothing is more doubtful than this pretended etymology of the Saces. Reland agrees with Hyde that the name of Saces comes from Saki, in Arabic ‘Potator,’ and there are many reafons for the fupport of this opinion.

The Greeks have tranlated the word Affaffin by *Χασιος*, which word we find in the fixth book of the Alexiade of Anna Comnena, and in two paffages of the chronicles of Nicetas. Fabrot, on the firft, reads *χασσιος*: we have before feen *χασσιος* in Phocas. Benjamin calls it, ‘Hafchifchin,’ in Hebrew. The orthography of the word Affaffin has moft prodigiously varied among our western authors, whether from the fault of copyifts, or from the ignorance of the authors themfelves*. In Matthew Paris, we find not only ‘Affaffini, Affeffini, Affiffini,’ (this laft is the only good one), but alfo ‘Haffatuti:’ in William of Newbridge, ‘Hanfeffifi:’ in Roger Hoveden, ‘Affaffi, Accini:’ in Arnold of Lubec, ‘Heiffefini:’ in Vincent de Beauvais, ‘Arfafini:’ in Albericus des trois Fontaines, ‘Herfafini:’ ‘Affidei,’ in fome chronicles (perhaps for ‘Haffidæi,’ or ‘Effæi:’) ‘Laffatini,’ in Thomas Walfingham. ‘Hakefins, Arquaffins, Auquaffins,’ in our old french authors: in Moreri’s dictionary, ‘Affaffiniens,’ as if Affaffin were the name of a country. However, ‘Affaceni, Affanitæ, Arfacidæ,’ are but words forged on falfe etymologies. Vincent le Blanc has strangely corrupted this laft word, by calling the Arfacides ‘Salcidas,’ or ‘Saldridas.’

I much fufpect that the Affaffins never called themfelves by this name: it was rather one given them by their enemies. I fhould think they would more willingly have taken that of ‘Bathéniens,’ illuminati, from ‘Bathen,’

* See the lift of thefe varieties in the glosfary of du Cange, at the word ‘Affaffini.’

internal science, at least they were so called in Egypt, but I believe they have more generally adopted the name of Ismaëliens, as followers of the doctrine of Ismaël, son to Giafar, the only one they esteemed orthodox. It is certain that they were never called 'Bedouins,' which is a blunder of the interpolator of Joinville, repeated by Pasquier, by Bergeron, by Cafeneuve, &c.; and what is more dangerous, by the latest dictionaries, that of Moreri, la Martinière, and the universal dictionary: in this last, where many gross mistakes are crowded on each other at the word 'Assaffin,' the word 'Bedouin' is derived from 'Bathénis,' interpreted by 'unknown:' it is the Bathéniens we have been speaking of. 'Bédouins,' 'Béduins,' 'Badavi,' 'Bédévi,' are Arabs of Arabia Deserta, from 'Badiah,' the desert.

The other Mohammedans, who held the Assaffins in horror, called them 'Molhédites,' heretics*. We have seen the different alterations of the word Kharegiens†, that is to say, such as lay aside their obedience, due to the legitimate imam, a name which true Musulmen have given to the Carmathes, and is generally applicable to the Ismaëliens.

The sovereign of the Assaffins is termed Scheikh by eastern writers. Vincent le Blanc, in the passage before quoted, calls him 'Séguémir,' a word composed of 'scheikh' and 'emir,' and places his residence in Arabia; but nothing ought to surprise us in such an author. The arabic word 'scheikh,' answering to the latin 'senior,' and which in the Latin of the middle ages has the two significations, has been ridiculously translated by 'Vetus,' 'Vetulus,' 'Senex' instead of 'senior,' if the word 'Dominus' had not been chosen. Vetus de Monte, in the chronicle of Nicolas Trivet, (anno 1236), Vetulus de Montanis, in that of Guillaume de Nangis, in the same year. Vetulus de Montibus, frequently by Sanuto, and Senex de Montanis, in the latin translation of Marco Polo. In Haiton, 'Sexmontius' is but a contraction of 'Senex montis,' which Batilli, who translated it by 'prince of the six mountains,' has not comprehended. We have seen him entitled by

* Molhédoun, in Arabic, is the plural of the participle of the verb 'lachada,' 'alchada,' primitively to pierce a wall, and figuratively to go aside, to quit the right road.

† Kharaja, in Arabic, exire, to go out. 'Kharei,' exiens, 'Kharegi,' schismatic, one who is disobedient.

Jacques de Vitri, ‘ Summus abbas, prælatus, magister cultellorum ;’ and in the third book of the same author, (father Martène’s edition), we read that this monarch was commonly called ‘ simplex :’ he gives himself the title of ‘ Simplicitas nostra’ in his letter to Philippe Auguste, quoted by William of Newbridge. This is one of the two letters that have been falsely attributed to him, and of which we are about to speak. This simplicity consisted in having inhumanly put to death such as he believed enemies to his sect, or those whom he considered as prevaricators, according to the expression of William of Tyre.

The Assassins indiscriminately exercised their fury on Mohammedans and Christians. We read in the history of the caliphs, of princes and vizirs being murdered by their emissaries *. I am also persuaded that this scheikh, all simple as he called himself, caused murders to be committed at the solicitations of other princes, from motives of interest, wherein religion had no part. We have a right to believe this, from what the commandant in Syria said to Henry II. count of Champagne, when he invited him to pass through his territories, after the striking example he had shewn him of the devoted obedience of his subjects : ‘ Si inimicum aut insidiatorem regni haberet, ab hujusmodi servis suis continuo interfeci procuraret.’ These are the words reported by Sanuto. Therefore, when the chief of the Assassins is made to speak otherwise, in the letter dated from Meſiat, which Nicholas Trivet has inserted in his Chronicle, (an. 1192) ‘ Sciatis quod nullum hominem mercede aliqua vel pecunia occidimus,’ this is one of the reasons which ought to cause it to be suspected of forgery. In fact, it is very probable that the English fabricated this letter, addressed to Leopold duke of Austria, to procure the liberty of king Richard, whom he detained prisoner ; and that, at the same time, they addressed another to Philippe Auguste, (which is the one we are speaking of) to efface his suspicions of the murderer of the marquis of Montferrat, and to prevent him from acting with hostility toward them, in the absence of their king. The best

* Two caliphs, one of Bagdad, another of Egypt ; Taparés, sultan of the Khorassan ; a king of Mosul, and several princes Selgiucides ; the famous vizir Nezam-el-Mulk, without counting very many other assassinations reported by Abulfeda in different parts of his ninth dynasty.

Anna Comnena—D’Herbelot—Abulfeda.

justification of Richard is to be found in the generosity of his character, however ferocious his valour may have been. This king, mortally wounded at the siege of Chaluz, in Limoufin, by a cross-bowman, not only pardoned him, after the capture of the town, but before he died ordered one hundred shillings to be given to him.

As to the real cause of the assassination of Conrad marquis of Montferrat, there are strong grounds for supposing that Humfroi lord of Thoron, first husband of Isabeau, daughter to Amauri and heiress to the kingdom of Jerusalem, enraged that, by the annulling of his marriage, he saw his wife and the crown pass into the hands of Conrad, employed, to revenge himself, the ministry of the Assassins.

But I suspect we cannot, on equally good grounds, impute to the Assassins the death of Louis the first* duke of Bavaria, assassinated at Kelheim in the middle of Germany, in the year 1231. It is on a very slight foundation that the emperor Frederick has been suspected to have been the author and promoter of this crime. Nevertheless, at the first council of Lyons, in 1245, at which presided Innocent IV. a declared enemy to Frederick, among other motives for the excommunication and deposition of this emperor, was the murder of Louis duke of Bavaria, alledged to have been committed, at his instigation, by the Assassins, and the friendly intercourse he kept up with the Mohammedans.

To avoid omitting any thing, I must make some mention of the celebrated gardens of the Assassins. Their scheikh had transported thither, during a sleep procured by particular drugs, the young men destined to his sanguinary executions, that they might have a fine taste of that paradise which he promised them after death. The idea of such gardens was copied from that of Schédad, an ancient king of Arabia Felix. This prince, desirous to persuade his subjects of his divinity, inclosed within his garden every thing that could flatter the senses, and there introduced, as if into the true paradise, such as he judged worthy of it. This garden was called Iram†, and Mussulmen often give this name to paradise.

* Of the family of the counts of Schiren and Witelsbach, whose descendants now reign.

† A town in Arabia Felix bears at this day the name of Yrame. See La Roque's travels.

May I be allowed to make one reflection? Although Mohammed, in the Alcoran, speaks of this impious prince with horror, the generality of Christians are not the less persuaded that the paradise of Mohammed was also entirely sensual. But M. Reland, and father Maracci, in the preface to his edition of the Alcoran, and M. d'Herbelot, at the word 'Gennah,' have vindicated Mohammed from this charge, as well as many others.

This impostor is sufficiently culpable without the necessity of falsely imputing to him errors which he never had. This, however, is the usual custom of the greater part of those who refute a religious sect: animated with a false zeal, they think every thing is permitted, even lies, in support of the truth.

In concluding, I recollect a singular historical fact concerning this paradise. When Holagou destroyed the Ismaëliens in Persia, he sent three hundred 'Molhédites' to Casbin, where, according to his orders, they were put to death. Now Casbin, formerly a capital town in Persia, was called 'Giabal' or 'Gémal-abad,' the 'fair residence,' a word that signifies also paradise. It seems that this prince alluded to this double meaning; and to mock the paradise of these fanatics, he said he would send them thither when he ordered them to Gémal-Abad, and had them put to death. Hence, probably, is derived that persian proverbial expression, 'to send a person to Gémal-Abad,' to signify to put him to death.

This dissertation, on a subject so little interesting, will, without doubt, appear too long. My only fault is having chosen such a subject, but the memoir of M. de la Ravalierere determined me, and made me desirous to attempt the elucidation of all that regarded the Assassins. I could not shorten what I had to say, after being engaged in the discussion of matters where the greater number of authors who have treated on them, far from correcting those who had preceded them, have added new mistakes to those they copied from. It is also necessary for him who takes the liberty to correct others, to make his readers competent to judge, whether the critic himself may not likewise want correction. This cannot be done but by fully and faithfully detailing the passages he reports. The discovery of truth, whether by myself or others, is the sole object I have had in view.

Should I, however, have drawn any consequences from the comparison of the passages I have brought forward, I believe I have not hazarded them without mature reflection. Before I began to write, I formed no system : what could have induced me to form one ? The pretended system which may be supposed to exist in the foregoing pages appears to me solely the result of facts, without any combination of prejudices.

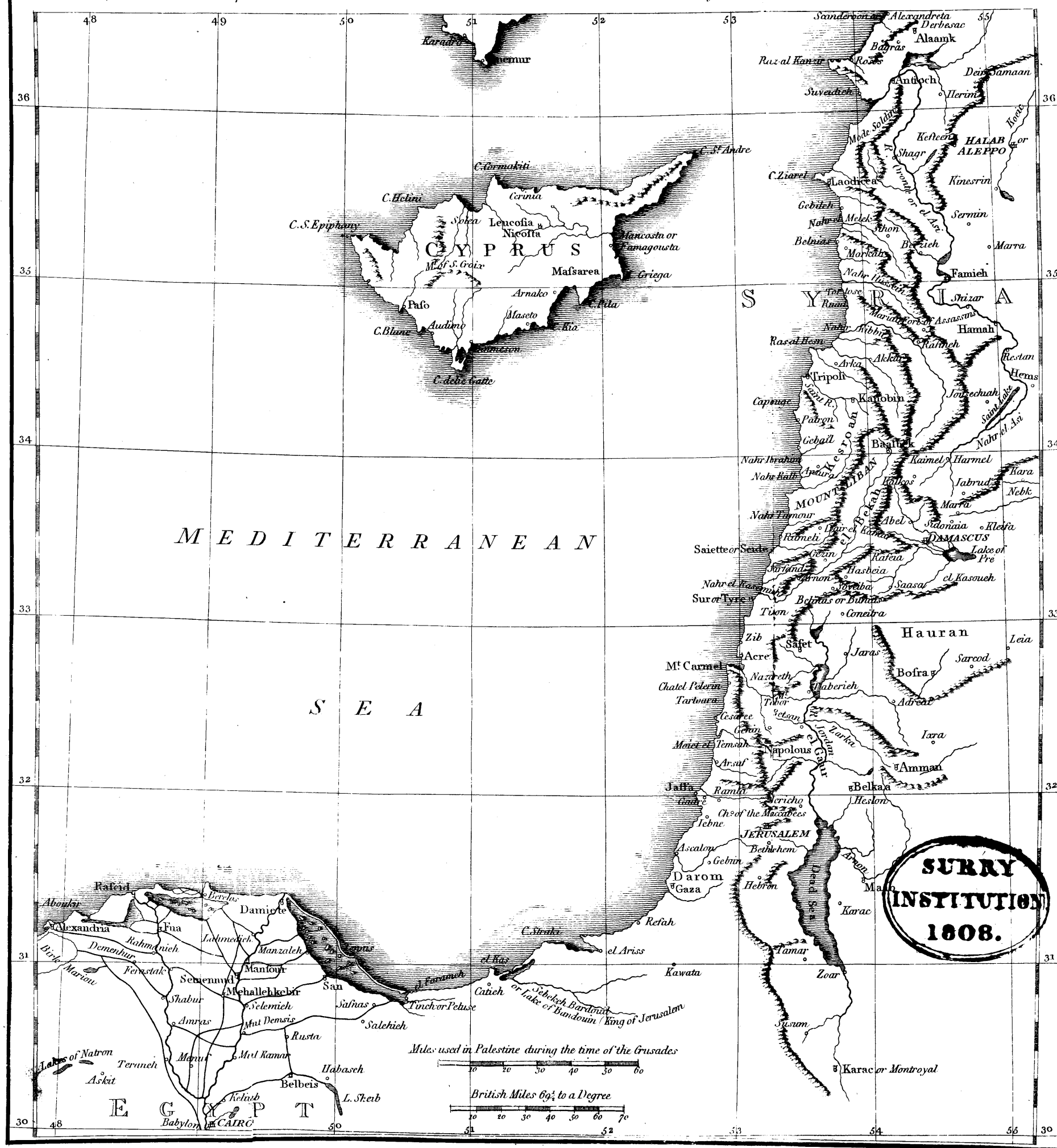
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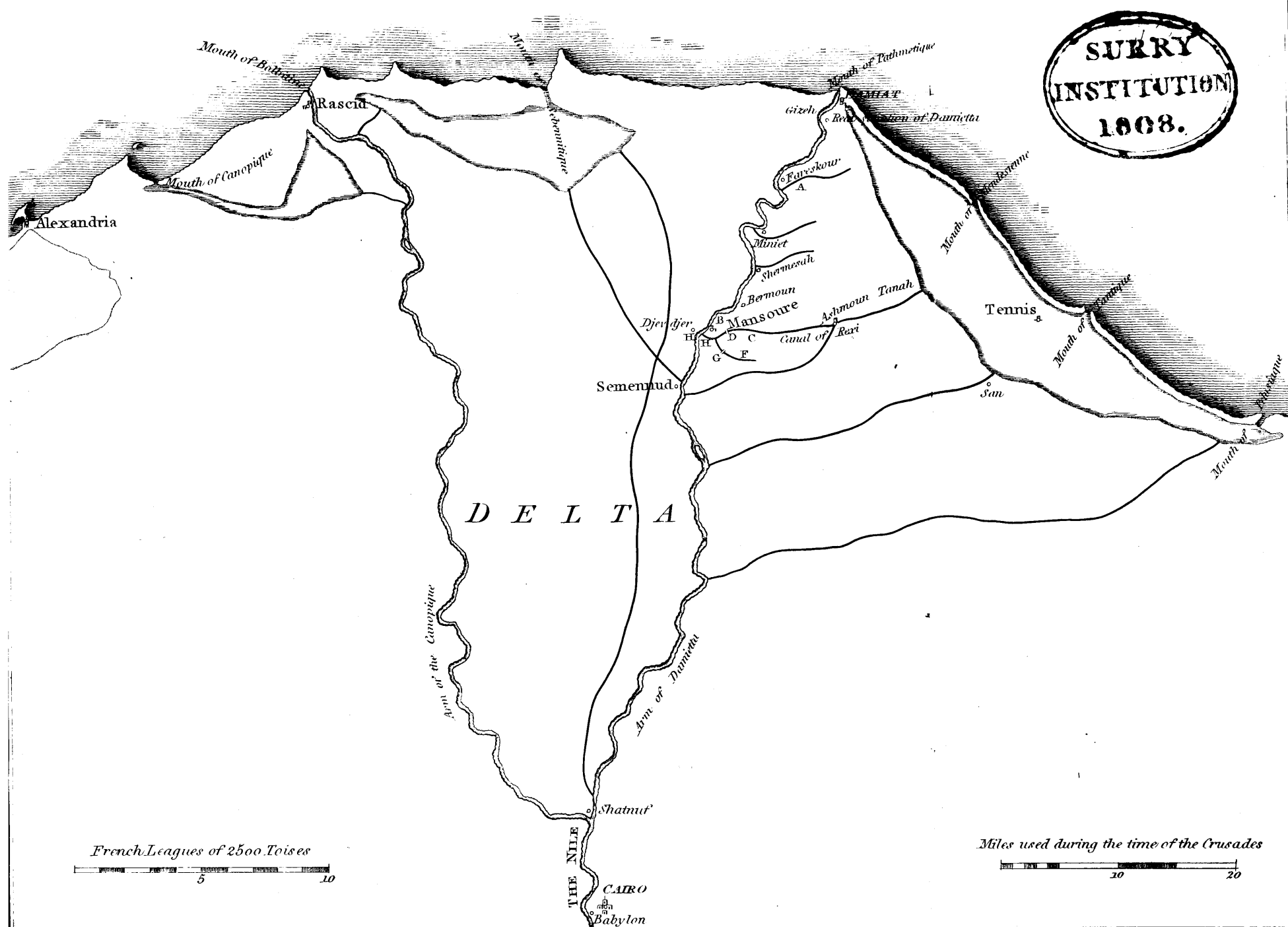


AT THE HAFOD PRESS, }
BY JA. HENDERSON. }

A MAP OF THE CROISADE OF SAINT LOUIS IN EGYPT AND IN PALESTINE.

Copied from that of the SIEUR D'ANVILLE in the Louvre Edition of the History of SAINT LOUIS.





A MAP OF THE DELTA EXPLANATORY OF THE EXPEDITION OF SAINT LOUIS IN EGYPT.

Copied from the Map in the Louvre Edition.

References.

- A. Canal filled up by the army of St. Louis, and then passed by his army dry footed.
- B. Camp of the Duke of Burgundy, who had been stationed with part of the army below the Canal of Rari.
- C. The ford of the Canal discovered to Saint Louis by a Bedouin.
- D. Bridge on the same Canal for the communication of the two divisions of the army.
- E. Camp of the division of the Army that had crossed the Canal with Saint Louis.
- F. Torrent. G. Bridge over this torrent.
- HH. Camps of the Turks or Saracens.

